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The Jesuits of the Middle United States

by

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THE INDIAN MISSIONS

CHAPTER XXIX

ST. MARY'S OF THE POTAWATOMI, II

§ I. THE SLAVERY AGITATION

In April, 1853, Bishop Miége, still a member of the Society of Jesus though in episcopal orders, set out from St. Mary's to represent the vice-province of Missouri in a general congregation of the order to be held in Rome. Father De Smet was his companion on the journey. On the return voyage the pair met with a thrilling experience. The *Humboldt*, on which they took passage at Havre, was wrecked, December 6, 1853, a few miles off the coast of Nova Scotia. A fisherman, who represented himself to be a pilot, maliciously, so at least it was reported, directed the steamer onto some hidden rocks known as the "Sisters." The *Humboldt* took water heavily and as the pumps proved ineffective the captain determined to run her ashore. The steamer struck the rocks a second time, this time sticking fast but happily in shallow water. The passengers were promptly rescued and conveyed to Halifax, where Bishop Miége and Father De Smet enjoyed the hospitality of the local prelate, Bishop Walsh. The two Jesuits saved all their boxes from the wreck with the exception of one, which contained five chalices and two ostensoria.

On reaching St. Mary's in March, 1854, Bishop Miége was given a demonstrative welcome by his flock. He brought with him chalices, vestments and relics of the saints for his cathedral, together with a great quantity of precious articles including rosary-beads blessed by Pius IX. One thing in particular amazed the Indian parishioners. This was an organ, of which Father Gaillard wrote: "This instrument has been so contrived by Father Lambillote that merely by touching it with the fingers one produces with ease the most agreeable music." Another of the Bishop's gifts to his log cathedral was a painting of the Immaculate Conception of more than ordinary artistic merit, reputed to be by an Italian painter, Benito. It still adorns the walls of the parish church of St. Marys.

A few months after the return of the prelate to his vicariate in the wilderness an event occurred that quickly converted the peaceful valley of the Kansas into a seething cauldron of political passion culminating in civil war. On May 30, 1854, President Pierce put his signature to

the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Senator Douglas, which provided for the erection of the country between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains into two territorial units, to be thrown open to white settlers and, when a specified population had been reached, to be admitted as states into the Union. Prior to this date that splendid stretch of country had been closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820; now, as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the question whether the new territories were to be slave or free was to be decided by a majority vote of their inhabitants. The principle which Douglas invoked in his historic measure was that of popular sovereignty, or, as it was styled in the political lingo of the day, "squatter sovereignty," the right, to wit, of the settlers in the new territories to decide for themselves by an exercise of the ballot and without dictation from Congress whether the commonwealths now in process of formation were to authorize or to prohibit slavery within their borders. The pro-slavery and the free-soil forces in political life at once joined issue on the burning question and "bleeding Kansas" became the storm-center of a conflict that hung in the balance down to the last year of the Civil War.

In Nebraska no attempt was made to force the issue either way; it was in Kansas that the battle was to be fought out. Here was a great stretch of the finest farming land in the world, dotted here and there with Indian reserves, mission-centers and government forts, but otherwise altogether unsettled. In width it measured two hundred and eight miles and in length it ran from the Missouri to the Rockies. No sooner had the Douglas bill become law than thousands of immigrants, not only from the border states, but from localities as remote as Massachusetts and Connecticut, poured into Kansas to stake out claims, build homes and lend their votes to the settling of the momentous issue of freedom or slavery in the new territory. On August 1, 1854, Kansas could claim three government forts, a half-dozen mission centers and two or three stopping-places on the Santa Fe trail, as Elm Grove and Council Grove; but there was nothing within its four sides that deserved to be called a town.¹ Before the year had run out, thirty or forty towns had been platted and the incoming throngs of immigrants were quickly clustering into settlements of importance. In the beginning of 1858 a roster of Kansas towns, all sprung up as by a stroke of magic, included Wyandotte, Delaware, Douglas, Maryville, Iola, Atchison, Fort Scott, Pawnee, Lecompton, Neosho, Richmond, Lawrence, Doniphan, Paola, Indianola, Easton, Leavenworth and others.² The

¹ E. E. Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston, 1854), p. 128.

² CR, *De Smet*, 3:1192.

majority of the settlers proved to be free-soilers and were insistent in their demands for a free constitution; but it was not until 1861, when the pro-slavery party ceased to dominate Congress, that Kansas was admitted as a free state into the Union.

Events of such far-reaching importance could not but react on the fortunes of St. Mary's Mission. In April, 1853, Bishop Miége wrote to the Jesuit vicar-general in Rome: "The United States Government voted before the adjournment of Congress the sum of \$50,000 for making a treaty with the Indians of Nebraska [Territory]. This treaty would take in all the tribes between the 36th and 43rd degrees of latitude and would have as its object to purchase from the Indians all their lands with the exception of the portions the Government would grant to such among them as should wish to live peacefully in the midst of the whites. Your Reverence sees already that this is the death-sentence of the greater part of my poor diocese, a sentence, however, that was feared for a long time and hence astonishes nobody. What will become of the two established Missions?"³ As to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, De Smet was of the opinion that it "virtually destroyed all the Indian nationalities." He graphically describes the Indians as surrounded on all sides by the immigrant whites, "their reserves forming little more than islets amid the ocean." Formerly they could wander on their hunts over boundless tracts of unsettled land; now they were to be pent up in reserves, of which their tenure was most uncertain. Soon they would be called upon to divide and sell their lands or else be forcibly dispossessed of them. "It is not difficult to descry from afar that grand event which must engulf in one common wreck all the Indian tribes. The storm which has just burst forth over their heads was long preparing; it could not escape the observing eye. We saw the American Republic soaring, with the rapidity of the eagle's flight, toward the plenitude of her power. Every year she adds new countries to her limits. . . . Her object is obtained. All bend to her sceptre; all Indian nationality is at her feet."⁴

Father Gaillard, commenting on the territorial bill of 1854, consoled himself with the reflection that what looked so portentous might perhaps be the very thing needed to promote the welfare of the Indian. Hitherto the missionaries could scarcely reach the more distant tribes on account of the difficulties of travel. Now that American colonists were everywhere occupying the land, access to the Indians would become easier. Moreover, the example of the white farmers would have a stimulating effect upon the Indians and rouse them to activity and to

³ Miége au Vicaire-General, April 15, 1853. (AA).

⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 3: 1196-1198.

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an effectual desire to make the fertile earth yield its fruits. The civil war that blazed out all over Kansas in 1855 over the question of slavery furnished Gaillard food for pious reflection:

But as all these things have already become public and are foreign to our vocation, there is no reason why we should stop to narrate them. This only we wish to observe that we embrace with equal charity in our Lord all parties and were greatly astonished to see men at the entire neglect and even hazard of their eternal salvation and life itself devote themselves so ardently to perishable things. Would that the sons of light labored as eagerly to obtain a never-fading crown! Would that we members of the sacred army devoted ourselves with equal courage to our own perfection and the salvation of our neighbor.⁵

Father Duerinck's opinion of the territorial changes of 1854 was expressed in his report for that year to Major G. W. Clarke: "We have hailed with pleasure the organization of the territories; anarchy and arbitrary power will be proscribed, and salutary laws and the fear of punishment will restrain the wicked and lawless offenders. Peace, order and justice will prevail and reign in the land."⁶ It is unnecessary to say that peace and order were not the outcome, at least immediate, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The Potawatomi reserve, though legally immune from all trespassing on the part of the whites, did not pass unscathed through the Kansas civil war of 1855. General Lane's so-called "northern army" invaded the reserve, committing depredations on the property of the Indians and plundering the trading-house of A. G. Boone at Uniontown as also the residence of the Potawatomi Agent, Clarke, a pro-slavery sympathizer, who was robbed of his household effects and official papers. But the mission property was left unharmed. "The civil war of Kansas," Father Duerinck was able to say in a report to government, "with all its acts of violence and bloodshed, has not caused us to relax our efforts in the cause of education."⁷

⁵ Gaillard, *History of St. Mary's Mission*. (Ms.). (F).

⁶ *RCIA*, 1854, no. 40.

⁷ Duerinck to Clarke, October 20, 1856. (H). A postscript to a letter of Duerinck's, June 25, 1855, addressed probably to Major Clarke, touches on conditions at the moment west of St. Mary's. "The little town of Pawnee said to be on the Military reserve of Fort Riley, is not blown up yet. Everybody tells me that Generals Churchill and Clarke and Col. Montgomery repaired to the Fort [Riley] some 4 weeks ago—examined the case, investigating the claims, etc.,—it is said that it has been spared. Perhaps Generals Churchill and Clarke have reported to the President, awaiting the answer. The legislature is to meet at Pawnee on July 1st, next. It is said that the 4 Dixons, Brothers, who have claims below Pawnee (160 acres each) had their houses pulled down and destroyed by the military last week, under the pretext that they were on the military reserve. Pawnee is losing ground, buildings

A picture of St. Marys, as it appeared at the time the Kansas troubles were at their height, is presented in a letter of Gailland's to the vice-provincial, Father Murphy:

St. Mary is no more in a desert, as it used to be; actually it is a place much frequented by all kind[s] of people, red, black, white. Through its streets there is a continual going and coming of carriages and wagons, of gentlemen and farmers, of Southern and Northern men, of pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, of freesoilers, of abolitionists, of fusionists, of Disunionists, etc. They are all well disposed; all devoted to the welfare of the country, all coming out with a better plan to make of Kansas one of the most flourishing States of the Union. . . . It is no trifling annoyance to us to hear continually the wild cries of ox drivers; those American oxen are so slow in understanding the orders of their masters; unless they receive on the head a shower of curses they could not go right. We are now surrounded but unmolested by the Whites; people are not as wicked here as in England. Let the Indians behave well and the new settlers will deal fairly with them. The present administration is very favorable to the Indians. As far as it depends on themselves, they cause the rights of all the Indian tribes to be respected; although we fear, in some instances they will be bound to yield to the multitude. The squatter wishes to play sovereign and follow that maxim of constitutional France: *le Roi regne mais il ne gouverne pas*.⁸

Owing to the disorders incident on the Kansas war Bishop Miège was unable to undertake the journey which he had long contemplated

going up are suspended in some cases." (H). An entry in Duerinck's Diary II the following year (September 2, 1856) reveals that trouble was still abroad. "Sent [Brother (?)] McNamara to Grasshopper Falls to buy some cattle, but owing to the troubles of the times he returned the same day at noon deterred by rumors of robberies, horse stealing, etc."

From the beginning of territorial organization St. Marys and the neighboring district were strongly anti-slavery. In the first election held in Kansas Territory, November 29, 1854, to choose a delegate to Congress, Lawrence and Big Blue Crossing, in the latter of which St. Marys was included, were the only two precincts of the state that did not go for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate. One-half of Whitfield's vote, however, is accounted to have been illegal. The second election in the state, which was for members of the territorial legislature, was held March 30, 1855. A voting booth was installed at St. Marys in the house of R. C. Miller. Of the eleven votes cast here, seven went to M. F. Conway, anti-slavery councilman, and four to John Donaldson, his opponent. The *Times* (St. Marys, Kansas), July 14, 1876, gives E. P. McCartney as the name of the free-state candidate. The poll-list of the election of October 5, 1857, held at Louisville, includes the name of Father Duerinck, who cast his vote for Parrott, the anti-slavery candidate. Louisville township declared August 2, 1858, against the Lecompton (slavery) constitution by a vote of 37 to 1.

⁸ Gailland to Murphy, November 12, 1855. (A).

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to the Indian tribes of the upper Missouri. Early in 1857 he wrote to the Father General:

In our part of the country some sort of peace seems to be reigning just now; but what the future is to be no one says or can say. Our fears and anxieties are far in excess of our hopes. This one thing is certain, that we have seen pretty hard times especially in August and September when thieves, robbers and murderers were able to perpetrate with impunity whatever they pleased. It became entirely impossible for me to visit the various parts of the vicariate, as I wished to do, owing to imminent dangers from thieves or from armed gangs who held almost the entire territory in their grip. For a while I didn't even know what was before us in Leavenworth City. God and His most Blessed Mother saved us. We also, if it be allowed to say so, played our little part by procuring on the advice of friends all sorts of weapons and using them as necessity dictated but "with the moderation of legitimate self-defense" (*moderamine inculpatae tutelae*) as the following instance proves. One night following a very exciting day in consequence of murders committed publicly in the city, as I was fast asleep, I was awakened by an unusual sound under my window. Proceeding at once with caution to a spot where I could make out the cause of the noise, I saw part of an object which I took at the moment for a thief. Immediately grabbing my revolver and aiming at the object in sight, I fired. But what was my surprise to see a hog scurrying off on all fours, minus however his tail, which with a grunt he left behind for me as a trophy. Though always prepared, I have never after this egregious exploit made use of weapons and hope I never shall.⁹

In the changed conditions that ensued in the valley of the Kansas by reason of the Territorial Act of 1854 the mission-village of St. Marys lost the importance that once attached to it. There were new settlements, Leavenworth in particular, that could show a more substantial claim than the Catholic Potawatomi mission to be the headquarters of the vicariate. Accordingly, on August 9, 1855, Bishop Miége, accompanied by Brother Francis Roig, left St. Marys to take up his residence in Leavenworth. On his arrival in the town he found only seven Catholic families. He began without delay the erection at the southwest corner of Kickapoo and Fifth Streets of a church twenty-four by forty feet, which soon proved inadequate for the rapidly growing population. Two years later, in 1857, he built a larger church, in size forty by eighty feet. These edifices were apparently of frame, modest forerunners of the imposing Romanesque cathedral which the Bishop was to erect later on.¹⁰

⁹ Miége ad Beckx, January 12, 1857. (AA).

¹⁰ *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9:155. The date of the first Mass in Leavenworth is in dispute. "The first Mass in Leavenworth was said in 1854 by Bishop Miége at

§ 2. A STRUGGLING VICARIATE

For five years, from his arrival in Kansas in 1851 until he took up his residence in Leavenworth in 1855, Bishop Miége was superior of the Jesuits residing in his vicariate and this even in their strictly domestic concerns. "Although a bishop," so Father Roothaan advised the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, "he [Miége] remains a religious of the Society and as regards the direction of Ours in his Mission ought to come to an understanding with the Vice-Provincial. However, the direction of the Mission in as far as it is a Mission, belongs to him and for this he depends only on Propaganda. There is nothing then to do but to get along with one another in harmony."¹¹ In 1853 and again in the following year Miége himself proposed that the office of superior of the Jesuits be disassociated from that of vicar-apostolic; but this change was effected only on his removal to Leavenworth. Meanwhile it was incumbent upon him to secure the needed personnel and the material means for the upkeep of the Osage and Potawatomi missions and the extension of missionary service to other tribes of his jurisdiction. He petitioned St. Louis to send him Fathers Coosemans, De Coen, Eysvogels, Baltus; none of these were assigned to him, but Fathers Van Hulst and Schultz, excellent men both, were among those sent to Kansas. The good Bishop, like Father De Smet, was inclined to make it a grievance that certain subjects who had a particular aptitude and desire for the Indian missions were detained in the colleges. He pointed out to the General the case of Father Baltus, who had petitioned to come to America solely with a view to the Indians, but was now for the third successive year being employed in the class-room. The Bishop himself was an instance of the policy in question as Father Roothaan recalled to Father Murphy. "Father Miége was sent to Missouri for the Oregon Missions. They kept him at St. Louis, they

the house of a Mrs. Quinn." Cutler, *History of Kansas*, p. 431. "The first Catholic church was built and the first Mass said (as I remember) by Rev. Fr. Fisch of Weston, Mo., in the early summer of 1855 at the house of Andy Quinn on the south side of Shawnee Street in the middle of the block on lot 29, block 23, city proper. A bureau was used as an altar for the service." H. Miles Moore, *Early History of Leavenworth City and County* (Leavenworth, 1906), p. 187. An unpublished letter, May 25, 1884, of Father Defouri, associated with Miége in his first years at Leavenworth, states that the Bishop said his first Mass in that city August 15 (1855?) "in the house of Andrew Quinn, having an audience of nine persons, all that was Catholic in the town." (A). Miége in a letter of July 4, 1855, reproduced in this chapter, speaks of his intention to put up a frame chapel in Leavenworth; hence, there was apparently no Catholic house of worship in the town at the date of the letter.

¹¹ Roothaan à Murphy, October 30, 1851. (AA).

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employed him there and see now what has happened. [He is available] neither for Oregon nor for the Vice-Province, but in a manner for both.”¹² The needs of the colleges were undoubtedly pressing and available workers were all too few. It is therefore not easy to see in the policy pursued by the superiors a lack of broad and generous treatment of the missions. On the other hand praiseworthy zeal for the foreign missions has often led Jesuit superiors to staff them with men whose services according to merely human calculation could be ill dispensed with in the educational work of the order.

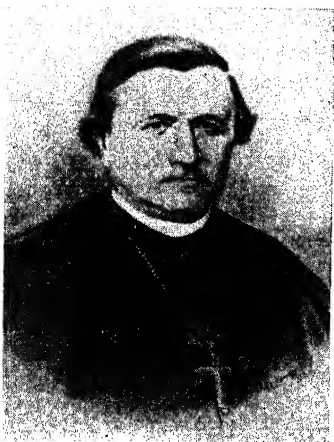
Not only priests, but coadjutor-brothers were eagerly sought for by the vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory. The first request he made to the newly appointed vice-provincial, Father Druyts, was for two brothers, a cook and a school-teacher, neither of whom it was possible to supply. When Father Roothaan, alarmed at the defection from the order of certain coadjutor-brothers in Oregon, had informed Bishop Miége that no more members of this grade would be sent on the missions, the latter wrote to express the anxious hope that his Paternity would revoke this “terrible proposition.” “Where shall we get our carpenters, our farriers? There is less danger for a Brother in the two Missions [Osage and Potawatomi] than in the colleges or other houses of America.”¹³ When Brother Toelle in a fit of mental aberration lost his life at the Osage Mission by drowning, he was replaced by a hired carpenter at a dollar a day, which outlay Miége apparently considered a rather heavy drain on the resources of the mission.

As long as the Bishop remained at St. Mary's the finances both of the mission and of the vicariate were under his control, being administered jointly and not under separate accounts. The Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the providential Lady Bountiful to the struggling pioneer Catholic Church of the United States, came to his aid on more than one occasion with contributions. In 1852 Father Roothaan allotted him twenty-six hundred and thirty dollars out of the funds of the association placed at his disposal. That same year the Bishop petitioned the association for an extra grant in view of the universal drought that had prevailed in Kansas. Being in Lyons the following year, he again ventured to petition the association for an appropriation in excess of the usual one, but without result, whereupon he appealed to the General: “The wooden churches or chapels which we have in the Indian Territory cannot protect us against the snow, rain and wind. In winter time it is scarcely possible to say Mass. Moreover, the cathedral is threatened with ruin.”¹⁴ In 1856 the association began

¹² Roothaan à Murphy, October 30, 1851. (AA).

¹³ Miége à Roothaan, August 17, 1852. (AA).

¹⁴ Miége à Beckx, September 30, 1853. (AA).



John Baptist Miège, S.J. (1815-1884), Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains and Bishop of Messenia *in partibus*.

Felix Livinus Verreydt, S.J. (1798-1883), first superior of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission, the site of which he selected.





Maurice Gailland, S.J. (1815-1877), historiographer of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission and adept in Potawatomi, of which language he compiled a dictionary.



John Francis Diels, S.J. (1821-1878), superior of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission during the sixties.

to remit its subsidies direct to Bishop Miége and not through the Father General. "The Lyons Association," he wrote to Beckx in January, 1857, "assigned me 20,000 francs [\$4,000] for the past year; but this will scarcely enable me to pay the debts contracted during the year."¹⁵ In such manner was the old world with edifying generosity coming to the relief of the new. At the same time domestic relief bodies similar in scope to the Catholic Church Extension Society and the Catholic Indian Bureau of later days were projected on occasion but never actually set on foot. Thus in 1849 Father De Smet proposed the creation in the United States of an association for the sole purpose of aiding the Indians. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis approved the plan, which it was proposed to set before the bishops at the impending Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore. Nothing apparently came of the proposal. A suggestion made in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, 1852, that the Lyons Association of the Propagation of the Faith be established in the United States, the money thus collected to be distributed by the American bishops, was objected to by Bishop Miége, probably because he felt his vicariate would fare better if the money were distributed from the general headquarters of the association.¹⁶

In general, the Osage and Potawatomi Missions managed to maintain themselves on a sound financial basis. In 1850 they were reported to be without debts. In 1854 their financial status was declared satisfactory. In 1855 a report of De Smet credited them with sixteen thousand, nine hundred dollars on deposit in St. Louis, of which sum nine thousand dollars belonged to Miége. As was already seen, in addition to the grants made in their favor by the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the missions were dependent for their support on government school-money, on the revenue from surplus live-stock and farm-products and on occasional aid from the vice-province, the General, or other benefactors in Europe and America. Shortly after his arrival at St. Mary's Bishop Miége wrote to the Father General: "Rev. Father Provincial [Murphy], who seems admirably disposed towards the Indian missions, advised me in his last letter to ask your Paternity to allow him to have 4 [?] Masses said by the Fathers of the Vice-Province, the money [offerings] for the same to be applied to the missions. The thing is easy to suggest; but I doubt if it be as easy to obtain."¹⁷ In another connection Father Roothaan had occasion to manifest in a practical way his interest in Bishop Miége's missions. The creditor's claim to twenty thousand dollars, which had been borrowed by the vice-province from the generous Belgian benefactor, M. De Boey, had been

¹⁵ Miége à Beckx, January 12, 1857. (AA).

¹⁶ Miége à Roothaan, July 9, 1852. (AA).

¹⁷ Miége à Roothaan, October 24, 1851. (AA).

conveyed by the latter in his will to the Father General (Chap. XV, § 2). Roothaan in his turn relieved the vice-province of any obligation to pay the principal, but required that a sum equivalent to the interest on the amount involved be annually applied to the Indian missions. "You will employ the equivalent income of this sum in favor of the Indians," he instructed Father Elet, "either by sending them effective aid or by training subjects for these missions. . . . The Vice-Province can make use of [this money] for the Novitiate and Scholasticate, which furnish subjects to these missions." Beginning with April 1, 1852, one-half the income of the De Boey loan went at the instance of Father Roothaan to Bishop Miége. This meant an annual subsidy to him of five hundred dollars.¹⁸

In the early rush of immigrants to Kansas in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska bill Catholics participated scarcely at all. Later their numbers increased. "I should wish to be able to count on numerous Catholics among them [the immigrants]," Miége comments in 1854; "but in numbers they amount to nothing. The really small number of them that come to us are scattered in every direction and at such distances one from the other that it is almost impossible to find them, or at least to visit them regularly. Here is the chief reason for the large number of defections in America, especially in the new States."¹⁹ The Indians were being adequately looked after by the Jesuits; but the spiritual care of the immigrant white Catholics, especially when their numbers began to grow in the mid-fifties, presented a serious problem, the only solution of which was the recruiting of a diocesan clergy. Here precisely was the difficulty. The Jesuits, to repeat, could be relied upon to serve the Indian population of the vicariate; but they were not in a position to meet at the same time the spiritual needs of the growing white population of the country. Miége appealed to the General for priests "for the salvation of the German and Irish population which is

¹⁸ Roothaan à Elet, July 30, 1850. (AA). In 1859, by which time Miége had been residing in Leavenworth some four years, Druyts, the vice-provincial, requested that this subsidy be no longer paid to the prelate as it was originally allotted to him as superior of the Indian Missions and not as bishop. At Leavenworth Miége's interest lay with the whites, not the Indians, while he annually received a liberal appropriation from the Lyons Association, from which quarter no help whatever was now being received by the vice-province. It was finally agreed between the Bishop and the vice-provincial (1859) that the yearly subsidy in question of five hundred dollars be assigned to St. Mary's until a loan of three thousand dollars obtained by the Bishop from Duerinck be paid off, after which time the disposition of the money was to be determined by the Father General. Finally, in 1863, Father Beckx applied this subsidy to the so-called *arca seminarii* or seminary fund for the support of the novices and scholastics of the vice-province.

¹⁹ Miége à Beckx, October 28, 1854. (AA).

coming in among us"; and he appealed likewise for clerical recruits to Propaganda, which on June 30, 1856, requested from Father Beckx an expression of opinion on the Bishop's petition. In the event there were always one or more Jesuit priests residing with the Bishop as long as he remained in Leavenworth, to say nothing of the direct ministerial service rendered to the settlers by St. Mary's through Father Dumortier and others. But in the first years of the vicariate there was not overmuch, so it would appear, to engage the time and energy of a young and enterprising bishop. In fact, Miége when in Rome in 1853 represented that the outlook for the vicariate was so unpromising that it ought to be suppressed. "The Archbishop of St. Louis," he informed the Father General in February, 1854, "has made me a proposition, namely, that he give me the half of his diocese and that I establish my see at St. Joseph and administer [from there] the Vicariate, in which there will not be much to do for some years to come. I answered him that having myself asked him for St. Joseph in order to have some occupation during the winter time, I would willingly accept it if he should agree to cede it to me as part of the Vicariate; but that I should not desire either St. Joseph as a see or the half of his diocese, which he had offered to me. As the holy Archbishop renewed his overtures on the question, I thought I ought to say a word to your Paternity about it." ²⁰ One may be confident that the Father General was not any more ready than the Vicar-apostolic to see the Society assume charge of a regularly organized diocese among the whites. As a matter of fact, when in 1855 the Second Diocesan Synod of St. Louis petitioned the Holy See to erect the vicariate-apostolic of the Indian country into a titular diocese with Miége as Ordinary, Father Beckx intervened successfully to have the measure postponed. A letter written by the Bishop to the Father General a few weeks before his removal to Leavenworth is illuminating on conditions in the vicariate at this juncture:

St. Mary's of the Potawatomes

July 4, 1855.

Here I am just back from a long trip to Nebraska, [which I undertook] to obtain more or less exact information regarding the Catholic population of this new Territory. I found Catholics almost everywhere but not in sufficient numbers to provide for the support of a resident priest among them. As the population goes on growing every day, I have accepted or bought lots in the principal little towns begun since last Autumn. These towns in Nebraska are Omaha City, Bellevue, Platteville, Kearney [Kearney] City, Nebraska City. I gave \$500 towards a church in Omaha City, where there is already a good number of Catholics, and I paid

²⁰ Miége à Beckx, February 8, 1854. (AA).

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two hundred dollars for 8 lots in Karney [Kearney] City. In the other places there were liberal donations of the necessary ground for church and schools.

The Omaha tribe, which last year occupied the lands on which these towns are being built, has reserved for itself 50 miles further into the interior a rich portion of land on which they wish to have schools kept by black-robos, so they say. They no longer want the Presbyterians, who have been with them for several years. The fund appropriated for their school is 14,000 dollars a year irrespective of the number of pupils. I have written to Father Murphy begging him to accept this offer for two reasons principally. 1° The school having a good income will give little trouble on the temporal side. 2° The Fathers being only 50 miles from the principal points where the whites are settling will easily be able to visit them and give them at least the strictly necessary instruction. Many Catholics are settling in the two new territories and I have no priests to give them. I have written to Ireland, France and Savoy for help. No answer yet. If the Society does not come to my aid, I see no other way than to take my gun and a mule and go and hide myself in some corner of the Rocky Mountains where it will be impossible for me to hear any more about the wants of Kansas and Nebraska. I have journeyed or run rather, by mule-steamer, you will of course understand, almost without interruption from mid-March to the end of June, visiting a good part of the two territories. Trouble, fatigue, embarrassment are never wanting in this sort of expedition; but all this would assuredly be nothing if the heart did not overflow with pain in consequence of the isolation and miseries of so many poor souls to whom the Vicar-Apostolic solely by himself can afford no relief.

The Vice-Province of Missouri, so I believe, has scarcely done for many years what it might have; but it is poor in subjects and cannot possibly assist me according to my needs. May I be permitted, Very Reverend Father, to ask you whether some of our flourishing provinces of Europe could not supply Kansas and Nebraska with a few missionaries for the salvation of the German and Irish population which is arriving among us. Such a proposition, however, must not be made to Reverend Father Ponza for he seems firmly resolved to take away from me Father Ponziglione, who has now been four years with the Osage. I have asked Reverend Father Murphy to answer him that if I am unfortunate enough not to be able to obtain either [Jesuit] Fathers or secular priests, I shall have to hold the five that I have to labor up and down the 14 degrees of latitude, to say nothing of the longitude. He can cry, make a fuss, do and say anything he pleases; I am more than determined to hear neither with the right ear nor the left, and I have with all that the firm hope that your Paternity will have the goodness to pardon me this whimsical sally, really pardonable only in a poor Vicar-Apostolic who allows himself to indulge it.

The excitement caused in Kansas Territory by the slavery question makes the Territory an object of attention on the part of the United States. The two parties are in contention over it and each is sending its contingent of immigrants. Everything sold by the Indians has been occupied a long

time back. All our plains and forests are now occupied by farms or new-born towns. The principal ones are Leavenworth, Delaware, Atchison, Doniphan on the Missouri; Laurence [Lawrence], Franklin, Lecompton, Benicia, Topeka, Fremont, Whitfield, Indianola, St. George, Manahatan [Manhattan], Pawnee, Reeder, Montgomery on the river of the Kants [Kansas]; Awsakee, Osawatomie, Iola, Nemaha, Jacksonville, Fort Scott on various small rivers of the territory.²¹ At Doniphan they are building a church, for which I have given 300 dollars. At Pawnee I paid 150 dollars for a few lots and gave out a contract for a small house and chapel of stone, which will cost 1300 dollars. At Leavenworth, which is and will be the best town of the whole territory, I have bought 23 lots for which I paid 1675 dollars. Moreover, at one mile from the town I bought 40 acres for 255 dollars. A house is in course of construction. Though of frame it will cost me 1100 dollars; a frame chapel which I am going to put up there as soon as the house is finished will come to 800 dollars and the stable will be an extra 300 dollars. As your Paternity sees, it is a good deal of money for a town which still counts only 900 inhabitants and six months of existence. There will be further embarrassments to face in order to obtain titles to the lots and claims purchased, for everything happens to be on prohibited land, that is to say, land on which the Government has forbidden the whites to settle. People to the number of 4000 or 5000 have squatted on it; the Government has strongly remonstrated, but has taken no effective measures to drive them off. This has encouraged others and I have been of the number, following the advice of the Fathers of the Mission and of numerous well-informed persons who have done the same as myself.²² We shall probably be given a quit-claim on payment of a little additional sum, which will satisfy the Government and leave us with the advantages of the first purchase.

Very Reverend Father Roothaan allowed me 500 dollars a year from the interest on a sum which a Belgian gentleman made over to him and which he [Roothaan] had allocated to the Vice-Province of Missouri. . . .

These 500 dollars have always been and always will be applied to the missions of the Society in the Vicariate. My expenses this year will be at least 8000 dollars and verily I am frightened over the coming year. Everything is yet to be done, to be created, so to speak, and if by the strictest economy of four years I had not succeeded in getting together a few thousand dollars which now draw me out of embarrassment, the post would not be

²¹ Many of these towns are now extinct. Cf. "Some Lost Town of Kansas," *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 12: 472-490.

²² For an account of the Delaware trust lands on which the city of Leavenworth was laid out in violation of a treaty with the Delaware tribe reserving them from preemption, cf. Andreas (ed.), *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 421. Squatters on the trust lands were eventually allowed to purchase their claims at a price fixed by the government. Evidently Bishop Miège realized that Indian tenure of the land had become impossible and that there was nothing unethical in securing an inchoate land-title which would according to every probability be later recognized as a valid one in law.

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tenable at all. A letter I wrote in April, if I am not mistaken, must have given the information your Paternity might wish to have in this matter. I hope that the allowance for last year, of which I have so far heard nothing, will make it possible for me to provide for the interests of the Vicariate. I am hardly preaching for myself when I speak in this manner. I am an ox or a horse which is merely breaking ground, nothing more. I wish to try to do good in order that my successor may have better days and more time to work for the salvation of souls.²³

Prior to Bishop Miége's arrival in Leavenworth the spiritual needs of the few Catholic whites settled in what is now the state of Kansas had been attended to from the Jesuit mission-centers. The Catholic soldiers at Fort Leavenworth were visited as early as 1836 from the Kickapoo Mission; those at Fort Scott were visited first from Sugar Creek and afterwards from the Osage Mission. In 1854 at the invitation of the commandant, Major Ogden, a father from St. Mary's began to hold services once a month at Fort Riley, where a number of German and Irish soldiers were stationed. In 1855, when cholera broke out at the fort among the soldiers and the workmen engaged there in building a new barracks, the visiting priest, probably Father Duerinck, was indefatigable in charitable attentions to the sick. The cholera was of a particularly virulent type, claiming in the short space of ten days a hundred victims, among them Major Ogden himself. When the scourge had passed away, the soldiers made up a purse of two hundred and sixty dollars which they presented in token of gratitude to the visiting

²³ Miége à Beckx, July 4, 1855. (AA). An important feature of Bishop Miége's episcopal ministry was his confirmations. Confirmations administered by him at St. Mary's numbered as follows: 1851, 175; 1854, 94; 1859, 184; 1862, 121; 1866, 138; 1867, 39; 1868, 50; 1871, 109; 1872, 50; 1873, 50; 1874, 48. The names of those receiving the sacrament reveal the varied complexion of the population in and around St. Mary's. The list for 1859 includes the names of Juliana Bruneau (residing with J. Lassely), Aloysius Chochkikabat, a Kickapoo, William, a Sioux, adopted son of Basil Grimard, Alexander Rencontre, a Sioux, Mathilda Pratt, Archangela Allen, Emilia Beaubien, Maria Burnett, one-time adopted daughter of Charles Beaubien, Josephine and Maria Higbee, David, Peter and Theresa Hardin, Maria Wilmet, Julia Beaubien, Maria Joanna Burnett, Aloysius Wabansi. The group confirmed at St. Marys, May 4, 1862, included the following students at the mission school: Francis Palmer, Dionysius Riordan, Theodore David,—Loughton, Francis Vuillemet, Louis Oliver,—Darling, Peter Mousse (Kwokitchis) and John Baptist Leclerc. Two Negro girls, servants of Francis Bourbonnais, made their first communion at St. Mary's, January 6, 1861. Marianna, "a free negress," made her first communion also at St. Mary's, February 3, 1861. On June 27, 1854, twenty were confirmed in the Church of the Sacred Heart at Soldier Creek, among them Peter Mann, John B. Letendre, James Ayot, David Vieu and Anthony Delaurier. *First Communion and Confirmation Register, 1851-1887*. (F).

priest from St. Mary's. Subsequent to Bishop Miége's departure from St. Mary's the country along the upper Kansas, Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers began to receive small knots of Catholic settlers, who were to form the nuclei of future parishes. The Catholic ministry in central Kansas may be said to have been put on an organized basis about 1859 with the arrival at St. Mary's of Father Louis Dumortier, who was to identify himself with itinerant missionary service among the whites as Gailland identified himself with a similar service on behalf of the Indians.

In eastern Kansas the task of ministering to the Catholic immigrants fell to the diocesan priests and to the Benedictines. In 1858 Fathers Heimann and Defouri, with a Jesuit, Father Converse, were stationed at the Leavenworth cathedral. In the spring of 1855 the Benedictines began to attend the Catholics settled in and around Doniphan on the Missouri above Leavenworth. They built St. John's Church at Doniphan in 1856 and a church at Atchison in 1860, where in later years they were to erect a splendid abbey and college. Lecompton, Wyandotte and Lawrence had their resident priests before 1860 while in Leavenworth a second parish, St. Joseph's, was organized for the German population.

The visitation of his immense vicariate led Bishop Miége north into Nebraska Territory and west into what is now Colorado. In 1860, with Brother John Kilcullin as companion, he travelled in his own conveyance over the plains to Denver. "Our Right Rev. Bishop is expected back here about the 27th inst.," wrote the diocesan priest, Father Theodore Heimann, to De Smet, June 18, 1860. "One of his mules died on the road—he fears that his carriage—so famous for age and journeys will not be strong enough to bring him back here [Leavenworth City]. He has visited the Gregory diggings. On the 4th he met the Catholics of Denver City to devise means for the building of a church in that place. Matters look very bright, says the Bishop, who intended to start for Colorado City on the 6th inst. and to be back in Denver in about twelve days." ^{23a}

^{23a} (A). According to Defouri, Miége was in Colorado again in 1865, visiting on this occasion the gold diggings of Pike's Peak. The same author relates the following incident which apparently occurred when Miége was in Colorado. "One day they were surprised by the arrival in the camp of a lonely stranger, with beard unshaven, wearing a summer linen coat and carrying a gun upon his shoulder. The stranger was tall and muscular and there is no denying that they felt ill at ease. He spoke French to them and they were glad to find an American with whom they could converse. He asked them who they were, whither they were going, why they were camping there instead of being on their journey while the weather was fine. He asked them many more questions and thus rendered them uneasy. They told him all. He finally smiled and told them he was acquainted

Five years before, in 1855, Bishop Miége had administered confirmation in Omaha, apparently the only occasion on which he visited the future metropolis of Nebraska. The Second Provincial Council of St. Louis, which convened in 1855, proposed to the Holy See the separation of the two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the former to be erected into a diocese with Miége as Ordinary, the latter to be erected into a vicariate-apostolic with De Smet as incumbent. Neither recommendation was acted upon except that two years later Nebraska Territory was organized into a vicariate though not under De Smet. This measure was executed in deference to the wishes not only of the Second Provincial Council of St. Louis but also of Miége. In 1856 he represented to the Propaganda that it was impracticable for him to attend to Nebraska Territory, which needed absolutely its own vicar-apostolic. Later, in January, 1857, he wrote: "I was able to send only one priest to Nebraska; I haven't another one to send and yet there are many thousands of Catholics in those parts." In 1858 Nebraska City was being attended from Doniphan in Kansas Territory and Omaha from St. John's Settlement in Nebraska, where Reverend Jeremiah Trecy, the only resident priest in the upper territory, had built St. Patrick's Church. How anxious Bishop Miége was to have Nebraska Territory detached from his vicariate appears from a letter which he addressed early in 1857 to the General:

I wrote last year to the Propaganda that it was utterly impossible for me to attend to the other part of the Vicariate, which is called Nebraska, and I ended the letter by saying: "Since the necessity of assigning a vicar-apostolic to these parts has been made known at Rome, I am not bound before God to answer for the souls who reside there; the responsibility is on those who fail to afford relief though they are able to do so." So far I have received no answer to this letter nor do I hear that a vicar apostolic has been appointed. If they only realized or could realize at Rome the pressing need of the situation as I know it to be, I do not doubt that they would apply an immediate and effective remedy. If your Paternity could say a good word for me and Nebraska to his Eminence Cardinal Barnabo, he would perform a most meritorious and merciful deed.²⁴

with their bishop, etc." The visitor turned out to be Bishop Miége himself. James H. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887), p. 47. Miége, as vicar-apostolic of territory subsequently taken over by Bishop Lamy, figures in Willa Cather, *Death Comes to the Archbishop*. For a letter of De Smet to Governor Gilpin of Colorado, who had asked for Catholic priests to care for Mexicans settled on a large estate of his in the San Luis Valley, Colorado, cf. CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1523. For Miége's own account of his visitation of Colorado in 1860 cf. *Mid-America*, 18: 266 et seq. (1936).

²⁴ Miége à Beckx, January 12, 1857. (AA). In 1855 Bishop Miége confirmed in Omaha, this being apparently his first and only visit to the town. He was in-

The representations made by Miége to Propaganda had their effect. Early in 1857 Nebraska Territory was erected into a separate vicariate-apostolic, which Miége was directed to administer pending the appointment of a vicar. Two years later, in May, 1859, the Right Reverend James O'Gorman, formerly prior of the Trappist abbey of New Melleray, was consecrated the first Vicar-apostolic of Nebraska. The upper portion of the Indian Territory, since organized into the states of Nebraska, Wyoming, the two Dakotas and Montana (east of the Rockies), was thus withdrawn from Bishop Miége's jurisdiction.

Ever since Miége fixed his residence at Leavenworth he had ceased to concern himself with the Indians, giving all his attention to the rapidly growing white population of the vicariate. "It was Father Duerinck's duty," he wrote to Father Beckx in July, 1858, "to make known to superiors the real state of his affairs, not my duty, whose interests for two years back have been entirely separated from those of the Mission."²⁵ In fact the Bishop, "ever since he fixed his see at Leavenworth," so Father Druyts informed the General in 1859, had "done nothing for the Indian Missions, neither for those depending on the Vice-Province, nor any other."²⁶ Apparently the Bishop was of the mind that with the Indians, at least the Osage and Potawatomi, cared for by the Jesuits, his own services and those of whatever priests he could summon to his aid were necessarily to be bestowed on the groups of Catholic immigrants now beginning to take shape in various parts of Kansas. Meanwhile, one or other Jesuit father was associated with Miége in pastoral duties at the Leavenworth cathedral. His episcopal house in that city was in fact regarded as at least a quasi-Jesuit residence, and as such was regularly entered in the official register of the Missouri Vice-province beginning with the issue of 1857. In that year Father Beshor or Bouchard was residing in Leavenworth; he was followed the succeeding year by Father James Converse. In 1859-1860 there was no Jesuit father with the Bishop; but in 1861 he was having the services of Father Francis X. De Coen and, in 1862, those, also, of Brother John Lawless. Stationed at Leavenworth in subsequent years were the Jesuit fathers Laigneil, De Meester, Coghlan, Corbett and Schultz, the last named being withdrawn in 1873. "Ours in Leavenworth," wrote

formed by the territorial governor, Cummings, that two lots had been offered for a Catholic church and that more could be procured if necessary. "Being well pleased with the site of Omaha, I promised to send them a priest as soon as possible and meanwhile I requested Father Tracy of St. John's [now Jackson] opposite Sioux City to do what he could in Omaha." Cited in J. Sterling Morton, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1913), 2:458.

²⁵ Miége ad Beckx, July 26, 1858. (AA).

²⁶ Druyts à Beckx, January 17, 1859. (AA).

Father Druyts in 1861, "are not in a normal position. Fortunately, Father De Coen and Brother Lawless are excellent religious." The point was that the Leavenworth residence, being primarily a bishop's headquarters, did not afford its Jesuit occupants adequate facilities for the observance of their rule. "Bishop Miége has often asked me," said Father Coosemans in 1869, "to establish at Leavenworth a permanent residence, which would be independent of his own. But the consultors, to whom I submitted his request on two different occasions, showed themselves opposed to the project. This is why I have given it up altogether."²⁷

§ 3. BISHOP MIÉGE'S RESIGNATION

Within two years of his consecration Bishop Miége was making efforts to resign his vicariate. "What is to be done," he wrote to the Jesuit vicar-general in April, 1853, apropos of the impending opening up of Kansas to the whites, "with this horde of persons of all nationalities who are going to fling themselves on this territory? Surely civilized folk would never have thought of me as a vicar-apostolic. I believe God is permitting all this to put me back in my place. I feel within me a very sincere desire to profit by this permission, the more so as the Vice-Province will scarcely be willing or able to furnish priests for places where they will be needed. And I am so poorly made to command Jesuits. What would be the situation if I had to get along with secular priests? I am hoping that all these considerations, without taking other things into account, will smooth the way."²⁸

Ten years later, in 1863, Miége again expressed his desire to be relieved of his episcopal charge "on account of the impossibility, physical and moral," in which he found himself "of doing justice to the duties of this high position."²⁹ In 1866 and again in 1868 he renewed his efforts in the same direction. "I take advantage of the occasion of good Father Keller's journey [to Rome]," he addressed Father Beckx in September, 1868, "to commend anew to your Paternity the humble petition which I submitted to you now nearly two years ago. I no longer have either strength or courage and the good cause must necessarily suffer from the incompetence of the bishop in a country where the greatest vigor and the most ardent zeal are absolutely necessary."³⁰

²⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, May 4, 1869. (AA).

²⁸ Miége au Vicaire-General, April 15, 1853. (AA).

²⁹ Miége à Beckx, May 10, 1863. (AA).

³⁰ Miége à Beckx, September 20, 1868. (AA). Father Keller, writing to Bishop Miége from Rome December 31, 1868, informed him that he had delivered his letters to the Father General and made the desired representations as to the state of the prelate's health. "If indeed it were in my power to do so, I would deliver your Reverence from the burden at once. But, as I wrote back to you on another

Coosemans expressed himself to the General as being in favor of the Bishop's petition. "He is very anxious to be relieved of this charge. I am convinced that his resignation would make not only for his own happiness, but also for the good of the Society and perhaps even for the good of religion in these parts. For the Catholic population is growing daily and requires secular priests for its spiritual needs. Religious alone cannot suffice for the work."

The following undated petition appears to have been addressed by Miége to the Congregation of the Propaganda:

1. The Sacred Congregation is perfectly aware with what reluctance he [the petitioner] undertook the episcopal office unexpectedly imposed upon him and with what prayerful insistence he attempted to decline it. He finally undertook it through a motive of obedience as there was question at the time only of the aborigines, who were to be brought from the worship of idols to the Catholic faith. But now this territory, which was bought by the Government in 1854, begins to be occupied by new settlers from every quarter of the globe, who daily grow in numbers and, with numerous cities and towns already built, have increased now to 500,000. The aborigines, on the other hand, who number 8000 at the most, are so falling away by degrees that they will apparently disappear altogether in a short time. There is no reason therefore why the Vicariate among the heathen should still be retained. Rather should there be erected, in the judgment of the Sacred Congregation, an episcopal see with a diocese of definite limits assigned to it.

2. But whether it be decided to maintain the Vicariate as it now is or to erect a diocese, either charge appears to be an excessive burden on our shoulders and must be resigned. As the result of continual labors of almost twenty years we are now broken down in health and with the ailments we have already contracted aggravating with old age, our health must continue to deteriorate day by day. Moreover, so broad are the limits of the Vicariate that they extend 600 miles from east to west and 300 from north to south; hence it seems impossible [for us] in this state of feeble health to make the customary visitations, undertake painfully long journeys and do whatever else is necessary *ex officio*, these things all requiring good, sound health.³¹

3. In addition to all this, the secular priests engaged in the Vicariate are all young in years and well minded to discharge their ministry faithfully; but they need a Pastor to set them an example and at the same time labor strenuously with them in everything, a thing not to be hoped for except from a bishop still in the prime of life and physical strength.

occasion, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda does not seem at all inclined to allow this and hence there is further need of patience until it shall please Divine Providence to arrange otherwise."

³¹ Miége's vicariate extended west to the mountains until the erection in 1868 of the Vicariate-apostolic of Denver.

4. Finally, there seems to be no necessity for the head of this Vicariate to belong to the Society of Jesus. The Society has only two missions among the natives, one among the Potawatomes and the other among the Osage; and these missions will soon be reduced to the level of the normal civil life [of the country]. Members of other religious families in number greater than the Jesuits are exercising the sacred ministry. Hence no inconvenience can ensue, especially as the assent of the [Jesuit] General will be obtained, should one who is not a member of the Society succeed [the petitioner] in the charge of the Vicariate or Diocese.³²

Meantime, in 1859, Bishop Miège had represented to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, the possibility of his obtaining financial aid in France toward building a new cathedral. "The Abbé Pillon, editor of the *Rosier de Marie*, encouraged me in the hope that he will obtain from his subscribers enough money for building a fine sanctuary in honor of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. He suggests that I visit France, where I should obtain considerable alms. I leave the decision to you." The prefect, after conferring on the matter with Father Beckx, declined to sanction the proposed visit to Europe. Some years later the Bishop was enabled to begin an imposing cathedral of Romanesque design on the southwest corner of Fifth and Kiowa Streets. James F. Meline, a visitor to Leavenworth in 1866, saw the church in process of construction. "On a high and commanding site a Catholic cathedral of substantial brick is now going up and is almost ready for roofing. Judging by the eye I would say its size was one hundred and eighty feet by ninety."³³ Excavations for the edifice were begun in the spring of 1864, the corner-stone was laid in September of the same year, and the finished cathedral was dedicated December 8, 1868, under the title of the Immaculate Conception. The cost was between one hundred and fifty thousand and one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The contractor was James McGonigle, who arrived in Leavenworth in 1857 from his birth-place in the immediate vicinity of the Giants' Causeway in Ireland. He went to work at once at three dollars a day of ten hours, and in a few months had risen to be a builder and contractor on his own account.

* I arrived in Leavenworth May 6, 1857, where I made the acquaintance of Bishop Miegé, whose friendship was given to me and which is one of the most pleasant memories of my life. My business association, con-

³² A copy of the document, in Latin and without address or date, is in the Missouri Province Archives.

³³ James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback, Santa Fe and back, A Summer Tour through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and New Mexico, in the year 1866* (New York, 1867), p. 2.

sisting in the construction of the cathedral from the foundation to its entire completion, was mutually satisfactory. I had a strong affection for him when living and his memory is cherished with great appreciation. . . . The Bishop possessed an artistic and architectural mind, which the great work he accomplished shows. The architectural proportions of the cathedral are perfect. The sanctuary is the largest of any cathedral in this country. He often remarked that he wanted a large one so that the largest ceremonies of the church could be held with comfort. Bishop Miede secured the best fresco artist in the United States, Leon Pomarède. The figures in fresco are perfect and even today the expressions and colors are good. The stained glass figures show that they were made by a first-class artist, as the colors are as fresh and clear today as when executed thirty-seven years ago. The cathedral is of the Romanesque style of architecture and has no superior of that style in this country. The size of the cathedral is 94 feet front, and 200 feet long and about 65 feet high to square of building. The towers when completed will be about 190 feet high.⁸⁴

Meline visiting Leavenworth in 1866 saw the town in the heyday of its prosperity. "Of hotels there is no lack and Leavenworth, too, has its Tremont, Everett, Planters and Astor. . . . Immense numbers of teams and wagons for transportation of merchandise from government stores in Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska and Montana are fitted out here, giving employment to a small army of drivers, merchants and contractors."⁸⁵ Leavenworth in 1866 was claiming a population of twenty-five thousand. Then came the collapse of its short-lived boom, the town being outstripped by Kansas City in the race for commercial ascendancy in the region marked by the big bend of the Missouri. But in the sixties Leavenworth promised to develop into metropolitan proportions. Bishop Miège had unbounded faith in it as he showed by building his cathedral on so imposing a scale. The unexpected turn of tide in the fortunes of the town was a heavy reverse for the prelate, who soon found a crushing debt of some hundred thousand dollars weighing on the cathedral.⁸⁶ As there were no prospects of paying it off without help from outside, he asked in the fall of 1868 to be excused from attendance at the impending Vatican Council in order that he might solicit aid in person from the Catholics in Europe. "I consider this absolutely necessary in the circumstances in which I find myself and I hope that our Divine Master will inspire you [Father Beckx] as also Cardinal Barnabo to grant me this favor which duty alone constrains me to ask." Though Miège was not excused from attendance at the Vatican Council, he was permitted on its dissolution to visit South

⁸⁴ *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 156, 159.

⁸⁵ Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ This is the figure given by McGonigle, *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 156.

America, where he spent two years appealing to the generosity of the Latin-Americans and with noteworthy result. He brought back with him, according to report, some fifty thousand dollars. His travels were not without risk to life; on crossing the Andes he was blindfolded as was also the mule which he rode and which was led by a guide.³⁷

Before leaving the United States in the summer of 1869 Bishop Miége had named Father Michael Corbett, a Jesuit member of his household in Leavenworth, temporary administrator of the vicariate with the understanding that, if his own resignation were accepted, he would relieve Father Corbett of the charge and appoint another administrator not of the Society. Father Coosemans, the provincial, would have wished another arrangement. "Bishop Miége, who thinks of sailing for Europe in September or October, wishes to make Father Corbett the administrator of his Vicariate during his absence. I offered my objections and suggested that he name rather a secular priest or the Superior of the Benedictines, for apart from the fact that this nomination seems to be contrary to the spirit of the Society, I am afraid that the evil of a Jesuit Vicar-Apostolic in our Province may be perpetuated if Bishop Miége should happen to be shipwrecked or succeed in ridding himself of his charge."³⁸ Father Corbett, unaccustomed to executive tasks, found his position as administrator a trying one. "It is useless to tell you," he wrote to Coosemans, "how much I desire to be withdrawn from here."³⁹ Father Coosemans in turn informed the General in July, 1870, that the dogma of papal infallibility having been proclaimed, as he had just read in the papers, Bishop Miége ought to return at once to his vicariate where his presence was sorely needed.⁴⁰ The problem was solved by the appointment of a coadjutor to Miége in the person of the Benedictine, Father Louis M. Fink, a Bavarian, who on June 4, 1871, was consecrated Bishop of Eucarpia *in partibus* in the Benedictine church of St. Joseph in Chicago. It was the first episcopal consecration to take place in that city. Four months later the

³⁷ Miége à Beckx, September 20, 1868. (AA). *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 158.

³⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, 1868. (AA).

³⁹ Coosemans on returning from a visitation of St. Mary's in 1869 stopped at Leavenworth, where he found Corbett in great distress over Bishop Miége's finances. There were heavy obligations and no money at hand to meet them or pay off depositors. Coosemans hoped the Bishop would secure aid in Europe, "otherwise the sooner he returned the better it will be for his own credit and also, I believe, that of Religion." Coosemans à Beckx, October 19, 1869. (AA). "During Father Corbett's administration of the diocese he exercised great ability and sound judgment and retired from his responsibility having given satisfaction to the priests and people of the diocese." James McGonigle in *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 9: 159.

⁴⁰ Coosemans à Beckx, July 9, 1870. (AA).

church which witnessed it was swept away in the Great Fire that became historic in the annals of Chicago.

The idea of securing a coadjutor to Bishop Miége with a view to relieving the situation in the vicariate would appear to have originated with Father Beckx. At any rate, in a communication to the prelate under date of July 1, 1869, he expressed a desire to aid him in his difficulties by resorting to this expedient. He was unwilling to see a Jesuit appointed to the dignity; but he counseled the Bishop to gather data concerning some competent priest outside of the Society and propose him to the Sacred Congregation.⁴¹ When Bishop Fink's appointment was announced, the General expressed to Miége his keen satisfaction over the news:

I received your letter with great interior joy on the very day on which a year ago the decree of Infallibility was confirmed. But how things have changed since that time! First of all, I rejoice with you and sincerely congratulate you on having at last got a Coadjutor such as you have desired, a man religious, prudent, pious, full of apostolic zeal, knowing the country, eager to go ahead with the good works you have taken in hand and able to bring them to a happy issue. I hope that with your joint efforts you will devise means for gradually relieving the necessities which render you so anxious. But I do not think it proper for you to contemplate giving up your place before the debts have been paid or at least so provided for that they will not seem to be a burden upon your successor. . . . I should like to learn at some opportune time to what Province or house you would prefer to retire after you have given up your position and this I should wish to know in order that I may meet your wishes as far as in me lies.⁴²

The funds collected by Miége in his South American trip enabled him to meet a large part of his obligations. In a document signed at Leavenworth, June 5, 1874, by Bishop Fink at the request of Bishop Miége, the former, after witnessing that a considerable part (*partem notabilem*) of the debt on the cathedral had been discharged, engaged himself to make every effort to pay off the remainder. A few months later, November 8, 1874, Pius IX in an audience granted to Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, accepted Miége's resignation. The decree was forwarded to him at Leavenworth on the 16th of the same month and was received in December of the same year, 1874. Immediately on its receipt he bade farewell to his episcopal city and resumed the long sought for status of a simple member of the Jesuit province of Missouri. No one could have managed his relinquishment of a high ecclesiastical office with more effective secrecy. The Coadjutor-bishop

⁴¹ Beckx ad Miége, July 1, 1869. (AA).

⁴² Beckx ad Miége, 1871. (AA).

was absent and no one at the episcopal residence was aware of what had occurred until Bishop Miége was on his way to St. Louis. Father Defouri, the diocesan priest stationed at the Leavenworth cathedral in its early years, ever afterwards preserved with jealous care the simple written message which he received from Bishop Miége on this occasion. "Dear friend, when you will receive this letter I will be far away. Thank you for your kindness to me and pray for me. J. B. Miége."⁴³ The episcopal cross was missing from the signature.

At a meeting of the Catholics of Leavenworth held on January 10, 1875, resolutions were adopted expressing their deep regret over the departure of their beloved Bishop "from a diocese which has so richly reaped the benefit of his untiring zeal, his fervent piety and his keen penetrating sagacity exercised during more than twenty years of arduous duty which had brought out of a chaotic wilderness a living tangible spiritual power." The resolutions declared that esteem and regard for him were by no means confined to his coreligionists: "Our love and respect for him as Catholics is shared by the people of Kansas generally, who in the past twenty years have learned to love him for his sterling worth and energy in the upbuilding of the material interests of the State; his devotion to its people and to their interest and honor during the many struggles that have marked the history of our growing commonwealth."⁴⁴ Miége's long years of untiring labor for the upbuilding of the Catholic Church in Kansas had indeed made a deep impression on the laity. The clergy associated with him were not behindhand in recognition of his worth as a man and his achievement as a bishop. "He is a business man," wrote Father Defouri, "with the highest attainments of the heart and mind. . . . Everything he left behind him was a monument; but he never referred to anything that might flatter him. He worked for God and from God he expected the reward." In view of his long years of intimacy with the Bishop, the testimony of Father Paul Ponziglione, the Jesuit Osage missionary, is of particular significance:

It was my lot to accompany Father Miego in many of his travels, especially when he went to give confirmation, and I always found him kind, amiable and in all respects edifying. At that time we generally traveled in parties of three or four together and he would always show himself as sociable and accommodating as one could be. Once we had picked up a place for camping he would go out with his double-barreled gun and look around for some game and as he was a good hunter he always would supply us

⁴³ Cited in Defouri to Ponziglione, May 25, 1884. (A).

⁴⁴ The resolutions were signed by D. W. Thomas as president, and P. Geraughty as secretary of the meeting. Twelve other signatures, including that of James McGonigle, are affixed to the document. (A).

with fresh venison. Ostentation he had none and far from claiming any distinction on account of his high character he would help us in cooking the meals and would go through all the drudgery of camp life. In spite of all the distractions indispensable with those who are bound to be so much out of doors, he was always very careful to give due time to mental prayer and to the recital of his breviary. Charity, the characteristic virtue of a bishop, was eminent in him. The poor knew it and were very familiar with him. At home as well as abroad he was always willing to listen to them, to give them advice and to divide with them whatever he had, so that the calls he used to receive from such people were very frequent, for they knew they were welcome at his house. Kansas will remember him for years to come. The Cathedral, the Academy, the Hospital and the schools he put up are standing monuments that speak for him more brilliantly than any tongue can do. But of all the monuments he leaves the Christianity which he established in Kansas will be that which more eloquently than any other [thing] shall speak of him to future generations.⁴⁵

Bishop Miége on retiring from Leavenworth doffed all his episcopal insignia and became known merely as Father Miége. His first assignment was to the office of spiritual director of the Jesuit seminary opened a few years previously at Woodstock in Maryland. From there he was called back in 1877 to the West to become the first president of Detroit College, later Detroit University. In 1880 he returned to his former post of spiritual director at Woodstock College, where he died in his eightieth year, January 21, 1884.

§ 4. THE POTAWATOMI TREATIES AND THE MISSION

The movement for the breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve on the lines indicated above (Chap. XXVIII, § 10) culminated in a treaty made at the agency, November 15, 1861, between the "chiefs, braves and headmen of the Potawatomi nation" and William W. Ross, acting as commissioner on the part of the United States. The treaty was ratified by the senate April 15, 1862 and a few days later, April 19, was proclaimed by President Lincoln. Each chief was to receive a section of land; each headman, a half-section; each other head of a family, a quarter section; and each person not included under the foregoing categories, eighty acres of land. Undivided quantities were to be set out for such among the Indians as still desired to hold their land in common while the unallotted portion of the reserve was to be sold for the benefit of the tribe. Moreover, the treaty provided that St. Mary's Catholic Mission and the Baptist Mission be each allotted a half-section or three hundred and twenty acres of land. Said article six:

⁴⁵ Ponziglione to Bushart, May 7, 1884. (A).

There shall be selected by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs three hundred and twenty acres of land, including the church, school-houses and fields of the St. Mary's Catholic Mission, but not including the buildings and enclosures occupied and used by persons other than those connected with the Mission, without the consent of such persons, which shall be conveyed by the Secretary of the Interior to John F. Diel [Diels], John Summacker [Schoenmakers], and M. Gerillain [Gaillard] as trustees for the use of the society under whose patronage and control the church and school have been conducted within the last fourteen years; on condition, however, that so long as the Pottawatomie Nation shall continue to occupy its present reservation or any portion thereof, the said land shall be used and its products devoted exclusively to the maintenance of a school and church for their benefit. And there shall be reserved and conveyed in like manner and upon like conditions, three hundred and twenty acres of land, including the Baptist Mission buildings and enclosures, such conveyance to be made to such persons as may be designated by the Baptist Board of Missions."⁴⁶

The treaty, though acceptable to the majority of the tribe, had not gone through without protest, especially on the part of the Prairie Band. Opposition to it was led by the eloquent Shawguee. Yet the name of this Indian orator and chief was the first signed to the treaty as it was also signed to the subsequent treaty of 1867. Father Gaillard's account of Shawguee's stirring invective against the alleged injustice of the government's requiring the Indians to sell their lands and move to another reserve deserves reproduction. He seems to have been present at the council, which was held at the agency.

On the day appointed for the meeting, all the Indians were at the Agency, sitting on the sod. After the preliminary preparation, Commissioner Dole arose, and said: "My friends, by order of the President I have called you to this meeting to induce you to sectionize your land and come under the law as citizens of the United States; or to sell out here entirely, and take in exchange another reservation, which shall be assigned to you farther

⁴⁶ Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2: 827. The treaty was amended in 1866 so as to extend its provisions to all heads of families and adults without distinction of sex. Kappler, *op. cit.*, 2: 916. A Potawatomi delegation was in Washington at the time the treaty of 1861 was ratified. "1862, April 2. Today six of the Potawatomes in company with Major Ross started for Washington to have the treaty ratified in Congress. They were: the chief Mionio, Hygie, Ben Bertrand, John Tipton, George Young, Wiwasy, Medard Beaubien, Louis Ogee, J. Bourassa." Duerinck's Diary I. (F). According to Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1338, the treaty of 1861 was concluded at the Potawatomi agency on Cross Creek near Rossville. For a while the agency was at St. Marys, certainly so in 1869, when George W. Fisher attended a payment there. *Kans. Hist. Coll.*, 14: 552. A small stone building still occupied and standing near the college buildings on the west continues to be pointed out as the old agency house.

west." Hereupon Shahgwee [Shawguee] came to greet the delegates: all eyes were on him. He is painted, wears a feather cap; he has broad shoulders and high breast, that gives his lungs and the magnitude of his heart free and easy play. His full Indian attire adds solemnity to the circumstances. Then standing in front of the delegation our speaker said: "Gentlemen of the delegation, I too come before you to speak in the name of my fellow Pottowattomies: I tell you, Messrs. Commissioners, we cannot accept either of these propositions; we are not prepared to sectionize our land and come under the law; it is only now we begin to see into the habits of the white men. Were I to make that step now, the whites would immediately surround me by the hundreds, and by a thousand artifices get hold of my property; like so many leeches they would suck my blood, until I should be dead of exhaustion. No, we are not advanced enough in civilization to become citizens." "But then the laws will protect you," said Mr. Dole. "Ah, the law protect me!" answered Shahgwee; "the law protects him that understands it; but to the poor and ignorant like the Indians it is not a shield of protection; on the contrary it is a cloak to cover the lawgiver's malice." The Commissioner replied: "If you do not think proper to become citizens, then choose the other alternative given you; sell out to the Government this reservation and purchase another farther west, where you will be unmolested by the whites; we will pay you well." "You will pay me well! Ah, not all your gold can buy from us this our sweet home, the nearest to the graves of our ancestors. Here we have been born, here we have grown up and reached manhood, here we shall die. But ye white men, why are you so covetous, so ravenous of this my poor limited home? Behold with what liberality I treated thee. I was once the undisputed owner of that vast region, which lies around the lakes and between the great rivers; I ceded them to thee for this paltry reservation in the barren west. I gave to thee Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and thou begrudgest me this little spot, on which I am allowed to rest and labor! Is this thy return to my beneficence? Is this the character of thy mercy? Thou hast driven my forefathers from the shores of the Atlantic; are you going to pursue me until I disappear in the waters of the Pacific? Oh! for God's sake have mercy on me; cease to hunt me from desert to desert like a wild beast. Show us barbarians that civilization has softened your hearts as well as enlightened your minds." Hereupon Commissioner Dole reminded the speaker that the President wished them for their own good either to sectionize the land or move away from Kansas. Shahgwee [Shawguee] answered: "I do not thank the President for such a desire; I think we know our interests as well as the President: when he is enjoying himself with his friends, what does he care about us poor, benighted, forlorn Indians? One thing I wonder at, that the President, who should be like a rock, immovable in his mind and convictions, changes so often and so quickly. To-day he thinks and says the contrary of yesterday. On the same subject he speaks one thing to me and another to you. The President told me, when he assigned me this reservation, I remember it well, he told me that this land should be my last and permanent home. What business has he to tell me to change my abode? This place

is mine: I can leave it or keep it as I please." Thereupon one of the delegates remarked that this country being settled by the whites as well as by the Indians, "it is but right that in our regulation we consult their wishes; otherwise there will be no peace, no harmony between the two races." Shahgwee [Shawguee] replied: "A pretty thing this is. Suppose a stranger comes into your home, and declares himself dissatisfied with the way your domestic affairs are managed, would you listen to his whims? What have we to do with the whites that are settling among us? If our manner of acting displeases them, why do they come in our way? Let them allow us to manage our own affairs, and we will let them manage their own." Here Com. Dole called the speaker's attention to the division of parties that were among them. "You were once," said he, "a great nation, formidable to your enemies. The name of Pottowattomy was a terror to the Sioux and the Osages; unite once more; reconcile the different parties for your common interests, and you will be again a great and happy people." Shahgwee [Shawguee] quickly retorted: "You have the brass to exhort us to peace and union, whilst at home you take up arms against each other and fight to the knife. The South is arrayed against the North, the son fights against the father; the brother against the brother. Your country is turned into one vast battlefield; and those rich plains that once produced so abundant crops are laid waste and reddened with the blood of American citizens. Sir, restore peace and union among yourselves, before you come and preach it to us." These words provoked Com. Dole, who betrayed his emotion. He quickly arose and said: "Whether you like it or no, you *must* sign the treaty." The orator, no less excited and indignant, several times repeated the words, "you *must*, you *must*," adding, "this is an imperious command;" then in a doleful tone he said to the Commissioner: "Ah! thou art the strongest; I am the weakest." After which, turning himself and casting an angry look at the young men seated on the sod, in a thundering voice he said: "Ye braves of the Pottowattomy nation, why do you not rise; but no, the braves are all dead; you are but mere children."⁴⁷

By the authorities of St. Mary's Mission the wording of article six of the treaty of 1861 was felt to be unsatisfactory, as not definitely guaranteeing to them a title in fee-simple to the allotted half-section. "This [the grant of the half-section]," wrote Father Coosemans August 21, 1862, "is so worded in the treaty that our Fathers might be subject in the future to many quibblings and perhaps to the loss of lands,

⁴⁷ WL, 6:78. Commissioner Dole was in Kansas in 1860 and apparently attended one of the Indian councils which preceded the signing of the treaty. However, Shawguee's reference to the Civil War as then in progress dates his "talk" sometime between the spring of 1861 and November 15 of the same year, when the treaty was signed. Whether or not Dole was in Kansas in 1861 has not been ascertained. Possibly Dole is mistakenly named in Gaillard's account for some other official. Gaillard's version of Shawguee's "talk" probably amplifies freely the orator's actual words.

improvements, buildings etc.”⁴⁸ Gailland in his ms. *History of St. Mary's Mission* ventures the opinion that the article in its actual form was probably inserted in bad faith to the prejudice of the mission and this view appears to have been shared by De Smet writing in 1862: “St. Mary's Mission is placed in danger by conditions and quibbles which the Government Agent caused to be put in the last treaty.”⁴⁹

In his anxiety to secure an interpretation of the article in question Father Diels addressed a communication to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole:

1st. It is admitted, I believe, on all hands that our Mission has done much, very much, towards improving the condition of the Pottawatomies.

2nd. In endeavoring to effect this good, we have expended much money and labor, in building a church without any assistance from the Government, and in erecting, at our own cost, several buildings, enclosing fields, setting out orchards etc. without any compensation, except the scanty allowance of \$50.00 and of late years of \$75.00 per annum, for clothing, boarding and educating, throughout the year, each boy and girl sent to our schools.

3rd. This we have done voluntarily and cheerfully, and this we should gladly continue to do if we are not prevented by untoward circumstances. But to be able to do this well, we should have to expend before long several thousand dollars, in addition to the expenses already made, since our fences are mostly worn out and our housing for dormitories and school purpose[s] is insufficient. Now, to be justified to incur these necessary expenses, we should be sure that either the land and improvements are to be our own, or at least, that we shall be duly paid for the improvements made, in concurrence with the views of the U. S. Government, for the benefit of the Indians. For these considerations we should deem it a great favor to be allowed, with the consent of the Government, instead of accepting the grant as a gift with a title that might be disputed or give rise to difficulties, rather to purchase it at the rate of \$1.25 per acre from the Indians, who at the first signing of the Treaty had expressly given it to us *in fee-simple* and who even now, together with their agent, understand the present Article 6th, as intended not to check but to encourage our operations.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, August 21, 1862. (AA). “1862. April 29. The Washington delegation returned. Article 6 sounds quite unfavorably for the Mission, so May 8, Diels leaves for St. Louis to buy provisions for the Mission, but particularly to consult with Provincial about the treaty. May 9. Ben Bertrand comes to speak about the treaty. June 18. On this day the Commissioner of the Indians assembled [the Indians] at the Agency to speak about the article of the treaty. Was said to have been their intention to give ½ section in fee simple. Asked by writing from the Secretary of the Interior whether he would convey it under such title, yet it was still worded ambiguously.” Duerinck's Diary I. (F).

⁴⁹ De Smet à Beckx, August, 1862. (AA). Cf., however, *infra*, Father Diels's petition and Ross's indorsement of the same.

⁵⁰ Diels to Dole, June 13, 1862. (H).

Father Diels then proposed a series of six questions touching the interpretation of the article. He asked in question three, "are the words, 'the said land shall be used and its products devoted exclusively to the maintenance of a school and church for their benefit,' so to be understood that in future we should no longer, as heretofore, be allowed to labor, by means of our school and church on the land in question, for the benefit of the whole population, though that mutual intercourse should evidently be rather an advantage than an injury to the Pottawatomies?" The last statement is an interesting one in view of the usual contention of the missionaries that the Indians were almost inevitably demoralized by contact with the whites. Diels's communication to Dole was indorsed by Agent W. W. Ross:

He [Diels] has said correctly that this Mission has done much towards elevating the character and alleviating the condition of the Pottawatomies. It has become in fact one of those established institutions of the country which the Nation would be very loath to part with at any time, much less at the present. But it is thought by the Superiors that they would not be justified in making the necessary outlays of money in rebuilding and enlarging their buildings and fences unless they can have a title in fee-simple of the 320 acres of land granted to them by the 6th section of the treaty of November 15, 1861. And if in your judgement the proper construction of that section will give them a warranty deed, it will be very gratifying to the Indians, who without doubt desire to give the land for past services. If this cannot be done, it would be but a mere act of justice to provide if possible a way by which they can purchase the land upon which their improvements are made.⁵¹

Six years were to elapse before the desired warranty-deed to the half-section was in the possession of the mission. In the interval the attitude of the Potawatomi on the question at issue had found expression in a petition to the government signed October, 1862, by eighty-seven of their leading men, including Chiefs Joseph Lafambe (Lafromboise), MaShee, Joseph Wewesa, Peter Chawee and the mixed-bloods, Peter Moose, J. H. Bertrand, Samuel L. Bertrand, Thomas Evans, Thomas Bourassa, Amable Toupin and Napoleon Bertrand. The petition also bore the indorsement of the business committee of the nation, Joseph N. Bourassa (president), George L. Young, B. H. Bertrand, Louis Vieux, M. B. Beaubien and John Tipton:

Whereas we, Chiefs, Braves and Headmen of the Pottawatomie Nation of Indians acknowledge that the St. Mary's Catholic Mission established in our midst has for at least 14 years, with great labor and expense, maintained a church and school amongst us, to our great benefit; and whereas it was

⁵¹ Ross to Dole, June 17, 1862. (H).

our desire and intention in giving to the representatives of said Mission a grant of 320 acres of land (according to the 6th article of a treaty concluded with the United States, November 15, 1861) that the said representatives of the St. Mary's Mission should acquire full possession of and an in-fee-simple title to the said 320 acres of land; and whereas we now desire to remove certain conditions and restrictions found in the said 6th article, which render it difficult for the Mission to make new improvements on land not held with an absolute title; We hereby petition the United States and our great Father, the President and the United States officers, to convey to the said representatives John F. Diels, John Schoenmaker and M. Gailland, the said 320 acres of land, including the church, school-houses and fields of said Mission, with an absolute and unconditional title; so that the said representatives may receive, as soon as possible, an in-fee-simple warranty deed of said land, to be acquired either as a gift or to be purchased by them at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, according as it will seem best.⁵²

On representations presumably made by the newly appointed Potawatomi agent, Dr. Luther R. Palmer, that the rights of the mission were after all sufficiently safeguarded under the treaty, the Jesuit Mission Board at St. Louis gave article six their unanimous approval February 27, 1863: "for it is plainly gathered therefrom that the property in question will revert in full right to the Society if at any time the Pottowatomie should disappear as a nation and mingle with other citizens in regular enjoyment of a civilized status."⁵³ At the same time, however, it was not by any means assumed by the missionaries that the treaty would prove a blessing to the Potawatomi. In May, 1862, Father Coosemans reported to the General:

Father Gailland continues to work with much patience and with his usual tact for the conversion of the heathen and the perfection of the converted Indians. But the future is dark enough and can afford him little courage. The treaty made by the Potowatomies with the Government on the subject of their lands will probably prove the ruin of the tribe. Those who lived around the church and went there every day for mass and several times a month for the sacraments have already moved off several miles so that they cannot attend divine services as regularly as before. It is to be feared that they will soon lose their fervor and regularity.⁵⁴

To the interval between the two Potawatomi treaties belongs an appeal made by the nation through their delegates Joseph Bourassa, B.

⁵² (A). The petition was indorsed by Ross in a letter to the Indian Office, October 9, 1862. (H).

⁵³ *Liber Consultationum*. (A).

⁵⁴ Coosemans à Beckx, May 16, 1862. (AA).

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H. Bertrand, and Anthony Navarre, to the Congress of the United States for money and supplies alleged to be due to them from the government. The claim was made by the Indians that the government owed them \$160,540.48 and, in addition, 11,000 pounds of tobacco, 567 of iron, 855 of steel, and 672 of salt. Moreover, they made complaint that the commissioner of Indian affairs in his report to the secretary of the interior had thrown up to them the part they took in the War of 1812; and they quoted against the commissioner the first article of the treaty of 1815: "Every injury or act of hostility by one or other of the contracting parties against the other shall be mutually forgiven and forgotten." They admitted that they had fought against the Americans in 1812, but pleaded in explanation that they were deceived. "Men from Canada came and told us lies and gave us presents. Some, but not all of our people, fought against you." The appeal continued:

Look over the treaties under which we claim this amount and you will find that we have by them given you millions of acres of the best lands in the country; and that, again and again, we have been removed from our rich hunting grounds, our fertile fields and our pleasant homes. Lands have been given us and taken away again. Under the treaty of 1846 we bought the lands where we now live and they were guaranteed to us a "home forever." But even now you are asking us to go away and leave them, to go to a new and strange country, buy other lands and begin again.

In the treaty of 1846 you gave us "promise of all proper care and parental protection." Yet you have made our lands a highway. Multitudes of your people have been crossing our reservation ever since we went upon it. They have taken our horses and cattle; they have destroyed our fences and crops and cut down our lumber; and in no way has your "care and parental protection" been extended to us. We have borne it all patiently; and while bearing it, we have given you "assurance of our fidelity and friendship" by shedding our blood to save your country.

But afterwards we made peace; and for more than fifty years no one of our people has lifted his hands against the white man. We have not only been at peace with the United States ever since, but when wicked men tried to break up your Government our young men went with your army and fought for you. And before that time our young men fought for you in the Sac and Fox war. This was over a quarter of a century ago. All the white men who fought in that war were long ago rewarded with land—They have chosen their land—rich and beautiful as any in the world—all around our reservation. What has been our reward? Nothing.⁵⁵

Certain influences hostile to the mission appear to have been frequently at work during the sixties necessitating on the part of its man-

⁵⁵ A copy of the appeal, in pamphlet form, is in the Congressional Library, Washington.

agers an attitude of ceaseless vigilance. Father Gailland declared that most of the United States agents for the Potawatomi were unfriendly to the mission, often commending it outwardly but secretly working against it. He is particularly severe on Agent Ross, affirming that the latter made an attempt, which his own friends frustrated, to organize a delegation of chiefs to go to Washington to make some or other additions to the treaty, presumably to the prejudice of the mission. "He is very much opposed to our mission and to our schools especially. More than once he tried to have us migrate with the Indians as if we were a nuisance to him here."⁵⁶

Ross was succeeded in 1863 by Dr. Luther R. Palmer. During the six years that the latter presided over the agency the Catholic schools reached their highest level of prosperity. "Many people in high stations passing by ask to be allowed to see them and bestow high praises on them." So Father Gailland in his chronicle for 1865.⁵⁷ "But," he adds, "we have enemies even in the city of Washington, who would fain see them suppressed. Senator Pomeroy was obliged to take up their defence. He did it nobly." Senator James Lane also finds mention in Gailland's account as having come to the defence of the schools. In opposition to them was said to stand Secretary of Interior Harlan, who, however, soon disappeared from office in some political shake-up at Washington. Intrigue against the schools was apparently renewed at intervals, efforts being made to supplant Palmer as agent by a Protestant clergyman. In 1865 the doctor was in Washington in the interest of the schools.⁵⁸ In 1866 he was at the head of a delegation of chiefs who visited the national capital to arrange some minor matters concerning the treaty of 1861. The following year, 1867, he was again in Washington, this time to participate as United States commissioner in negotiating a second treaty with the Potawatomi. This treaty was signed at the capital on February 27 of that year, the United States being represented by "Louis G. Bogy, commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. H. Watson, special commissioner, Thos. Murphy, supt. of Indian Affairs for Kansas, and Luther R. Palmer, U. S. Indian Agent, duly authorized," and the Potawatomi by "their chiefs, braves and headmen, to wit: Mazhee, Mianeo, Shawgue, B. H. Bertrand, J. N. Bourassa, M. B. Beaubien, L. H. Ogee

⁵⁶ Gailland, *History of St. Mary's Mission*. (Ms). (F). There is no evidence in Ross's correspondence with the Indian Office as far as examined of any unfriendly attitude on his part towards St. Mary's Mission. Petitions to the office from Father Diels and the Indians on behalf of the mission were readily endorsed by him.

⁵⁷ *WL*, 6: 79.

⁵⁸ There is probably some confusion of dates in Gailland's chronicle. Palmer may have been in Washington only once during the period 1866-67.

and G. L. Young." According to the terms of this agreement the Indians were authorized to purchase out of the proceeds of the sale of their surplus or unallotted lands in Kansas a reservation south of the state. Moreover, provisions were embodied touching such important matters as the admission of the Indians to citizenship, tribal funds, annuities, subsequent sale of unallotted lands etc. The half-sections allotted in the treaty of 1861 to the Catholic and Baptist missions were to be conveyed to them in fee-simple. "Moreover," reads article eleven, "the said John F. Deils [Diels], John Schoemaker and M. Gillaud [Gaillard] shall have the right to purchase in a compact body ten hundred and thirteen 54-100 acres of the unallotted lands at the price of one dollar per acre, to be paid to the Secretary of the Interior, for the use of said tribe, and when the consideration shall be paid as aforesaid the President shall issue patents to said purchasers therefor; and in selecting said ten hundred and thirteen 54-100 acres, said purchasers shall have the preference over all other parties."⁵⁹ The words "in a compact body," occurring in this article were alleged to have been interpolated without the knowledge of the chiefs by some unauthorized person, with a view to forcing the mission to pick up its thousand acres on hilly ground as all the land around St. Mary's was supposed to be preempted. Happily there were left in the elbow of the Kaw about seventy acres unpreempted, which enabled the mission to take up a thousand acres in "a compact body," from the mission buildings down to a big bend in the river.⁶⁰

The article authorizing the mission to purchase a thousand and more acres of the reserve land had not appeared in the treaty of 1861, though at its signing the Indians had already expressed their desire to have this land conveyed to the mission and even, so it appears, as an outright gift. The St. Mary's house diary, 1862, records, as evidence of Indian gratitude, that twelve hundred acres had been granted in open council to the mission and in absolutely fee-simple. Only a month before the treaty of 1867 was signed at Washington the mission, anxious to secure its title both to the half-section and to the additional thousand acres, memorialized the government to this effect. That the appeal was successful was very probably due to the fact that Dr. Palmer was among the negotiators of the treaty.

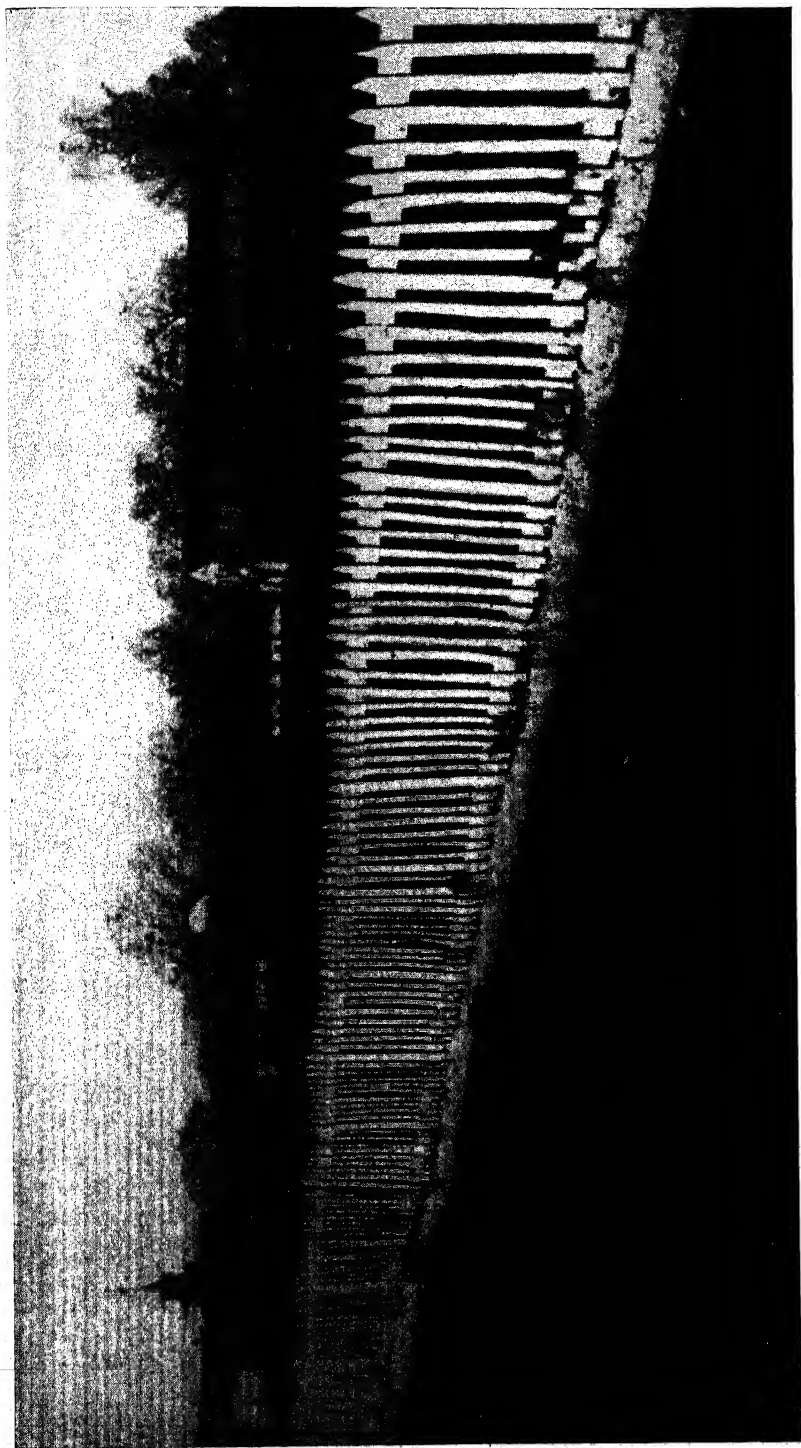
January 19, 1867.

In behalf of St. Mary's Mission we beg leave to petition the government for the following favors:

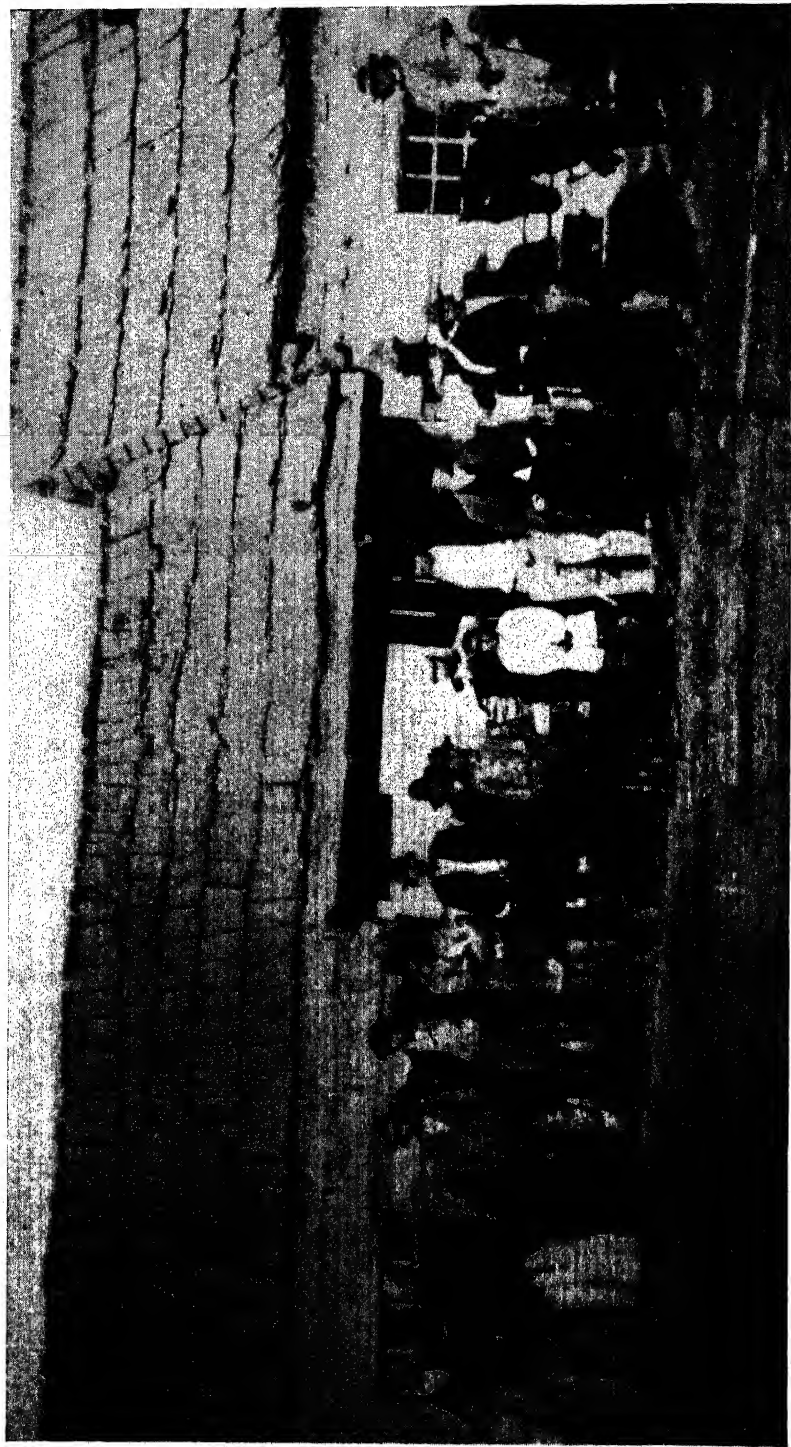
1—to obtain a patent or deed in fee simple to the 320 acres of land granted by treaty to John Schoemaker, Maurice Gaillard and John F.

⁵⁹ Kappler, *op. cit.*, 2: 973.

⁶⁰ *WL*, 6: 81.



St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission, St. Marys, Kansas. One of a series of photographs of Kansas scenes taken in 1868 by Alexander Gardner of Washington, D. C. Library of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.



Group of Potawatomi Indians, St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission, St. Marys, Kansas. One of a series of photographs of Kansas scenes taken in 1868 by Alexander Gardner of Washington, D. C. Library of Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

Diels (the names are misspelt in the printed copies of the treaty) as representatives of the Society under whose charge the Mission is.

2—to acquire in fee simple deed to other lands convenient to said Mission amounting to upwards of 1000 acres, part of which are improved land of the Mission; all which lands were likewise promised to the aforesaid John Schoenmaker, Maurice Gailland and John F. Diels at the making of the above alluded to treaty of 1860 [1861], as same represent and receive for the Mission [ms. ?], with the understanding that as this grant was not expressed in the treaty, the R. R. Company that would have a right to acquire the Pottowatomie lands not otherwise allotted would lease these lands for the St. Mary's Mission. Now to avoid all delay and future misunderstanding, if there should be any difficulty in acquiring now the desired titles to those lands, the St. Mary's Mission would consider it a favor to be able to purchase said lands at the same price at which they are offered to the R. R. Company, viz. \$1.25 per acre.

3—that the St. Mary's Mission may continue to be useful in any event and benefit the Indians even at a distance, we should suggest that the government would make such arrangements in behalf of St. Mary's Mission that all such Indians as should wish to send their children could send them to St. Mary's to have them educated out of the Indian educational fund.⁶¹

Though the treaty of 1867 met with the wishes of the Indians, difficulties appear to have been thrown in the way of its ratification by the senate. This did not take place until July 25, 1868, almost a year and a half after the treaty had been concluded at Washington. With a view to having it carried through Dr. Palmer in the course of 1867 led a Potawatomi delegation to the capital. The step was not taken without difficulties. A clique unfriendly to the mission had won over the principal chief Wewesa and with his backing had contrived to bring about a choice of delegates favorable to their designs. In view of this development it was felt at St. Mary's that the interests of the mission would fare badly at Washington. The main body of the Indians resented the trickery that had foisted upon them an unrepresentative delegation and one of the St. Mary's priests personally appealed to the chief, but without success, to withhold his approval. Thereupon the Indians were summoned in council, on which occasion John Pomnie (Pamah-mee), a secondary chief, sharply rebuked the head-chief, Wewesa, for having played into the hands of the enemies of the mission. "You are not," said he, "invested with the authority of chief to act according to your notions, but to promote the welfare of the community over which you have been placed. Now, what interest is dearer to us than to possess in our midst the Fathers to watch us and direct us, the Catholic schools

⁶¹ (H). The 1014: 13 acres, all in township 10, range 12, comprised eighteen different lots.

to educate our children; and you would take as our representatives at Washington men of such description?" John Pomnie then pleaded that at least Mr. "Beny" Bertrand be allowed to join the delegation as the representative of the Catholic party.⁶² The latter's name was accordingly proposed to the council with the result that he was chosen a delegate by acclamation. At Washington Dr. Palmer made known to the Department of the Interior that Bertrand truly represented the great majority of the sectionized Potawatomi while all the other delegates together represented only a small minority of the tribe. As a result Bertrand's views on all measures affecting the mission prevailed with the department. The senate having ratified the treaty on July 25, 1868, President Johnson proclaimed it the following August 7. On September 1, 1868, Father Diels telegraphed from Topeka to Father Maguire, rector of Gonzaga College, Washington: "Please acquaint at once Secretary Interior that we claim and purchase for St. Mary's Mission the land that the Pottawatomie Treaty entitles us to. We are notified too late."⁶³ In the course of the following year, 1869, President Johnson put his signature to the patent securing to St. Mary's Mission both the half-section granted by the treaty of 1867 and the thousand odd acres purchased by the mission in accordance with the terms of the same treaty.

§ 5. SPIRITUAL MINISTRY AMONG THE WHITES

Together with the Indians the few white Catholics settled here and there on the Potawatomi reserve, most of them government employees, shared the spiritual ministry of the Jesuits of St. Mary's. White settlers who arrived prior to 1853 include Dr. Luther R. Palmer, Alexander Peltier, Basil Grimore, William Martell, Francis Bergeron, Antoine Tescier, J. B. Frappe, Robert Wilson, Joseph Truckey, Alvah Higbee, P. Polk, Baptiste Ogee, Mrs. Zoe Ducharme, later Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. E. A. Bertrand, A. P. Bertrand, Clara Bertrand, and Mrs. Amable Bertrand, later Mrs. Luther R. Palmer.⁶⁴ Some of these, the Bertrands, for instance, had a strain of Indian blood.

Most conspicuous perhaps among the white settlers was Dr. Luther R. Palmer, who arrived from his native state, New York, at St. Marys on September 20, 1850, in quest of health. "During the fifties and early part of the sixties he was recognized as Pottawatomie County's most distinguished citizen."⁶⁵ Shortly after his arrival on the reservation

⁶² *WL*, 6: 81.

⁶³ (H).

⁶⁴ *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879. The list has not been verified. Most of the persons named were Catholics. Citations from Kansas newspapers are from clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

⁶⁵ *Times* (St. Marys, Kans.), July 14, 1876.

the Potawatomi drew up and submitted to the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, Major Mitchell, a petition for the removal of Dr. Johnston Lykins and the substitution in his place of Dr. Palmer as government physician to the tribe. Mitchell having transmitted the petition with his indorsement to Luke R. Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, Palmer received the appointment of physician to the tribe and was subsequently advanced to the post of agent.⁶⁶ He was a member of the first free state territorial council from the district of which Pottawatomie County afterwards formed a part and also had a seat in the Wyandotte constitutional convention, which drafted the Kansas state constitution. He was the author of the petition for the erection of a separate county to be known as Pottawatomie out of the territory embraced in Riley County, which had been organized by the Pawnee legislature in 1855. The petition was granted by the Lecompton legislature in 1857, the seat of the new county being first fixed at St. George. Dr. Palmer's son, Francis Xavier, born March 17, 1851, was, by report, the first white child born in Pottawatomie County. Some time after his arrival at St. Marys the doctor married the relict of Amable Bertrand, one of the group of mixed-bloods who had moved up with the Indians from Sugar Creek. Dr. Palmer was a convert to the Catholic Church.⁶⁷

Prominent also among the pioneer white settlers of Pottawatomie County was Robert Wilson, who with his family migrated with the Indians from Sugar Creek, where he had been government blacksmith. On August 12, 1853, he entered the first government land in the county, s. e. quarter of section 20, township 9, range 10. His log house at Louisville on the Fort Riley Military Road, said to have been the first dwelling in the county built outside the reserve, was a favorite stopping place for travellers and was reputed to be the first hotel opened in Pottawatomie County.⁶⁸

St. Mary's in the mind of its founders and pioneer promoters was an Indian mission and nothing else. The Jesuit mission board at St. Louis declared in 1864: "We have no mission on behalf of the whites in Kansas." And yet by the pressure of circumstances St. Mary's was called upon to extend its beneficent hand no less to the whites that

⁶⁶ Mitchell to Lea, April 3, 1851. Records of St. Louis superintendency of Indian affairs, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

⁶⁷ *Tribune* (Wamego, Kans.), June 6, 1879.

⁶⁸ *Recorder* (Westmoreland, Kans.), July 12, 1906. Francis Xavier Wilson, third son of Robert Wilson, was reputed the first white child born in Pottawatomie County, a similar claim having been made for Francis Xavier Palmer. The St. Mary's *Baptismal Register* (p. 240), records Francis Xavier Wilson's date of birth as June 22, 1846, at which time Robert Wilson was still residing at Sugar Creek. Mrs. Wilson was a Catholic, but not, it would appear, her husband.

came within its reach than to the Indians. Already in the fifties the building of Fort Riley had attracted a number of Catholics in that direction. They were employed in the construction of the new fort and on its completion took advantage of the offers made by the government to turn homesteaders and preempt tracts of land in the highly fertile valley of the upper Kaw. At first without the necessary money to improve their claims, they sought employment with the government or government contractors, or wherever else there was an opening, even at points as far distant as Kansas City and Leavenworth. Only once or twice in a twelve-month would they return to look after their isolated homesteads.

To travellers and immigrants as they made their way west during these years over the California and Pike's Peak Trails, St. Mary's was showing itself a friendly hospice. A St. Mary's Jesuit, writing at the beginning of the seventies, stresses the fact that the mission won the lasting good-will and gratitude of numbers of settlers, especially in northwestern Kansas, by kindly services in their regard.

Father Duerinck has done more for the conversion of many a family by his prudence and liberality than many would now admit. Many a heart in the far West beats warm today for the Fathers at St. Mary's on account of the kindness of the generous old [?] priest. They know what it is to meet a kind and liberal friend in a wild and desert place, far from friends and home, without shelter and protection against the elements. The settlers in the neighboring counties were liberally assisted by St. Mary's. Seeds were furnished, cattle of a superior stock given on credit, besides many a munificent present. All this exercised a powerful influence on the Northwest [of Kansas] and prepared a heartfelt welcome for the later missionaries. Both Catholics and Protestants for months would watch the coming of the priest on his gray mustang to invite him to their cheerful hearth and to repay him the kindness received in former days at St. Mary's.⁶⁹

While the building of Fort Riley had already drawn numerous white settlers towards its locality, with the construction in the sixties of the Kansas Pacific Railroad from Kansas City to Denver a really considerable tide of immigration began to flow towards central Kansas. In 1864 the Kansas Pacific ran its first train from Wyandotte (Kansas City, Kansas) to Lawrence. In 1865 it had reached St. Marys. In 1867 it was at Rome in Ellis County about half way across the state. Among the immigrants following in the wake of the railroad were to be found Catholics in no inconsiderable number; their presence on the prairies in

⁶⁹ (F).

small groups scattered here and there at wide intervals added much to the difficulty of the ministry undertaken on behalf of the Kansas settlers by St. Mary's Mission. The Jesuit especially identified with the spiritual care of the Catholic pioneer families settled in the Kansas counties above St. Mary's was the Frenchman, Father Louis Dumortier. He was born near Lille in 1810, entered the Society of Jesus in Belgium, finished his novitiate at Florissant and was engaged as professor in the Jesuit colleges of Cincinnati, Bardstown and St. Louis, his favorite subjects of instruction being physics, chemistry and mathematics. He was portrayed by one who knew him as of cheerful temper, alert and witty in conversation and altogether companionable. But he suffered from a weakness of the nerves, which at one time became so acute as to issue in temporary mental derangement. Towards the end of the fifties he returned to his native France in search of health, which as a result of this change of environment was greatly restored. On his return to America he was at once assigned to St. Mary's Mission. "His nervous temperament," wrote De Smet, "needed corporal exercise and fatigue, which by weakening the body, might allow the mind more liberty and vigour. He could not support the sedentary life of the colleges; nothing was more hurtful to his health. Providence, always wonderful in its designs, had formed Father Louis for the life, a wandering, but pious one, of the Prairies."⁷⁰

In the seven years that he spent at St. Mary's Father Dumortier filled out a noteworthy apostolic career. Wherever he could find two or three Catholic families, he formed them into a little congregation, converting some shabby cabin into a chapel in which he baptized, heard confessions, gave instructions and celebrated Mass. The limits of his parish expanded more and more until it comprised an area some two hundred miles in length and fifty in width. "As his parish increased," so it appeared to Father Gaillard, "the soul of the Father seemed also to grow larger." "So ardently did he desire the salvation of souls," recorded the same chronicler, "that the acutest cold or the intense heat of summer was no impediment to his labors. Even when the coldest blasts of winter were blowing on all sides, when huge snow drifts obstructed the roads, or when the fields were inundated with continued rains, Father Louis was found at his designated place on the day appointed, nay, I might almost say on the very hour."⁷¹ Almost every

⁷⁰ Sketch by De Smet in the Linton Album. (A).

⁷¹ Gaillard, *Hist. St. Mary's Mission*. (Ms.). (F). Dumortier's baptisms for 1859 and 1860 were at McDowell's Creek, Lyon Creek, Chapman's Creek, Reily City (*sic*), Fort Reily (*sic*), Black Jack, St. George, Rock Creek, Louisville, William's Creek, Clark's Creek, Black Vermilion. At Fort Riley nine baptisms were

day saw him on horseback covering thirty, forty, fifty, sometimes sixty miles. Arriving at the place where he was to lodge for the night, instead of taking at once a well-earned rest, he mounted his horse again and scoured the countryside to announce to the scattered settlers the next day's services. For lack of shelter he often took his night's rest in the open, while the sheer physical discomfort of protracted hours in the saddle must have been extreme. More than once was his life in peril as he forded swollen creeks and rivers or crossed them on the ice or made his way alone over the snows of the prairies with frozen ears or feet. The issue of his strenuous ministry was that hundreds of Catholic families were saved to the Faith and the foundations of the Church in central Kansas laid on firm and enduring ground.

In the summer of 1866 De Smet while on a visit to St. Mary's requested Father Dumortier to furnish him a brief account of the work he was doing on behalf of the Kansas settlers. Reluctantly, for the modest missionary was always reticent on the subject of his ministry, he penned the following lines in the form of a letter, dated St. Mary's Mission, July 1, 1866:

You ask me to send you some details of our apostolic labors. I think I cannot better satisfy your request than by sending you a little geographical sketch which will put you *au courant* with our Kansas missions. You will see from it our successes and our difficulties. The bank of the Kansas and its tributaries offer scarcely anything else but forests and virgin soil. A number of small missions have now been established. The faithful gather around them; here they come with their families to make their permanent residence so that even now these missions form so many Catholic centers. The great difficulty that presents itself is the lack of missionaries. Our labors here are beyond the strength of a single missionary. The great distance separating the different stations, the heavy snows of winter, the thaws of springtime, the river floods, bad roads and the absence of bridges are so many handicaps of my journeys. I cannot visit my good Catholics except every five or six weeks. In the course of my ordinary rounds I have succeeded in building four little churches of stone . . . each of the churches costs pretty near two thousand dollars. The liberality of our poor settlers is our only resource, so that, my Reverend Father, I think I may recommend myself to the generosity of your acquaintances and benefactors, hoping that our good Catholics, who have so often by their liberality shown you the interest which they

administered by Father Schultz, 1854-1856. At Louisville, he baptized October 25, 1857, Helen Genett (Jeanette), daughter of John Palmer and Helene Perkins, born August 25, 1857, witnesses being Robert and Mary Elizabeth Wilson. At Fort Riley, April 12, 1854, Thomas Simpson White and Mary Joanna Riordan were married by Father Duerinck; the following July 2 John Welsh and Marie Hore (Hoar?) were married by Father Schultz.

take in our Indians of the North, will once more stretch out a charitable hand to the poor missions of Kansas.⁷²

The region covered by Dumortier in his missionary rounds included at least fourteen counties, Pottawatomie, Jackson, Marshall, Washington, Nemaha, Riley, Clay, Ottawa, Saline, Davis, Lyon, Morris, Chase and Waubensee. This section of central Kansas lay roughly between St. Mary's and Fort Harker, the Verdigris and the Otoe Mission. Numerous small congregations, some twenty-five in all, were organized in these counties. In the space of two years five churches were erected, each costing about two thousand dollars except the last built by Dumortier, that in Junction City, which cost four thousand. Both Catholics and non-Catholics lent him substantial aid. Subscription lists were opened and the money readily came in. The churches which he built, most of them on or near the railroad, where the larger groups of Catholics had settled, were St. Joseph's in Rockingham, St. Patrick's at the Elbow, Pottawatomie County; the Assumption in Ogden, Riley County; St. Francis Xavier in Junction City, Geary County; St. Michael's at Chapman's Creek, Davis County; and the Immaculate Conception in Solomon, Dickinson County. Congregations without churches were organized in Holton, Jackson County; on the Black Vermilion, Nemaha County; in Marysville, Marshall County; in Salina, Saline County; at McDowell's Creek, Davis County; in Alma, Waubensee County; and in Council Grove, Morris County. These parishes and stations were eventually taken over by diocesan priests, Ogden in 1876 and Alma in 1878. The only points served from St. Mary's in the early nineties were Silver Lake and Rossville, both of them Union Pacific stations east of St. Mary's.

In the summer of 1867 Asiatic cholera made its appearance in the western counties of Kansas. Among the troops of the Eighteenth Kansas Volunteer Battalion organized to protect the western settlements against Indian depredations it was particularly destructive. In their camp at Fort Harker Company C alone lost thirteen men in two weeks from the dreadful scourge. Father Dumortier was prompt to lend his services to the stricken members of his scattered flock. Through a number of days he heard the confessions of the Catholics whom he could reach and answered every call from the dying. Worn with hunger and fatigue he contracted the cholera himself and died of it at the midnight of July 25, 1867, at Ellsworth in the immediate vicinity of

⁷² Dumortier à De Smet, July 28, 1866, in Linton Album. (A). Of the four stone churches (Elbow, Chapman's Creek, Ogden City, Rock Creek), the one at Elbow Creek, finished in 1865, was not yet plastered.

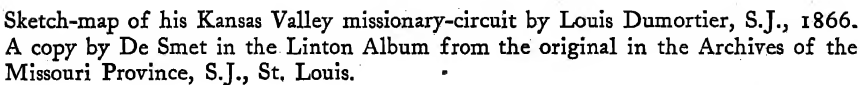
Fort Harker.⁷³ As to the shelter he found in his dying moments, accounts vary, one saying it was a tent, another a workmen's hut, and still another an abandoned water-tank by the road-side. But all accounts agree that he met death with characteristic courage. The circumstance is stressed that he died unattended for he had made signs to warn off anyone from approaching him, probably through fear of passing on the contagion to others. Father Dumortier had made the supreme sacrifice, having measured up to the Gospel standard of perfect love by laying down his life for his friends in Christ.⁷⁴

The passing of the devoted priest who more than any one else had planted the Cross in the upper Kansas Valley by no means brought a summary end to the work which he had inaugurated. One by one successors followed in his footsteps. The names of Fathers Colleton, Sweere, Schmidt, Van den Bergh and Rimmele are especially mentioned. Father Philip Colleton, Dumortier's immediate successor, was later to distinguish himself as founder of numerous pioneer parishes in southeastern Kansas. On May 31, 1868, Bishop Miége confirmed fourteen Catholic soldiers stationed at Fort Harker. On the same day there were twenty-seven confirmations at Rock Creek; on June 2 following, thirty-five at Ogden; and on June 7, fifty at St. Mary's.

Father Joseph Rimmele, who was cultivating Dumortier's ministerial field with energy and zeal in 1869 and at the beginning of the seventies, was at this time a secular priest. A petition he made to be admitted into the Society of Jesus was at first rejected on the ground of a mental infirmity under which he labored and which it was feared might impair his usefulness; but it was proposed to allow him to take what are called "vows of devotion," which in no way place the order under obligations toward the person taking them. Later, however, in 1872, he was admitted definitely as a novice at Florissant, returning thence to St. Mary's to become prefect of studies in the growing school and later discharge other important duties with success. Of his previous work as itinerant missionary in the mid-western Kansas counties we get passing glimpses in letters of his to De Smet, who with characteristic benevolence had offered to obtain Mass vestments for Rimmele's needy parishes. "There is an immense influx into Kansas from all directions and more than a proportionate share of Catholics," Rimmele wrote in December, 1869. "We need a large supply of priests. If succor were sent, Kansas might be the first Catholic state in less than fifty years, because we have the start and everything else is for us. If you can do

⁷³ In Père Vivier's *Jesuit Necrology, 1814-1894* (Paris, 1897), Dumortier's death is recorded for July 26, which is also the date occurring in the *Jesuit Menology, Missouri Province supplement* (St. Louis, 1893), p. 13.

⁷⁴ *Précis Historiques*, 18:450 et seq.



anything for the country you worked for in the prime of life, do it." Again, he wrote in February, 1870:

This will be a great Catholic state if help of [in] priests will arrive in due time; they are more needed than vestments. Now as you are acquainted with and descended from a generous people, the Belgians, try to obtain succor from your native land, more laborers than anything else. In three short trips of about three weeks, I baptized seven Protestants or modern heathens. Besides, I heard a great many confessions of 8, 10, 15, and 20 years standing. I instructed children and grown up people for confession, paid debts, begged money, built churches, attended the sick and dying, prepared some for baptism and others for the reception of other sacraments. I travel alone over 3600 square miles and say Mass in more than twenty places. I cannot see all of them every month, not even every six months. Do therefore, dear Father, what you can for this state of Kansas, the Heart of the United States.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Rimmelle to De Smet, December 2, 1869; February 8, 1870. (A). A letter of Rimmelle's to De Smet affords the following particulars about stations in his circuit: "I asked vestments for eight places only, where arrangement has been made to build churches which surely will be built.

1. Marysville, church of St. Mary's, 60 ft. long by 30 ft. wide; almost one hundred families. Local resources but nominal, actually none.

2. Parson's Creek (on the Republican), Church of St. Henry, 60 by 36; almost 70 families; local resources \$100 per annum.

3. Hanover (on the Little Blue), Church of the Seven Sorrows of the Holy Virgin, 45 by 30 ft.; about 30 families; local resources none.

4. Rock Creek, Rockingham, Pott. Co., Church of St. Joseph, 40 by 25; about 70 families, local resources \$100 per annum.

5. Ogden, Reily [Riley] Co., Church of the Immaculate Conception, 30 by 18; about 25 families; local resources \$50 per annum.

6. McDowell's Creek, Church of St. Ann, 36 by 25; about 30 families; resources \$50 per annum.

7. Mill Creek, Church of St. Agatha, 60 by 36 ft.; about 80 families; local resources none so far.

8. Wamego, Church of the Holy Family, 60 by 36; about 30 families; local resources none. Only two of the above churches are finished, the churches in Rockingham and Ogden. The income of the places is for the support of the poor priest who is traveling over thousands of square miles on horseback."

The following is a contemporary list (A) of the stations visited by Father Rimmelle in the seventies with the number of families in each: Waubesa County-Newbury (8); Alma (50); Davis County-McDowell's Creek (25); Clark's Creek, at mouth (7); Pottawatomie County-Vienna, Vermilion (8); Adams Creek (10); Louisville (12); Wamego (24); St. George (3); Elbow (30); Rock Creek (45); Spring Creek (8); Marshall County-Ewing (7); Marysville (40); Washington County-Hanover (9); French Settlement (12); Parson's Creek (30); Republic County-Erin (6); Belleville (10); Jewell County, White Rock (10); Cloud County-Clyde (16); French Settlement (60); Pipe Creek (10); Concordia (16); Clay County-Mulberry Creek (20); Clay Centre (10); Fancy Creek, head (6); Riley County-Ogden (27); Fancy Creek (10); Wild Cat (10); Manhattan (6).

§ 6. FROM INDIAN SCHOOL TO COLLEGE

With the sectionizing of the reserve, the gradual loss by the Potawatomie of their tribal status and the influx of white settlers, the transformation of the Potawatomie Manual Labor School into a school for white boys was inevitable. Already in November, 1861, Thomas Riordan of Solomon Creek, aged sixteen, and Francis Xavier Palmer, aged ten, a son of Dr. Palmer, Potawatomie agent, were being educated alongside of the Indian boys. Young Palmer's schooling was paid for by the government, while the rate charged Riordan was five dollars a month. James Conway, subsequently a St. Louis Jesuit of note, was entered December 18, 1863; he was followed July 24, 1864, by his brother, John, and September 24 of the succeeding year by another brother, Thomas.⁷⁶ "The Americans realize so keenly the value of the religious education which we give to the young," wrote De Smet from St. Mary's in the summer of 1866, "that they are constantly imploring the Directors of the schools to admit their children; but all the places are taken and were we to double the capacity of our houses they would soon be filled."⁷⁷

The idea, however, of working for the whites of Kansas either in the ministry or in education after the disappearance of the Indians was by no means steadily taken for granted by the Jesuits of St. Mary's or at least by the mission board in St. Louis. At a meeting of the board September 10, 1863, the matter came under discussion. "Among the Pottawatomies there is question of a school for the sons of whites living in the neighborhood, such schools to be maintained even after the departure of the Indians. The plan does not commend itself to the Consultants as the Mission is for the Indians." In October of the same year, so Father Coosemans informed the General, the Jesuits were already confronted with the problem: "Shall we stay here and work for the whites or follow the Indians. Opinions are divided."⁷⁸ Later, March

Total number of families in these stations, 545. "There are several more families scattered up in Jewell, Smith, Marshall, Washington and Reily [Riley] Counties, which are seen once in a long while." Holton and James Crossing appear on later lists. An interesting study in the complex character of Kansas immigration at this period is suggested by Rimmele's distribution of his stations according to nationality. Germans were predominant in Alma, Rock Creek, Fancy Creek, Parsons Creek, Mulberry Creek, Newbury and Vermilion, Irish in Ogden, Elbow, McDowell's Creek, Washington and Pipe Creek, French in Clyde and Concordia, Poles and Bohemians in Hanover and Belleville.

⁷⁶ Account-books, St. Mary's College. (F). The first white boy to attend the Indian school at St. Mary's appears to have been James Graham, 1856. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 173 (*supra*, Chap. XXVIII, note 50).

⁷⁷ De Smet à Père —, August 30, 1866, in Linton Album. (A).

⁷⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, October 20, 1863. (AA).

28, 1864, the board went on record against undertaking any permanent work for the Kansas settlers. "News comes from the Osage Mission that the Indians will soon leave for their new home. What shall we do? Shall we follow the Indians or remain with the whites on the old site? There were various answers; but finally all seemed to settle on the view that we should wait and see what is to become of them [the Osage] and the other Indians; if any hope is offered of a flourishing mission in the new place, one central mission might be established there for all the Indians from Kansas. But as to the whites in Kansas, we have no mission on their behalf."

No law in human affairs realizes itself with greater frequency than that circumstances alter plans. Though at St. Louis in the mid-sixties a decision seemed to have been reached to restrict Jesuit enterprise on the Kansas prairies to missionary work among the Indians with no prospect of expansion into other fields, the sixties were not to run their course before the Jesuits, with the Indian populations melting away on all sides, were to commit themselves, both at St. Mary's and at the Osage Mission, to the venture of higher education for the whites. As early as 1864 the missionaries at St. Mary's, as the house diary records, were considering the "project of a college since the Indian schools cannot last."⁷⁹

Meanwhile Indian education at St. Mary's went on prospering all through the sixties. In 1861 an additional building to provide for the increased registration of over a hundred boys was deemed to be necessary. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole having visited St. Mary's and manifested a cordial interest in the schools, Father Diels appealed to him November 4, 1861, for a government subsidy toward meeting the expense of the projected building:

The fact is we have done what we could to make the Mission and the schools prosper; and success, exceeding our most sanguine expectations, has crowned our labors. The consequence is that children are pouring in from all quarters and new applications continue to be made. I have already fitted up some more rooms for school purposes. Still, we cannot accomodate the number of applicants. I hate to refuse admittance to poor, untutored Indian children craving for means of education. I think it is likewise the wish of the Government that as many children should be educated as are desirous of receiving instruction. With this view I intend to put up forthwith a building capable of supplying the present want in the hope that your Honor being acquainted with our circumstances will let us draw the arrears due to the Mission for past educational services. May I confidently hope that, as you are aware that we ourselves have put up at our own expense about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Mission buildings, your powerful influence will obtain for us from

⁷⁹ St. Mary's House Diary, p. 69. (F).

the Government, ever generous and liberal in promoting the extension of knowledge and civilization, a due compensation of the expenses we are going to incur to favor the views of Government and the well-being of the poor Indian.⁸⁰

Father Diels's appeal to the commissioner was indorsed by Agent Ross under the same date as that borne by the missionary's letter: "It gives me pleasure to recommend again to your favorable consideration the St. Mary's Mission School whose existence in our midst has done much, very much, towards bringing about the state of civilization which it has always been the aim of our beneficent government to encourage. . . . They now desire to increase their accommodations so as to keep pace with the thirst for knowledge which is gradually taking possession of the better portion of the Indian nation and as surely undermining their heathenish practices and customs."⁸¹ The new building was erected in 1862 but, it would seem, without federal aid.

By an outcome curious enough, the education of Indian youths at St. Mary's touched its high-water mark, both in the number enrolled and in results obtained, at the very time the reserve was breaking up and the Christian Potawatomi of Kansas were disappearing as a nation. The nearer they approached their doom, the more eager they seemed to secure for their children the benefit of an education. Diels's report for 1866, though perhaps somewhat overrating the capabilities of the Potawatomi children, presents a picture of things which is not without corroboration from other sources.⁸² In 1865 Senators Foster and Doolittle were visitors at the school, examined the pupils and forwarded to Washington appreciative accounts of what they witnessed.⁸³ The precincts of the schools, so Brother De Vriendt avers, were cleanliness itself. Not a scrap of paper, not a splinter of wood could be seen lying around in the well-kept playgrounds. Discipline among the pupils was well-nigh perfect. The brother records the astonishment, not to say scandal of the boys as they saw travellers from the East pick up from the ground the apples which the boys had been taught not to appropriate without formal permission. Dr. Palmer reported in 1866:

The St. Mary's Mission School is still in successful operation. The teachers of this school seem ready at all times to astonish visitors by exhibiting the little Pottawatomies, showing their advancement in the studies taught in school and the facility with which Indian children are made to comprehend

⁸⁰ Diels to Dole, November 4, 1861. (H).

⁸¹ Ross to Dole, November 4, 1861. (H).

⁸² *RCIA*, 1866, no. 129.

⁸³ St. Mary's House Diary. (F). The author has found no mention in government reports of Foster and Doolittle's visit to St. Mary's. Very probably they did not visit the mission in any official capacity.

the difficult problems which stand in the way of the advancement of all children in the study of the natural sciences and the higher mathematics. The efforts of teachers in this school have been directed mainly to the instruction of Indian children, first in their knowledge of their obligations to their Creator as accountable beings; then in such necessary branches of common school education as it is thought will be found most useful to them in after life and conducive to their success in the world; but in teaching the more common branches there has been an aptness shown by Indian children which argues so well of success in the higher branches, that they have been encouraged at this Mission to prosecute their studies while they are permitted to remain in school, so far as their time and opportunities will allow. If the Pottawatomies today are in the enjoyment of any advantages of civilization or material prosperity beyond what is enjoyed by some other tribes in Kansas, they are indebted in a great measure for such advantages to the unceasing devotion and labors in their interest of the St. Mary's Catholic Mission, and the devoted religious who accompanied the Pottawatomies in their emigration to this reserve. The Mission school has been kept in operation, it may be said, through war, pestilence, and famine, never having been discontinued for a day on account of the discouraging circumstances which have at times rendered the carrying on of such an institution an exceedingly laborious and difficult matter.⁸⁴

From Atchison, October 6, 1866, Major Thomas Murphy, superintendent of Indian affairs for the central superintendency, reported to Washington: "The Pottawatomies are in a more prosperous condition than any other tribe in Kansas. They cultivate large farms and encourage education and religion. They have an institution of learning, called St. Mary's Mission, which is the most excellent in the State, and would be an ornament and a credit to any State, [and] which I think has tended largely to advance this people in all that leads to moral and social improvement."⁸⁵ By this time the success of the St. Mary's Mission schools was apparently taken as a matter of course at Washington, as E. E. Taylor implies in his report of July 5, 1866, to Commissioner Cooley. Taylor, a Baptist clergyman, who was later corresponding secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, had just completed a round of inspection of western Indian schools in the capacity of special agent of the government. "The St. Mary's Mission School is, I need not say, admirably conducted, and in the matter of secular education probably accomplishes all that the friends of the red man could desire. I was much interested in the exercises of the children and youth in both the male and the female departments and regard their

⁸⁴ *RCIA*, 1866 p. 264. Palmer's statement that the mission schools were never discontinued "for a day" is not literally correct. They were suspended during the cholera visitation of 1849.

⁸⁵ *RCIA*, 1866, p. 246.

progress as alike commendable to both teacher and pupil. I do not see any reason why they should be required to keep their children at the old price of \$75 per annum, though with all their present appliances it probably costs them much less than it would any other Society to conduct their schools." ⁸⁶

Though the government annual allowance of fifty dollars per pupil had been increased in Duerinck's time to seventy-five, with the increased cost of living incident on the Civil War this sum by no means represented an adequate compensation for the expenses involved. In September, 1864, Father De Smet appealed to Commissioner Dole on behalf of the Osage and Potawatami schools. He asked that the allowance be raised to one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty dollars. "This is hardly an equivalent of what they used to receive. They labor arduously and with zeal to keep up their respective establishments and do their utmost to keep the nations loyal to the Government." ⁸⁷ E. E. Taylor, who inspected St. Mary's in 1866, reported, as was said, in favor of an increase allowance for the school, while Major Murphy recommended to Commissioner Mix in 1868 that the subsidy per pupil

⁸⁶ Taylor to Cooley, July 5, 1866. (H). E. E. Taylor, in charge of the Baptist Potawatomi School, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Bogy, December 5, 1866: "It is not true as Agent Palmer states that the Pottawatomies do not desire the [Baptist] school building to be put in good repair. The Catholic population of the immediate vicinity of the St. Mary's Mission very likely would prefer that the only school among their tribe should be their own. I know, however, from personal knowledge—if the Honorable Commissioner wishes the evidence, it shall be forth coming—in direct contradiction to Agent Palmer's statement—that a very large *minority*, to say the least, of the Pottawatomies (many Catholics included among their number) are dissatisfied with St. Mary's School and have been most importunate in their calls upon me personally and upon our teachers to open a school for the benefit of their children. I beg leave also in this connection to most respectfully protest against the representations made to your department that the Pottawatomies are all Roman Catholics and wish their school-money to be all expended under their direction at St. Mary's. I know such representations to be untrue." (H). Cf. also E. E. Taylor to Bogy, December 4, 1866. "We ask simply from your Department this small appropriation, which has been so long unjustly withheld by Agent Palmer (to the very serious detriment of our school and mission), in no sense as a favor to the Baptists, but as the just right of the largest denomination of Christians in the country. It is neither just nor Catholic [*sic*] that this Government appropriation should be withheld from us who are engaged in the same work side by side with the St. Mary's Mission while to them has been annually paid thousands of dollars for their benevolent services. I am sorry that opposition to such an appropriation should have come to the Department from such a quarter. They are certainly the last to complain of the pittance to the Baptist Board who have been so long and so liberally aided in their work by the Government." (H). In the absence of documentary evidence bearing on the point, it is difficult to evaluate the merits of Taylor's complaints.

⁸⁷ De Smet to Dole, September 21, 1864. (AA).

for the St. Mary's school be fixed at one hundred dollars.⁸⁸ Nothing, however, it would appear, came of these recommendations. As long as the education of the Indian children at St. Mary's was paid for by government money, the appropriation made for them never went beyond the seventy-five dollar rate.

The first decisive step making for the metamorphosis of St. Mary's from Indian school to college came as a surprise to Father Gailland and his associates as he records with a not unhappy venture into prophecy:

When on May 12, 1869, the Reverend Joseph Keller, Socius of Father Provincial, arrived here and told us that it was the settled purpose of Superiors to build a college at St. Mary's, we were all astonished and considered the thing to be a dream. But soon we learned by the arrival of Father Provincial [Coosemans] that the thing was decided upon by the Provincial Board of Consultors; it was even urged upon us by the orders of Superiors to make all necessary preparations for the erection of a college in the following Spring. We indeed, who are already far advanced in years, shall not see the splendor and the glory of the college to be erected, for nothing of any moment is finished in a hurry. That this place is suited in every way for the building of a college every one will allow. For the State of Kansas, located at the very center of the great Republic, is rich in resources and within a few years will stand out in population and wealth among the leading states of the Union. Further, the Mission lies on the railroad which reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and, besides, the house possesses more than 2000 acres of highly fertile land. Hence boarders can be admitted here at a far lower price than in any other place, in which event a large number of students will flock hither to go through their studies. These boys, the sons of farmers, will be stronger in body and more innocent in morals than those who are educated more delicately in the cities; and so a far greater number than elsewhere following higher and purer aspirations will enlist among the members of the Society or of the secular clergy. Wherefore Mary Immaculate, through the medium of the college which is to be built and the patronage of which she has undertaken, will undoubtedly through a long succession of years be the glory of the region and the honor of the Christian people, an issue which is the object of our prayers and hopes in God.⁸⁹

In September, 1869, Father Walter Hill, pioneer American writer of text-books on scholastic philosophy, who had just retired from the presidency of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, was appointed to the post of socius or assistant to the provincial, Father Coosemans. He had a hand in the first organizing of St. Mary's College.

⁸⁸ Murphy to Mix, June 6, 1868. (H).

⁸⁹ Gailland, *History St. Mary's Mission*. (F).

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In December, 1869, I accompanied Father Diels to Kansas, being sent there to procure a charter for the proposed college at St. Mary's Mission. We went from St. Louis to Leavenworth, where I preached on the Sunday before Christmas. Before leaving St. Louis I wrote down what I thought the charter should in substance be. On reaching Leavenworth we got a lawyer, a Mr. Carroll, to put the charter in due technical form. We then went over to St. Mary's. I found that the main portion of the Pottowatomy tribe still remained around the mission. On Christmas day and on the following Sunday I listened to a sermon in the Pottowatomy language, spoken by Father Gailland. I found that language peculiarly sweet to the ear; Father Gailland told me that it possesses peculiar power and richness. During Christmas Father Diels and myself went to Topeka to get our charter out in due form: we stopped at a hotel and then applied to Judge Morton, to counsel us as to whether it was in due form. He was then on the bench trying a criminal case, but said he would come to our hotel at night and examine the charter. He came after supper and examined it thoroughly. The clause in it exempting all property owned by the college from taxation, he said, "will be litigated some day, and the case may come before me, is most likely to do so. I cannot now see what my decision of it will be; but you must by all means leave that clause in your charter, so that if the decision be given in favor of its validity or the constitutionality of such exemptions, you may have the benefit of it." It so happened that a few years later that law under which the charter claimed exemption from taxes for all property of St. Mary's College, Kansas, was actually contested before Judge Morton; he decided adversely to the exemption. After Judge Morton examined our charter, and he was engaged in it till eleven o'clock at night, we left it at the state-house the next day for record and returned to St. Mary's where we at once organized the first faculty. Father Diels would have me be first president; I submitted to his judgment as otherwise there would not be members enough there to organize legally. I then at once resigned my position and came home to St. Louis. This charter was the model on which charters were then formed for the Sacred Heart Academy at St. Mary's Mission; and also for the boys' school and the Loretto Academy at Osage Mission.⁹⁰

On December 4, 1869, Father John Francis Diels was succeeded as superior at St. Mary's, which he had successfully managed for nearly ten years, by Father Patrick Ward. Diels remained at the mission for some time after being relieved of the superiorship as procurator and superintendent of the farm. Later Father John Tehan was assigned to St. Mary's to give the benefit of his ability in economic and financial affairs to Father Ward, who was without experience in this regard though on him was now to devolve the responsibility of erecting the college building that had been planned. Father Diels was withdrawn

⁹⁰ *Reminiscences of Walter Hill, S.J. (A).*

definitely from St. Mary's towards the end of 1870. After being engaged in the interval in the parochial ministry he died in Milwaukee December 17, 1878, at the age of fifty-seven. He had seen St. Mary's through the most critical period of its history, including the Civil War days, the treaties and consequent breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve, and the birth of the college. He knew Potawatomi thoroughly and had collaborated with Gailland in the latter's dictionary of that difficult Indian tongue. With government agents and public officials, with whom he was brought into contact in the management of the mission and especially the schools, his relations were uniformly pleasant, his affable manners and unflinching tact gaining for him an entry into all hearts. In the latter years of his administration the duties he attempted to carry single-handed were too many and varied to be discharged with satisfaction by a single individual. It was an idiosyncrasy of his, so it was alleged, to attempt to manage everything directly and in person and not through the medium of his subordinates. But all in all he made a capital head of the mission. In 1866 Coosemans, the provincial, was assured by Gailland that, account being taken of the difficulties of his position and the multiplicity of business details on his hands, Diels was the most efficient superior St. Mary's ever had. "Some of his predecessors were better in certain respects; but for the needs of the Mission generally, the mission-staff, school, farm, outside folk, Father Diels surpassed them all."⁹¹ Father Coosemans wrote of him in 1869 that he was "loved by Ours and respected by outsiders."⁹² The most significant chapter in the history of St. Mary's Mission is written around his name.⁹³

⁹¹ Coosemans à Beckx, January 10, 1867. (AA).

⁹² Coosemans à Beckx, January 6, 1869. (AA).

⁹³ An anonymous unpublished sketch of Father Diels written probably by a coadjutor-brother who knew of his work at first hand, credits him with having been the real maker of St. Mary's. "True, when Father Duerinck became Superior of the Mission in 1849, a start towards improvement seems to have taken place, but he being a man little acquainted with the business world [?] and [being] besides of a simple and confiding disposition, was often taken advantage of by the crafty to the great pecuniary loss of the Mission, which at that time stood in need of almost the necessities of life. From the time of his lamented and untimely death in 1857 until 1861 things at best stood still. During this year Father Diels was placed at the head of the Mission. Then burst forth the dawn of its prosperity, a new life animating and enlivening every department. A man of broad and comprehensive views he saw at a glance the needs of the place and at once set to work to supply them. Surrounding himself with competent men he gave full scope and encouragement to the development of the natural resources of the soil. . . . No industry that was thought to be useful towards the enlightenment of the Indians or the advantage of the then undeveloped country but received his attention. Cereals and other products that before his time were thought impossible of

With the issuing of a college charter to St. Mary's in 1869 the Indian stage in the history of the mission schools may be said to have come to an end though a number of Potawatomi boys continued to attend them. Steps toward the erection of a college building were immediately taken. On January 3, 1870, in view of the circumstance that the registration of students at St. Mary's was already good and would be better if a suitable building were available, it was agreed at St. Louis that such building should be erected, especially as approval of the step had already been obtained from the General, Father Beckx.⁹⁴ Father Keller, when assistant-provincial, had sketched a rough plan which provided for a central structure, sixty-eight feet square, with extensions on either side. As means were lacking for putting up the entire edifice at once, it was decided to begin with the central unit, which represented almost one-fifth of the entire design. The services of a professional architect, De Bonnes, were then secured. On February 7, 1870, Father Coosemans and De Bonnes arrived at St. Mary's, the provincial to acquaint himself with the financial standing of the house and the architect to inspect the site of the proposed building and give directions for the necessary excavations. On February 18, James McGonigle, who had done the construction work on the Leavenworth cathedral, was engaged as contractor. On April 22 Father Coosemans was again at St. Mary's to determine on the actual site of the new college, a question still in abeyance at this date. He first favored the hill, on which in later years was to rise St. Mary's college dormitory, Loyola Hall. But lack of an

growth in Kansas soil were by him generously experimented with successfully to the greatly appreciated benefit of the country as reference to the press of Kansas in those days will amply prove. For it was no uncommon thing for the editors to call the attention of their readers to the advancement in agriculture and other industries on the mission farm, which did no little service in drawing the attention of the homeseekers and banishing from the minds of the people far and near mistaken notions that Kansas was unproductive. Then with that statesmanlike foresight which he possessed he saw the change at hand of 'the wild west into the great new west' and began preparations to meet the future needs of the country. . . . His great aim was to establish an educational institution on the site of the mission as soon as the Indians would disappear. This thought of erecting a college at St. Mary's was ever uppermost in his mind, not only, as he often said, would it become a center of Catholic education in the West, but it would also perpetuate the work of the first apostles of the faith in Kansas on the spot hallowed by their labors and sweat. Thus we see that with Father Diels first originated the idea of a college at St. Mary's and (he) was the first to admit white children as regular students. . . . The bleak surroundings with nothing but the log huts to rest the eye upon, he set out with trees and shrubs in the shade of which the students of today delight to revel ignorant of his name who anticipated their needs. Hardly a fruit or shade tree on the place that is not due to his direction and many of them were planted with his own hand." (F).

⁹⁴ *Liber Consultationum*. (F).

adequate water supply made the choice inadvisable. On his return to St. Louis he telegraphed April 26 that the college should be erected at the foot of the hill a little to the east of the old buildings.⁹⁵

On May 31 the foundations of the structure were begun and on June 8 the corner-stone was blessed. The building measured eighty by sixty feet, had a stone basement with superstructure of brick four stories high and when completed was to show a frontage of four hundred feet. On January 26, 1872, the ninety-four boarders moved into their new quarters, which were solemnly blessed some two weeks later, February 8, with accompanying solemn high Mass and a procession from the old log church to the college. Seven years later, February 3, 1879, the new structure, which marked the entry of the one-time Indian mission of St. Mary's into the field of college education, was completely destroyed by fire.

In the interim the infant institution had been beset with difficulties, chief among which was the lack of an adequate faculty. Though it bore the name, St. Mary's College, to which it was entitled by its charter, all during the seventies it scarcely rose above the status of an academy or high school. A few weeks before the students moved from the old log buildings into the new structure, the provincial and his advisers were engaged in St. Louis with the problem of the most fitting designation for the new school. "As it is inexpedient that colleges be multiplied in our Province, a situation which would prove indeed no slight obstacle to the training of our scholastics, let the school, though it be a sort of inchoate college [*collegium inchoatum*], be called St. Mary's Academy. Let Latin and Greek be taught but only up to Poetry exclusive; and let it be clearly understood out there that only one Father and two scholastics are to be set aside for the Academy. The rest of the teachers will have to be coadjutor-brothers and lay teachers hired at a salary." This proposed designation of the aspiring institution by the less pretentious name of academy promptly elicited protest from the faculty. The protest was well received at St. Louis and the provincial board, February 27, 1872, reversed its former stand on the question and agreed to the designation "college," reiterating, however, its previous caution that for some years to come the school should not attempt a more ambitious curriculum than what is comprised in the so-called grammar classes of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. This restriction on the educational program of the newly founded institution likewise elicited protest on the part of its president, Father Ward, who the following month was enjoined from issuing the prospectus of the new school until the

⁹⁵ St. Mary's College, House Diary. (F). "This site [the foot of the hill] commends itself for many reasons, while other reasons more obvious, but in my opinion less solid, militate against it." Coosemans à Beckx, May 15, 1870. (AA).

question of its plan of studies could be further discussed at St. Louis. Eventually the restriction was upheld by the Father General, who in July, 1872, decided that temporarily at least St. Mary's was to be merely what is called in Jesuit parlance "a simple school" (*schola simplex*). As a matter of fact, the institution continued as late as 1873 to be entered in the official register of the Jesuit province of Missouri as St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission. Thereafter for four years it was technically known as a residence and not until 1877 was it entered as a college in Jesuit officials registers. During all these years it led a precarious existence and the question of definitely discontinuing it was once at least under advisement at St. Louis. This was in the spring of 1872 when word had come from the Jesuit General that one boarding-college was as much as the Missouri Province could conveniently maintain. What was to be done with St. Mary's? The town of St. Marys was too undeveloped, it was felt, to support a day-college. Should the boarding-school be suspended and the property sold? Two at least of the consultants recommended this course. Another was in favor of maintaining a grammar school, but nothing more, while a fourth voiced the opinion that the college could not be closed without seriously compromising the interests of religion. For lack of agreement on the important issue it was concluded to have recourse to the General, the college to be left *in statu quo*. When the General's decision arrived in July, 1872, it was for continuing the school, but in no sense as an institution of college grade. Later years were to see the school gradually equip itself for a broad program of education, collegiate as well as secondary.

No account of the mission-schools at St. Mary's is adequate which does not leave the reader with an impression of the important share of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in making them a success. In their hands ever since the days of Mother Duchesne at Sugar Creek was the education of the Potawatomi girls; that they acquitted themselves with distinction of this phase of the missionary program of St. Mary's is a fact written large in the story of the mission. Even more so than the boys' department, the girls' department of the Pottawatomie Manual Labor School elicited repeated and almost fulsome commendation from Indian agents and other federal officials. The self-effacement of the nuns was complete. The names of scarcely any of their number found their way into contemporary records. It was enough for them that they gave themselves unreservedly to the task in hand, that they spared neither time nor energy nor available means of whatsoever kind to compass a perfect work in the metamorphosis of an Indian child into a self-respecting and well-trained Christian woman. One regrets the absence of published data from their own community historical sources concerning this happy experiment in Indian education which

they worked out through some three decades of years on the Kansas prairies. Results, at any rate, were achieved, and these have happily been put on record in numerous testimonies from disinterested sources.⁹⁶

Of the Religious of the Sacred Heart thus identified with Indian education at St. Mary's the names of two at least occur in the mission annals. Mother Lucille Mathevon was called by death in the same year, 1857, that saw the mission suffer another heavy loss in the premature passing of Father Duerinck. She had been one of the pioneer nuns that came up the Mississippi with Mother Duchesne in 1818 to open at St. Charles in Missouri the first house of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the New World, and she had gone out with the same venerable mother to Sugar Creek in 1842 to make the venture of a school for the little women of the Potawatomi. Both at Sugar Creek and at St. Mary's she discharged the duties of superior; that the nuns' school met with such a measure of success was largely due to her intelligent sympathy and administrative skill. Associated with Mother Lucille in her educational work was Mother Mary Anne O'Connor, whose death at St. Mary's occurred December 9, 1863. She, too, had seen service at Sugar Creek and altogether spent twenty years and more as instructor of the Indian girls. Father Gailland wrote of her that she was conspicuous for a whole series of virtues, as gravity, wisdom, humility, assiduity in labor however menial and a burning zeal for the salvation of souls. Women-folk often came to the convent to seek her advice and never left without gain to their souls while through her inspiring zeal entire families were converted to the Catholic faith.

Up to the end of the sixties the two departments, male and female, of the Indian school were administered as a financial unit by the Jesuit superior of the mission. The mission could be said to have owned the buildings and other improvements but not the property on which they stood, which was Indian land and incapable as such of alienation. As to the expenses of the two schools, including board and lodging for the teachers, they were met out of a common fund provided in part by the annual per capita subsidy granted by the government, in part by the sale of the surplus stock and produce of the farm. This fund was administered by the head of the mission. The changed conditions brought about by the treaties and especially the acquisition by the mission of large tracts of land with absolute title thereto in fee-simple made it desirable to arrange some equitable division of the mission property between the missionaries and the nuns. With this purpose in view a meeting was held on May 25, 1869, at the residence of Bishop Miége at Leavenworth, there being present besides the prelate himself,

⁹⁶ Cf. agents' reports cited in Chap. XXVIII. Cf. also *supra*, Chap. XXIII, note 59.

Mothers Galwey and Hardy on behalf of the nuns and Father Joseph Keller, assistant-provincial of Missouri, on behalf of the Jesuits. The terms of the division of goods were submitted by Father Keller to the two mothers, were approved by them, and then forwarded by the latter to their Superior General in Paris, Mother Goetz, who gave them her indorsement. According to the arrangement thus mutually agreed upon, St. Mary's Mission was to cede to the Religious of the Sacred Heart a tract of land some fifty to sixty acres in extent, so located as to include within its limits the house occupied by the nuns, and, besides, provide a site for the erection of new buildings with playgrounds, garden, orchard and pasture. The nuns, moreover, were to receive ten thousand dollars in cash, ten milk-cows or more if the needs of their community so required, some horses and other stock, and provisions for a year and a half if the convent was in need of them or desired to receive them. Finally, in case the mission was to make brick on its own account, the nuns were to be furnished with the needed brick for a building of three stories, sixty by forty feet in size. With the carrying out of these articles of agreement the Religious of the Sacred Heart thereafter administered their financial and economical affairs independently of the Jesuits.⁹⁷

On February 2, 1870, two superiors of the Religious of the Sacred Heart, one of them being Mother Galwey of Chicago, arrived at St. Mary's to confer with the local superior on the selection of a site for the academy building which the nuns were planning to erect. On April 26 following work was begun on the foundations of the new structure, which was to be of brick and four stories in height. Soon housed in their new and commodious home, the nuns there carried on, with the same devotion that had marked their labors for the Indian children, the work of the higher Christian education of women. They were thus engaged when there occurred, February 3, 1879, the complete destruction of the new St. Mary's College building by fire. The catastrophe took place in the early hours of the afternoon, the first cry of fire having been raised just at the end of the midday meal, about half after twelve o'clock. That very afternoon the nuns vacated a considerable part of their building, placing it at the disposal of the Jesuit faculty and their students. Three days later the nuns transferred their academy to a house in the adjoining town of St. Marys, leaving their entire convent to be occupied by the college faculty and students. Within a few months the Jesuits had acquired the convent by purchase from the nuns, who in July, 1879, withdrew definitely from St. Mary's leaving the sons of Loyola, with whom they had been associated in Indian instruction for several decades, to pursue alone the work of Christian education on

⁹⁷ Gailland, *Hist. St. Mary's Mission*. (F).

the banks of the Kaw. With the departure from Kansas of the Religious of the Sacred Heart was closed a chapter as interesting and impressive as any that may be read in the pioneer educational history of the West.

§ 7. THE PASSING OF THE POTAWATOMI

The question has been raised whether the two Potawatomi treaties of 1861 and 1867, providing as they did for the allotment of the tribal lands in severalty, the per capita distribution of tribal funds and the admission of the Indians, according as circumstances permitted, to the full status of naturalized American citizens, really made for the best interests of the tribe. It may be argued, as has been done, that the wiser policy would have been to secure the Indians adequate protection in the unmolested possession of their common reserve and not urge them, as was done by government officials and missionaries alike, to acquiesce in the sectionizing of the reserve.⁹⁸ In the light thrown upon the problem by subsequent events this view, it may be admitted, has something to commend it. But hindsight is easier than foresight. The advocates of the sectionizing policy included numerous undoubted friends of the Indians, who were not without suspicion of some at least of the evils that might attend its operation. Father Gaillard's stand on the question found expression in his prophetic words, "wo to you [Indians] when your lands shall be sectionized!"⁹⁹ And yet to him and other well-wishers of the Indians it seemed that the blessings which would probably accrue from individual ownership and the rights of citizenship would more than counterbalance any evils that might be expected to follow from the sectionizing process. Moreover, the invasion of the reserve by settlers appeared to be taken for granted, possibly on insufficient grounds, as inevitable, so that nothing was left for the Indians but to adjust themselves to the new situation and meet the white man on equal ground as citizens of the United States. Gaillard wrote of the treaty of 1861: "The steps they [Potawatomi] are taking forebode their final ruin as a tribe; but it is unavoidable, being brought on by the force of events."¹⁰⁰

By arrangement with the government the Potawatomi minority, most of them belonging to the Prairie Band and numbering in all some six hundred, who opposed the apportionment of the old reserve among the individual members of the tribe, were given a new reserve, some eleven miles square in extent, in the present Jackson County, Kansas. It was described in 1869 as having "valuable timber, pure water, and

⁹⁸ See *supra*, Chap. XXIX, § 4.

⁹⁹ De Vriendt, *Gaillard*. (F).

¹⁰⁰ *WL*, 6: 70.

rich prairie soil containing over seventy-five thousand acres within an hour's ride of the dome of our State capitol [Topeka]." ¹⁰¹ This last home of the Potawatomi tribe in Kansas is still theirs. To this day they maintain within its borders the customs of their fathers, possess (or up to recent date possessed) the land in common, and in the eyes of some are a living proof of the wisdom of the choice made by the Prairie Indians of the sixties when they refused to follow their Christian fellow-tribesmen after the will-o'-the-wisp allurements of individual homes and American citizenship. Not only was a reserve in Kansas thus secured to the non-sectionizing members of the tribe, but by the terms of the treaty of 1867 the Potawatomi were to be provided with another reserve in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, not to exceed thirty miles square in extent. To this reserve, which was to be purchased for them by the government out of the proceeds of the sale of their surplus lands in Kansas to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, they were to be at liberty to migrate. Numbers of the Christian Indians of St. Mary's subsequently settled in this new home. ¹⁰²

As to the fate that befell the Potawatomi who set up as individual land-owners under the treaties of 1861 and 1867, it is a melancholy story of Indian incapacity and the white man's greed. It is one of the commonplaces of American history that the Indian in any issue of justice between him and the civilized or supposedly civilized folk of the frontier generally played a losing game. Whiskey, in Dr. Palmer's words "the great hindrance to the material, moral and social advancement of the Indian," was plentiful on the Potawatomi reserve, though its sale to the Indians was strictly forbidden by government statute. ¹⁰³ Teamsters passing over the reserve in every direction on the public highways had liquor in their wagons to sell to the red men. In 1866 Dr. Palmer petitioned that a marshal and a United States commissioner be stationed near the agency, which was at St. Marys, with a view to greater success in repressing the sordid traffic. ¹⁰⁴ Sometimes the culprits were caught and convicted; more often they were not. Another abuse to

¹⁰¹ *RCIA*, 1869.

¹⁰² According to Father Gailland, writing in 1877, about one hundred Potawatomi from Kansas had settled near Chetopa (Indian Territory) and were being attended by a Father Bonocini. About two or three hundred were settled on the Canadian River and were under the care of the Benedictines. *WL*, 6: 84. For the status of the citizen Potawatomi in Oklahoma, cf. G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States* (New York, 1923), 177 *et seq.* According to Lindquist, *op. cit.*, p. 200, fifty-four Catholic families belonging to the Jackson County Potawatomi attended services in a chapel fourteen and a half miles west of Mayette.

¹⁰³ *RCIA*, 1866, p. 263.

¹⁰⁴ *Idem*, *loc. cit.*

which the Indians were subjected was the stealing of their timber by the settlers. "These offenders sometimes succeeded by the use of a little shrewdness," reported Dr. Palmer in 1866, "in getting summoned upon the grand jury. They seem to steal timber from an Indian with as little compunction as they manifest in receiving pay for investigating cases of theft and refusing to indict."¹⁰⁵ Three years later Palmer wrote again: "They [the timber thieves] know that the United States district court for the district of Kansas never did and probably never will convict a white man for depredating upon Indian lands. I know of no way of remedying the evil except by prevailing upon white men to be honest and just toward the Indians, or seeing that the laws are rigidly enforced against them. One other means may be tried, with perhaps a more certain prospect of success, to move the Indian to some country where he would be free from such annoyances."¹⁰⁶

In more recent allotments of Indian lands in severalty to the individual members of a tribe, the government has in general proceeded with the wisdom born of experience, taking precautions to secure the several land-owners in the possession of their property and prevent them from alienating it unwisely. But such vigilance was not exercised in the breaking up of the Potawatomi reserve. No particular obstacles were placed by the law in the way of the Indian who wished to barter his rich acres for a mess of pottage. Dr. Palmer reported in 1866:

I have advised and encouraged but few to apply for their patents and to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities of citizens. Improvidence is the peculiar characteristic of the real Indian. No sooner does he become possessed of money or property that he can dispose of, than he proceeds at once to make it available, as far as possible, for present enjoyment, seeming not to reflect that his means may become exhausted until his last dollar is gone. Thus many of our Indians would gladly apply for and receive patents to their land (without realizing at all the changed relation they assume in the community by becoming citizens of the United States) solely with a view of a sale and spending the proceeds thereof, as also their interest in the credits of the tribe held in trust by the Government for them. I have conceived it to be my duty to restrain such persons, as far as possible, from taking any of the steps necessary for becoming citizens. Many of them will doubtless find it to their advantage at no distant day to throw up their present allotments and follow their friends, who may have gone before them, to a new home. Then it would be better that they should not have squandered their share of the national wealth and been left paupers upon the Government or their Indian friends for support.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Idem*, 1866, p. 264.

¹⁰⁶ *Idem*, 1869, p. 375.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, 1866, p. 264.

Naïvely and in awkward English yet with vivid and dramatic touches of his own, Brother De Vriendt in his sketch of Father Gailland pictures the distressing scenes that were daily witnessed as the helpless Indians played into the hands of unscrupulous whites. Gailland is represented as discoursing sadly, almost despondently, before his fellow-Jesuits in the faculty recreation-room at the mission on the dark days that have overtaken his once happy Potawatomi charges:

I feel very sad, because I see now that my prophecy is going to be true. I have said to the Indians: "wo to you when your lands shall be sectionized! You will be lost body and soul." It is now only too true for I see the land-sharks cheating my Indians out of their land and property. They took some of them, all unsuspecting, to the saloon and there they treated them to a little whiskey and then to a little brandy till they saw the Indians commencing to talk. Then the rascally land-sharks would try to make a bargain with the Indians, telling them they would give them 300 dollars and a buggy and a pair of horses for 80 acres of land, and saying it would be very nice for them to have a buggy and a pair of horses for 80 acres of land, and saying it would be very nice for them to have a buggy to drive their families to church. The simple Indians concluded the bargain and gave the deed of their land to the rascals. Another Indian gave 80 acres and a house for 500 dollars and a cow. Another sold his claim and his wife's and that of his four children for 1200 dollars and then set to drinking and wasting the money, and by and by had to buy a tent to live in and [had] to beg for his needs. Others sold their claims and went to Kansas [City] and then to Topeka, and spent their money on drink and trifles and then returning to St. Mary's fell victims under the locomotive. Still others, very good Indians, sold their claims for one-fourth of what they were worth and, having the money, commenced to drink and fight and some of them were killed. And who is to blame for all this, but those rascals who cheated the poor Indians out of their property. Oh! if it were pleasing to Almighty God that they should all get sick and I could give them all the holy rites of the Church and they would die before getting spoiled, what a joy it would be to me to see them all going to heaven before I die! But this will not be possible. We must be resigned to the will of God and I must bear my cross in seeing their misfortunes.

Rap, rap! "Come in!" "Father Gailland, some white man wants to buy my claim." "I forbid you to sell it, for you will begin to drink as soon as you get the money and you will become a bad man and die unhappy and go to hell." "Well, Father, I promise you I shall not sell if that is so." "Yes, my child, believe me it will be so if you sell your claim. You will be without a home and then what will your wife and children become but beggars and drunkards and thieves to be put in prison and from there to hell. Go home and work and do what I have told you and you will be happy. And if those white people come again, tell them that you do not want to sell an inch of your land and say nothing else and they will let you

alone." "Father, I do promise you I shall not sell it, but shall do as you told me. Goodby Father, pray for me."

Rap! "Come in!" "Father Gaillard, that Indian boy went to Topeka with his parents and they have been drinking and feasting and buying there, and in coming back the boy, about 20 years old, fell between the cars in stepping into the train and the cars were already moving and he was killed." "Oh my! There it is! I told them they should stay at home and now see what they got by going there to drink and to feast. Oh! must I hear more of such accidents. See, it is the money from the claim that brought them there. I told them not to sell and they had to do their own will and now they find out what they got for it. I hope they will open their eyes and stop selling the rest of their land. I must go and see them as soon as they come home and correct them on their disobedience because I had forbidden them to sell. They were good people and never disobeyed me, but those land rascals deceived them."

Rap! "Come in!" "Father, Nakse and Queskin sold their land. Scarcely had they received the money when they went to the saloon, and drinking, because they had plenty of money, they very soon got drunk. They commenced to gamble and after some misunderstanding they began to quarrel and fight and then one wounded the other, and the wounded one killed Nakse." "Oh! devil's drink! Two of our best Indians before they had sectionized. They were continually working, examples in the church, going to confession and holy communion every week and Queskin was one of our best school-boys, who went to school in 1849 at St. Mary's. A real Indian boy, not knowing A B C, no English whatever, and he made his confession in English after 14 months schooling. He was a very good boy and for us a very good interpreter, having spent four years in school. He was a good reader, writer, arithmetician. After leaving school he went to live with his step-father. They worked well together, were examples in church, never drank and now at last money for their claim spent in drinking has worked their destruction. Oh! my Indians, if you had never possessed land, how happy you would be! But alas! it was too late. Your destruction is the use of money. Oh! my brethren, how my heart feels I cannot tell you! Almighty God is good. I hope He will not let my Indians perish. I hope He will make them poor again, without land, and make them live in a common reserve. I hope so. Then shall I feel happy." ¹⁰⁸

This was the tragic fate that overtook the historic Potawatomi tribe. It went down in defeat in an unequal contest with inexorable conditions and events. The progressive disappearance of the Indians from the Kaw reserve is recorded in the pages of the St. Mary's house diary. In 1870 the red men were ravaged by sickness and death. In 1872 the diary reports them as "departing" and in 1873 as "scattering." In 1876 Father

¹⁰⁸ De Vriendt, *Gaillard*, p. 173, *et seq.* (F). Numerous emendations have been made in the text of the brother's ms.

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Gaillard estimated the sectionizing Indians still to be found within the old reserve at about six hundred, and in the same year, which was the one preceding his death, he penned what may be called the obituary of the race:

We have arrived at the gloomiest page of the Pottowatomy mission; a sudden cold wind from the northern regions has blasted the beautiful flowers, that but yesterday displayed so much freshness in its magnificent garden. Until this time the Pottowatomies had acquired to a great degree the habit of industry, were regular in attending to their religious duties, and by the purity of their morals and vivacity of their faith had been the edification of their white neighbors. But now, in accordance with the treaty stipulations, the Government begins in different instalments to pay out to them large sums of money. The whiskey comes along with the money and flows in torrents; nearly every house in St. Mary's is turned into a saloon. Sharks of all kinds follow the Indians wherever they go, and never lose sight of them night and day; they use all manner of frauds and artifices to get hold of the Indian's money and property. Seeing himself undone by those he looked upon as friends and protectors, the poor Indian in despair of ever redeeming his condition plunges still deeper into drinking and all sorts of excess. In consequence thereof many of our neophytes have become quite negligent in the practice of their religious duties. Many have sold their lands and become homeless. Many by imprudent exposure to the inclemency of the weather have met with a premature death. Some were drowned, some crushed by the cars, some fell by the hands of assassins.

What a sad spectacle it is for a missionary to see the work of so many years thus destroyed, and his flock devoured by merciless wolves. Like the prophet standing amidst the ruins, what else remains for him but to weep over the work of destruction; to bewail his sins, to implore divine mercy, and to sigh after a better home? One thing, however, in my bitter grief consoles me, that a certain number, small indeed, have remained firm, and that to my knowledge none of those that have forsaken the path of virtue have lost the faith; this revives in them sooner or later especially in times of sickness and adversity.¹⁰⁹

From the September day in 1848 when he arrived with the pioneer party to lay the foundations of the new St. Mary's up to the dark days of the debacle Father Gaillard's devotion to the forlorn Indians knew not a moment's respite. Early in 1871 he submitted to the mission board in St. Louis a memorial urging that the Jesuits accompany the Christian Indians, who were moving south, and set up a mission on

¹⁰⁹ *WL*, 6: 82. William Nicholson, "A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 3: 310. "These Indians [Potawatomi] show the bad effects of annuity payments. They sit and wait for their money and then use it badly."

behalf of them in their newly acquired habitat; but the board vetoed the proposal. Nobody could be spared for the suggested mission; the board could do nothing more than express the hope that "the Lord of the harvest might soon send workmen for a harvest such as this." An offer had been made at this juncture to the missionaries which was inviting enough, if indeed the terms of the offer had been correctly understood, which seems unlikely. Each of the fifteen hundred Potawatomi migrating to the Indian Territory was to receive four hundred and eighteen acres of land and of this allotment each would set aside eighteen for the mission, making the latter the possessor of some twenty-seven thousand acres.¹¹⁰ No subsequent efforts were made by the Potawatomi to secure the services of Jesuit missionaries, at least none appear to be on record. The separation between the tribe and the missionary body that had ministered to it almost without interruption from the days of Marquette and Allouez was to be complete.

Meantime, Gaillard, as long as his physical condition permitted, was ever on the alert in attending to the spiritual wants of the Indians still clinging to the reserve. He went in this direction and that in all sorts of weather wherever the signal-flag of spiritual distress was raised. De Vriendt wrote of him that he seemed to have his ears always cocked to catch the words "sick," "danger," "confession." When somebody was reported to be unwell, he could not rest until he had ascertained whether or not the person was in danger; and even when such was not the case, he would often go anyway for fear a soul might pass out of this world without the ministrations of the Church. The patient attended to, he would return in high spirits to the mission. "He is ripe for heaven," was his only comment. "Let him go. I feel satisfied. I have done my duty and am ready for some one else." His duties in the mission-church he discharged with regularity and zeal. He sat for long hours in the confessional waiting for the penitents as they presented themselves in irregular succession; even when all were heard he would still return at intervals to see whether some late-coming Indian had not taken his stand before the confessional. Sometimes an Indian loitering about in the shadow of the church was accosted by Gaillard: "Do you not wish to go to confession? I have a little time now. Come, come! how do you know that you will live till tomorrow?" The whites, ever growing more numerous, were welcome in the mission church; but Gaillard's first concern was for the Indians. As far as depended on him, the latter were not to suffer harm from contact with folk that sometimes bore with poor grace the name of civilized. One Sunday a party of whites for some or

¹¹⁰ St. Mary's House Diary. (F).

other reason rose from their seats in church and started to walk out before the services were ended; whereupon Gailland roundly berated them from the altar as being a scandal to the Indians. If they came to church, let them conduct themselves therein with decency and decorum after the manner of his Potawatomi children.¹¹¹

A call in the winter season from a sick Indian residing twenty-three miles from St. Mary's was promptly answered by Father Gailland; but on crossing a river only a short distance from the mission he fell through the ice and had to continue on his way with clothes frozen to his body. He had perforce under the same circumstances to spend the night in the Indian's hut and return home the following day. Twenty-four hours of this physical hardship and exposure had their result, the missionary thereby contracting a paralysis from which he never fully recovered. For some time subsequently he was still able with the aid of horse and buggy, for to ride horseback was now beyond him, to go some distance on his ministerial rounds. For several years he lacked the needed services of a driver for the vehicle. "The Potatomies have diminished greatly the last few years," he wrote to De Smet in June, 1872. "Drink has done considerable harm among them. I am the only one who understands their language. I can scarcely see them for lack of a driver; this makes the matter all the worse. If I could have a driver at least twice a month I might be able to do some good. There are 20 boys who would willingly render me this service. It seems to me that if each of them were to lose one or two days of class a year, their studies would not suffer much on this account; on the contrary. But our professors will not hear of it."¹¹²

Father Gailland's last summons to the sick, occurring about June, 1877, is recorded by Brother De Vriendt with characteristic vividness. The brother's fondness for lending realistic touches to his narrative is still indulged. "Rap! rap! rap! 'Father Gailland, an Indian is sick near Topeka.' It was a little before dinner. 'Very well,' said Father Gailland, 'I will start after dinner with the cars.' So he went; but next morning a telegraph despatch came saying that Father Gailland was very sick so that the Brother Infirmarian had to get him again and come home with him." For several weeks following the valiant priest was confined to bed; then some eight days before the end of July he began to improve in quite remarkable fashion and was able to celebrate Mass on St. Ignatius day, July 31. Brother De Vriendt visiting him on this day found him in excellent spirits and received from him the Jesuit greeting of "a happy feast." But the veteran missionary was to say Mass

¹¹¹ De Vriendt, *Gailland*. (F).

¹¹² Gailland to De Smet, June 11, 1872. (A).

no more. With the dawn of August he relapsed into his previous weakness and declined rapidly until he passed away on the twelfth day of that month, 1877, in the full possession of his senses to the end. With him the Jesuit attempt, lasting through four decades, to christianize and civilize the Potawatomi of Kansas passed into history.

CHAPTER XXX

PETER DE SMET: PERSONAL ASPECTS

§ I. PEACE ENVOY TO THE WESTERN TRIBES

Among the traditions of Jesuit missionary history is the employment of members of the Society as government intermediaries with the Indians. "The Governor General [of New France]," wrote Baron Lahontan in the seventeenth century, "cannot be without the services of the Jesuits in making treaties with the governors of New England and New York as well as with the Iroquois." "Such services," comments a modern writer, "when the very life of the colony was threatened by Indians was bound to be recognized and to win prestige and authority for the clergy as a whole."¹ This rôle of the earlier Jesuit missionary as peacemaker was reenacted in the nineteenth century by Father De Smet. Through his various peace missions to Indian tribes, notably the Sioux, undertaken in some instances at the petition of the federal government, he became in a measure a public figure, whose name was carried far and wide throughout the country. These missions had a significance that one may qualify as national, resulting, as they sometimes did, in the cessation of Indian hostilities over a wide area and in the resumption of peaceful relations between natives and whites. They constitute a phase of Jesuit activity on the old frontier of such interest that one may be allowed to dwell on them with some detail.

The first recorded instance of De Smet's activities as peacemaker occurred in May, 1839, when he arrived among the Yankton Sioux near the mouth of the Vermilion to negotiate a treaty between them and the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs. Two of the latter tribe had been massacred by the Sioux, now become a source of chronic terror to the less bellicose Potawatomi.

The repast concluded, I disclosed to them the principal object of my visit among them, viz.: a durable peace between the Sioux and the Potawatomies, their neighbors. Having discussed the different points and refuted the false reports that divided the two nations, I persuaded the Sioux to make some presents to the children of such of our Potawatomies as they

¹ Alexander Ridell, *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec* (New York, 1916), p. 105.

had killed, which is called covering the dead, and to come and smoke with them the calumet of peace. The feast and the council were terminated with the most perfect cordiality. The same evening I gave them an instruction on the Apostles' Creed, and I baptized a great number of their little children. This nation, dispersed over a wide extent, reckons 32,000 souls.²

In November of the following year, 1840, De Smet, on arriving at Fort Vermilion from his first Rocky Mountain journey, found that his diplomatic success of the preceding year had been undone:

When I reached Fort Vermilion, a Santee war-party was just back from an excursion against my dear Potawatomes; they brought one scalp with them. The murderers had blackened themselves from head to foot with the exception of their lips, which were rubbed with vermilion. Proud of their victory, they performed their dance in the midst of the camp, carrying the scalp on the end of a long pole. I appeared all at once in their presence and invited them to meet in council. There I reproached them vigorously with their unfaithfulness to the solemn promise they had made me the year before to live in peace with their neighbors the Potawatomes. I made them feel the injustice they were guilty of in attacking a peaceable nation that wished them nothing but good, and who had even prevented their hereditary foes, the Otoes, Pawnees, Sauks, Foxes and Iowas from coming to invade them. Finally I advised them to employ all means to effect a prompt reconciliation and avoid the terrible reprisal which could not fail to come upon them; being well assured that the Potawatomes and their allies would come soon and take vengeance for their perjury, and perhaps wipe out their whole tribe. Abashed at their fault and dreading its consequences, they conjured me to serve once more as their mediator, and to assure the Potawatomes of their sincere resolution to bury the hatchet forever.³

Making his way back to St. Louis in 1846 at the close of his missionary career in Oregon and the Rocky Mountain country, De Smet found opportunity to effect a treaty of friendship between the Flatheads and the most inveterate of their enemies, the Blackfeet. He spent several weeks with various Blackfeet bands, eagerly improving the occasion, and with success, at least for the moment, to bring about a friendly understanding between their tribe and the Flatheads.⁴

Up to this juncture the efforts of De Smet to promote the cause of

² CR, *De Smet*, 1: 189. De Smet's activities as peace envoy are the subject of a scholarly study, Patrick W. Donnelly, S.J., "Father Pierre-Jean De Smet: United States Ambassador to the Indians" in *Historical Records and Studies*, 24: 7-142 (1934).

³ *Idem*, 1: 256.

⁴ *Idem*, 1: 589-599.

peace among the western Indian tribes had been made on his own initiative and in his private capacity as missionary and disinterested friend of the natives. But in 1851 his services as peace envoy to the Indians were engaged, though in a somewhat informal way, by the federal government. Thenceforth until his death he appeared at intervals as official mediator between the government and disaffected Indian tribes. His experience in this rôle was of a nature always satisfactory and sometimes striking and, from the standpoint of the secular reader of history, constitutes perhaps the most interesting phase of his career.⁵

During the forties a steady stream of Oregon emigrants, augmented later by California gold-seekers, passed over the Great Plains. Their passage was watched with suspicion and finally with dismay by the Indians, who began to realize that their vast domain was destined to pass into the white man's hands. They grew in consequence discontented and sullen so as to alarm the government, which feared that their mood might express itself in ruthless violence. To forestall any outbreak on their part, it was resolved to convene the chiefs of all the plains tribes in council with a view to ascertain their grievances and find a *modus vivendi* between them and the whites. The idea of the council was due in the main to Donald D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who found Washington ready to second his plans. Mitchell was eager to secure the services of Father De Smet for the council. Permission to this effect having been secured from Father Elet, his superior, Father De Smet with his companion, Father Christian Hoecken, left St. Louis June 7, 1851, on the *St. Ange*, Captain La Barge, for Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Cholera broke out on the *St. Ange* as she made her way up the Missouri and Hoecken was numbered among the victims. His death made a profound impression upon De

⁵ De Smet's reputation for influence over the Indians had been well established at the beginning of the fifties. "Mr. Beale desires me to enable him to make your acquaintance and to obtain your cooperation in doing the best for these tribes, he . . . being so well acquainted with your character as to believe that in cooperation with the civil authorities you could do more for these poor people, more for their welfare and keeping them in peace and friendship with the United States than 'an army with banners.' I can add that this is not only his opinion but that of the authorities at Washington and my own. When I was there this winter I had a conversation with the Secretary of the Interior (the head of the Indian service) and also with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on this subject and they concurred in the views of Lieut. Beale which I have stated to you. In fact, it was I, myself, and in consequence of my knowledge of your meritorious services in the missionary field and of your intimation a year ago that you might go to California that brought this point under the notice of the authorities and I shall be happy to be of any further service in carrying it out. Affectionately, Thomas H. Benton." Benton to De Smet, April 7, 1852, CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1566.

Smet as is related in another part of this history.⁶ Reaching Fort Union, the latter with a party of Indians of various tribes set out thence overland in a southerly direction. The route taken led by Fort Alexander and along the eastern base of the Big Horn Mountains to the Platte River near the site of Casper, Wyoming, where connection was made with the Oregon Trail. This the party followed eastward to Fort Laramie, thirty miles beyond which, at the mouth of Horse Creek, the council was to be held. Ten thousand Indians were in attendance. It was the largest meeting of natives with representatives of the government that had yet taken place. The sessions, marked by great harmony on all sides, lasted from the 12th to the 23rd of September and resulted in treaties with various tribes guaranteeing to the whites free, unmolested passage across the plains, and to the Indians compensation in money for the losses they had sustained at the hands of emigrants and for similar losses they might incur in the future. Father De Smet attended the council from beginning to end, putting forth all his energies to insure its success by working upon the Indians to listen to counsels of wisdom and moderation. The negotiations over, he started back for St. Louis in company with Robert Campbell and the commissioners, D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick, all names of interest in the history of the frontier.⁷ His letters detailing the business of the great pow-wow as also the incidents that marked his journey to and from the meeting-place are among the most valuable that he wrote.

During the eighteen days that the Great Council lasted, the union, harmony and amity that reigned among the Indians were truly admirable. Implacable hatreds, hereditary enmities, cruel and bloody encounters, with the whole past, in fine, were forgotten. They paid mutual visits, smoked the calumet of peace together, exchanged presents, partook of numerous banquets, and all the lodges were open to strangers. A practice occurring but on the most amicable and fraternal occasions was seen—this is, the adopting of children and of brothers on each side. There was a perfect unanimity of views between Colonel Mitchell, superintendent of the Indian Territory[?], and Major Fitzpatrick, and nothing was omitted to foster these germs of peace. The object of the assembly was a distinguished proof of the highest benevolence on the part of the United States Government, as well as of the sincere desire of establishing a lasting peace among tribes hostile to each other, and of obtaining a right of passage through their

⁶ On the eve of De Smet's departure from St. Louis for the council Father Elet received word from the General disapproving of the journey. But as all arrangements were made for it and as it did not involve De Smet's returning to Oregon, he was permitted by Elet to carry out his program. For particulars of Father Hoecken's death, cf. *supra*, Chap. XXVIII, § 6.

⁷ For notices of Campbell and Fitzpatrick, cf. *infra*, notes 46, 47.

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possessions for the whites, and making the Indians compensations for injuries and losses the latter may have sustained from the whites.

At the opening of the council, the superintendent made known to the savages that the object of the assembly was the acceptance by them of the treaty, such as had been prepared beforehand, with the consent of the President of the United States. This treaty was read sentence by sentence, and distinctly explained to the different interpreters, that they might have the exact and legitimate meaning of each article. The preamble explains that it is a treaty between the agents named on one side by the President of the United States, and on the other by the chiefs or braves of the Indian nations that reside south of the Missouri, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the boundary line of Texas and Mexico, viz.: the Sioux or Dakotas, the Cheyennes, the Arapahos, the Crows, the Minnetarees, and Mandans and Aricaras. . . . This assembly will form an era among them, and I trust will be ever dear to their memories. It closed on the 23rd of September.

The happy results of this council are, no doubt, owing to the prudent measures of the commissioners of the Government, and more especially to their conciliatory manners in all their intercourse and transactions with the Indians. The council will doubtless produce the good effects they have a right to expect. It will be the commencement of a new era for the Indians—an era of peace. In future, peaceable citizens may cross the desert unmolested and the Indian will have little to dread from the bad white men, for justice will be rendered to him.⁸

Seven years were to pass by before De Smet journeyed again over the Great Plains. In 1857 the Mormons, settled under the leadership of Brigham Young in the Salt Lake Valley, prepared to resist by arms the appointment by the United States government of Alfred Cummings as governor of Utah Territory.⁹ A military expedition under command

⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 2:675-676, 684. Fitzpatrick on leaving the council conducted a group of Indians to Washington. They were received and entertained on the way at St. Mary's Mission, Kansas, and at St. Louis University. The treaty of Fort Laramie is in Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 2:594. The Indian tribes that were parties to the treaty are listed in the preamble as "the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans and Arrickaras." The treaty was signed September 17, 1851, and subsequently ratified by the senate, the assent of all the tribes except the Crows having been obtained. Robert Campbell was present as a witness, but only Mitchell and Fitzpatrick signed the treaty as commissioners. Curiously enough Father De Smet's name does not appear among those of the fifteen witnesses. The treaty is severely commented on by Larpenteur in Coues, (ed.), *Forty Years a Trader on the Upper Missouri*. Cf. also Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver, 1931). There are numerous references to De Smet in Larpenteur's narrative.

⁹ It is often stated that De Smet was the first to direct the Mormons to the Great Salt Lake region on the occasion of his meeting them near Council

of Albert Sidney Johnston was sent out to afford protection to the new executive. It failed to suppress the rebellion and a second expedition, under command of General William Harney, was dispatched to Utah in the spring of 1858. At the same time commissioners were sent by the government to deal with the disaffected Mormons and offer amnesty to such of their number as withdrew from the rebellion. This conciliatory policy met with success and General Harney's expedition was turned back at the ford of the South Platte.¹⁰

Accompanying the troops on this occasion in the capacity of chaplain was Father De Smet. Between him and General Harney existed a friendship of many years' standing, the soldier admiring the missionary's obvious influence over the Indian tribes and his successes in adjusting their affairs. Accordingly, on being appointed to the command of the second Utah expedition, the route of which lay through a region infested with many hostile Indian tribes, Harney was prompt to enlist the services of De Smet. Representations having been made by the General at Washington to secure a military chaplaincy for the Jesuit, the latter received from Secretary of War Floyd a communication dated May 15, 1858:

The President [Buchanan] is desirous to engage you to attend the army for Utah, to officiate as chaplain. In his opinion your services would be important in many respects to the public interest, particularly in the present condition of our affairs in Utah. Having sought information as to the proper person to be thus employed, his attention has been directed to you and he has instructed me to address you on the subject, in the hope that you may not consider it incompatible with your clerical duties or your personal feelings to yield to his request.¹¹

Bluffs, Iowa, in the fall of 1846. The matter is doubtful and Father De Smet's own testimony leaves it such: "They [the Mormons] asked a thousand questions about the regions I had explored and the spot which I have just described to you [Salt Lake region] pleased them greatly from the account I gave them of it. Was that what determined them? I would not dare to assert it." CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1405. It does not seem likely that De Smet was ever at Great Salt Lake himself. He passed through Utah only in 1840 and 1841, and then by the route of the Oregon Trail, which ran a considerable distance from the lake. There is no evidence that on either of these occasions he detoured from the trail in the direction of the lake.

¹⁰ CR, *De Smet*, 1: 70. General William S. Harney, noted Indian fighter, married Mary, daughter of the St. Louis philanthropist, John Mullanphy. The relations between De Smet and Harney are detailed in the latter's biography, Reavis, *The Life and Military Services of Gen. William Sibley Harney* (St. Louis, 1878). The book contains several unfounded statements with regard to De Smet, e.g., that he spoke various Indian dialects with ease (p. 454).

¹¹ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 718. The copy of Floyd's letter in the war department is dated May 13, 1858.

A letter of the missionary sums up briefly the story of his connection with the Utah expedition:

The Reverend Father Provincial and all the other consultors, considering the circumstances, expressed themselves in favor of my accepting. I immediately set out for Fort Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, to join the army at that point. On the very day of my arrival I took my place in the Seventh Regiment, composed of 800 men, under the command of the excellent Colonel Morrison, whose staff was composed of a numerous body of superior officers of the line and engineers. General Harney, the commander-in-chief, and one of the most distinguished and most valiant generals of the United States, with great courtesy, installed me himself in my post. The brave colonel, though a Protestant, thanked me very heartily. "General," said he, "I thought myself highly honored when intrusted with the command of the engineers; to have attached to my command a representative of the ancient and venerable church, I hold as an additional favor." General Harney then shook hands with me, with great kindness, bade me welcome to the army, and assured me that I should be left perfectly free in the exercise of my holy ministry among the soldiers. He kept his word most loyally, and in this he was seconded by all the officers. During the whole time that I was among them, I never met with the slightest obstacle in the discharge of my duties. The soldiers had always free access to my tent for confession and instruction. I had frequently the consolation of celebrating the holy sacrifice of the mass early in the morning, and on each occasion a large number of soldiers devoutly approached the holy table. . . .

Everything was going on admirably and in good order. The commanding general and staff were already at the crossing of the south branch of the Platte, 480 miles from Fort Leavenworth, when he received the news that the Mormons had submitted or laid down their arms, and at the same time an order to distribute his troops to other points and return to the United States. This also changed my destination; the conclusion of peace put an end to my little diplomatic mission to the Indian tribes of Utah. I consulted with the general, and accompanied him on his return to Leavenworth.¹²

When De Smet returned to St. Louis from the Utah expedition, it was with the intention of resigning at once his commission in the army. Events frustrated his plan:

At the beginning of September, 1858, I sought to resign the post of chaplain which I had occupied in the Utah expedition. The Secretary of War did not see fit to accept my resignation, in consequence of fresh difficulties which had arisen west of the Rocky Mountains. There the Indian tribes had formed a powerful league against the whites; they had surprised Colonel Steptoe and had killed two of his officers and several soldiers; a general uprising was imminent in all that region. Nine tribes had already

¹² CR, *De Smet*, 2: 718-719, 728.

entered into the coalition, namely the Palooses, Yakimas, Skoyelpis, Okinagans, Spokans, Coeur d'Alenes, Kalispels, Kootenais and Flatheads. These poor savages, formerly so peaceable, the last four especially, had become very uneasy over the frequent incursions made by the whites upon the lands in the southern and western portions of the Territories of Washington and Oregon. From uneasiness, they had soon passed to displeasure and anger, when they saw these adventurers taking possession of the most advantageous sites and settling as owners upon the most fertile parts of the country, in total contempt of their rights and without the slightest preliminary agreement.¹³

The mountain tribes had become especially stirred up and had resolved to drive back the whites, or at least to make resistance to their progressive encroachments. Bands were quickly formed in various places; these came together, began drilling and in a few days a body of 800 to 1,000 warriors was organized. Their first blow was a victory for them, and in their eyes a complete one, for they had not only driven off the enemy but had besides captured his train and provisions. The precipitate retreat of the Americans even seemed to them a shameful flight. It was, however, a perfectly natural thing, since the brave Colonel Steptoe, having no suspicion of the rising, had with him only one company of 120 men, on their way to maintain order at Colville. Intoxicated with their first success, the Indians thought themselves invincible and able to meet the whole United States army.

On the other side, the government thought the affair of sufficient gravity to make it prudent to put it in the hands of General Harney. This officer had won glory on many occasions in Indian wars in Florida, Texas, Mexico and the plains of the West. He wished to have me with him on this distant expedition, and at his express request, the Secretary of War invited me to go accordingly. After ascertaining that it was agreeable to my superiors, I consented to retain my position of army chaplain in the new army. I hoped to be of some service in that capacity to the men, but above all to the Indian tribes of the mountains; I desired greatly also to be in touch with my missionary brethren in the difficulties which the war would doubtless bring upon them.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. also CR, *De Smet*, 2:748, for the causes of the Oregon Indian war of 1858. "So extensive and deep has been the sentiment of distrust and dissatisfaction produced by the influx of immigration to the Indian country coupled with the protracted delay in the ratification of the treaties made in 1855 that the most persistent efforts of the agents and other officers of the government have barely sufficed to preserve amicable relations even with tribes heretofore uniformly friendly." *RCIA*, 1859, p. 382.

¹⁴ CR, *De Smet*, 2:730-732. The attack on Col. Steptoe's column was made by the Coeur d'Alènes and Palouse. The preposterous charge was made that Father Joset, Coeur d'Alène missionary, incited the Indians against the troops. An authentic account of the affair, detailing Joset's heroic efforts to restrain the Indians and prevent bloodshed, was furnished the San Francisco *Monitor*, March, April, 1860, by Father Congiato, superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXIV, n. 103.

De Smet sailed from New York for Oregon by way of Panama, September 20, 1858. When he arrived at Vancouver October 28, the actual campaign against the Indians was over. "The task, however, remained of removing the prejudices of the Indians, soothing their inquietude and alarm and correcting or rather refuting, the false rumors that are generally spread about after a war and which otherwise might be the cause of its renewal."

To cope with such a task no one was better fitted than De Smet. It was accordingly decided that he should visit the upper tribes, to whom he was well and favorably known in consequence of his missionary activities among them in the forties. Leaving Vancouver the day after his arrival, he passed the winter at the Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alènes, visited the abandoned Flathead Mission of St. Mary's in the Bitter Root Valley, the first station established by him in the Rocky Mountain country, and spent some time at the new St. Ignatius Mission near the Great Flathead Lake. On April 16, in response to instructions received from General Harney, he left St. Ignatius with a party of chiefs of the various mountain tribes, to conduct them to Fort Vancouver where a council was to be arranged between them and government officers. The council, which took place on May 19, had a successful issue. His mission now accomplished, Father De Smet asked and obtained June 1, 1859, permission from his military superior to return to St. Louis. Evidence of the esteem in which he was held in army circles is to be met with in a series of letters addressed to the missionary by Captain Alfred Pleasanton, whose services in the Civil War were to bring him into prominence. The captain, who appears to have been next in command to General Harney in the Oregon expedition, exerted himself to further in every possible way the missionary's diplomatic endeavors among the Indians:

By the campaign of last summer submission had been conquered, but the embittered feelings of the two races excited by war still existed and it remained for you to supply that which was wanting to the sword. It was necessary to exercise the strong faith which the red man possessed in your purity and holiness of character, to enable the general [Harney] to evince successfully towards them the kind intentions of the Government and to restore confidence and repose to their minds. This has been done; the victory is yours and the general will take great pleasure in recording your success at the War Department. . . . We all miss you so much; I have not met an officer of your acquaintance who has not expressed great regret at your departure and we all feel indebted to you for the good understanding between the poor Indians and the whites at this time. No disturbance of any kind has occurred and I feel confident there will not be any.¹⁵

¹⁵ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1577, 1580. "It gives me pleasure to commend to the general-in-chief the able and efficient services the Reverend Father De Smet has

The last and by far the most important of the peace negotiations of De Smet with the Indians were those which he conducted with the Sioux. Disaffection among the various bands of this widespread tribe, occasioned in large measure by the undoubted wrongs which they suffered at the hands of the whites, grew apace during the years immediately preceding the Civil War. The outbreak of the great conflict diverted the attention of the government from the western frontier and thus gave the Indians an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage. They at once broke out into open rebellion, ravaging the white settlements and carrying on hostilities with a fury which culminated in the historic Minnesota massacre of 1862. Military detachments were sent against them and with success. But the following year the Sioux of the Missouri were on the warpath.

In December, 1863, De Smet, while in Washington on his return by way of the Isthmus of Panama from a trip to Oregon, was earnestly requested by the secretary of the Interior and the commissioner of Indian affairs to undertake a journey to the Sioux country with a view to use his influence to bring the belligerent Indians to terms:

I have been requested, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, "to undertake the journey and to bring about, if possible, a peace among the hostile Sioux, acting in concert with the commander of the troops and the appointed agents." They offer to pay all my expenses, with a handsome remuneration for myself. Not being well as yet, I have not accepted their request. I fear I would lose all caste among the Indians. They have hitherto looked upon me as the bearer to them of the word of the Great Spirit and have universally been kind and attentive wherever I have met them. Should I present myself in their midst as the bearer of the word of the Big Chief of the Big Knives in Washington, no longer their Great Father but now their greatest enemy, it would place me in rather an awkward situation. I have written to the Commissioner that if I can go, I will go on my own hook, without pay or remuneration; visit the friendly Sioux first, and in their company try to penetrate among their fighting brethren and do my utmost to preach peace and good will to

rendered." Harney to the assistant adjutant-general, June 1, 1859. CR, *De Smet*, 4:1576. "So completely had the Indians been pacified through the good offices of Father De Smet and the active and efficient measures of General Harney that the emigration to Oregon during the summer of 1859 continued to pour into the territory." Reavis, *op. cit.*, p. 285. At least two reports of De Smet, both of them unpublished, on his diplomatic mission of 1859 are in the war department archives. On November 12, 1859, Harney transmitted a communication from De Smet narrating particulars of his journey to St. Louis and of the dispositions of the Indians. "The Report of Father De Smet is very interesting and proposes a plan for Indian reservations." E. D. Townsend, A. A. Gen. July 6, 1859. De Smet's resignation as chaplain tendered September 29, 1859, was accepted by W. A. Dunkard, acting-secretary of war, October 6, 1859. Archives of the war department.

them, and to make them come to a good understanding with the general in command and the agents of the Government.¹⁶

On April 20 De Smet left St. Louis for the upper Missouri. Making his headquarters at Fort Berthold, he remained there the entire summer, during which time he visited the Sioux and other tribes in the vicinity. Word having been brought to him that the Santee Sioux, the chief participants in the Minnesota Massacre, who were then hugging the British frontier, were eager to see him and hear what terms the government had to offer, he thought it his duty to answer their call. Before doing so, however, he felt it proper to lay his plan before General Sully, who was then coming up the Missouri with a strong force. De Smet, having gone down the river to meet him, acquainted him with his intention of visiting the Santee. The General was of opinion that peace terms should be discussed with the Indians only after they had received punishment for the crimes they had committed. "In consequence of the General's declaration and the circumstances of the case, my errand of peace, though sanctioned by the Government, became bootless and could only serve to place one in a false position; namely, that of being face to face with the Indians without being able to do them the least service. So I took the resolution of returning to St. Louis. I reported to the Government all that had passed during my stay in the plains."¹⁷

¹⁶ CR, *De Smet*, 1:85.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 3:833. Numerous testimonies from army officers as to De Smet's influence with the Indians are extant. "The Reverend Father De Smet, S.J., being about to visit the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains on a charitable mission on behalf of the Government, it affords me the greatest pleasure to recommend this most excellent and good man and devoted friend to every officer and agent in the public service, both civil and military. There is no one to whom the country is more indebted for valuable and important services with the Indian tribes on this side of the Rocky Mountains as well as in Oregon and Idaho. The highest degree of confidence has always been reposed in the purity of character and refined intelligence the good Father De Smet has evinced in his intercourse with the most distinguished persons in this country as well as in Europe." A. P. Pleasanton, major general, St. Louis, April 18, 1864. (A). "The Rev. P. J. De Smet goes on a mission of Peace and Mercy among the fighting Sioux, leaving today. Notwithstanding the wide renown of this illustrious Missioner and traveller, I do myself the honor and pleasure of writing you a note to beg—what I know it will afford you pleasure to grant—that you will give him such letters as insure him every assistance he may have need for from your officers and troops who may be stationed on his route either going or returning." Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans to General Curtis, St. Louis, April 19, 1864. (A). Even when engaged in strictly missionary work De Smet was given cordial letters of recommendation by the military authorities. "All officers of the army within the Military Division [of the Missouri] are required and all citizens are requested to extend to the bearer of this letter,

In 1867 De Smet was again on the upper Missouri in the capacity of official peace envoy to the hostile tribes. The secretary of the Interior had requested him to visit the latter "to endeavor to bring them back to peace and submission and to prevent as far as possible the destruction of property and the murder of the whites." "I accepted the commission," he wrote, "there being nothing in it contrary to my duties as a missionary, and with the distinct understanding that I shall not accept any remuneration for my services. I prefer to be altogether independent in money matters, as my only object is to be of use to the whites and still more to the poor Indians." "My quality of envoy extraordinary of the Government carries with it the title of Major, strangely mated, it must be owned, with that of Jesuit. Still, it must be said in its behalf that it gives me readier access among the soldiers, a great many of whom are Catholics."¹⁸

The route taken by De Smet, quite different from any he had previously followed, reveals the progress in modern means of communication that was being made in the western country. He travelled by rail from St. Louis to Chicago and thence west on the Northwestern Railroad, which had just been completed to the Missouri River. His destination at this stage of the journey was Omaha; but heavy rains having wrought havoc with bridges and tracks, he had to interrupt his railroad journey at Dennison, Iowa, and proceed by wagon to Sioux City, a distance of a hundred miles. There he took passage on the Steamer *Guidon*, which was ascending the Missouri. With him was a band of twenty-six Yankton Sioux, with their chief Pannaniapapi, an exemplary Catholic Indian and his devoted friend. At the Yankton agency, near Fort Randall, where he took leave of his Yankton friends, he boarded the *Bighorn* and continued his journey up the river. At Forts Thompson, Sully, Rice and Berthold and numerous other stopping places on the way up to Fort Buford at the mouth of the Yellowstone, hundreds of Indians were awaiting the arrival of the missionary. He interviewed them all, gathering information as to their condition, taking note of their grievances, and counseling them to follow the ways of humanity and peace. As a result of his investigation he felt convinced that the Indians were ready to live amicably with the whites if only the latter

the Rev. Father De Smet, a Catholic Priest, who has heretofore travelled much among the Rocky Mountains and is now en route for missions under his control, all the assistance and protection they can to enable him to fulfill his benevolent and humane purposes. He has always been noted for his strict fidelity to the interests of our Government, for indefatigable industry and an enthusiastic love for the Indians under his charge." W. T. Sherman, major general, St. Louis, April 9, 1866. (A).

¹⁸ *Idem*, 3: 859, 881.

would deal with them according to the dictates of humanity and justice. "I am firmly convinced, that if the just claims of the Indians are attended to; if their annuities are paid them at the proper time and place; if the agents and other employees of the Government treat them with honesty and justice; if they are supplied with the necessary tools for carpentry and agriculture—the tribes of the Upper Missouri will maintain peace with the whites; and the warlike bands who today infest the plains of the Far West and the valley of the Platte, where there is so much destruction of property and loss of life, will promptly cease their depredations and would not be long in joining the stay-at-home tribes." ¹⁹

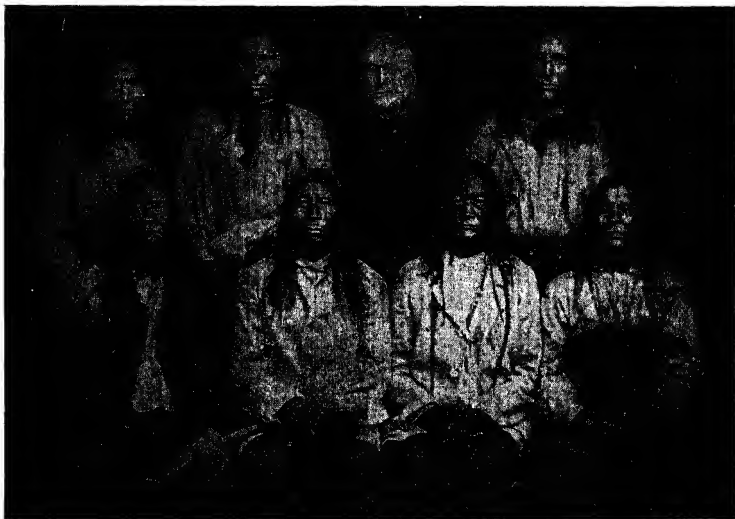
Descending the Missouri at the close of his mission, Father De Smet met at Leavenworth the new peace commission, consisting of several distinguished army officers, which had been appointed by the government to probe thoroughly the entire question of the relations between Indians and whites. They invited Father De Smet to join their party and accompany them in their visit to the tribes. This he was willing to do; but as his baggage had already gone on to St. Louis, he found it necessary first to return to that city. Here he fell ill and at the direction of his physician gave up his plan of joining the peace commission on their travels. For the results achieved by his expedition of 1867 De Smet received an appreciative note from the secretary of the Interior: "You will please accept my thanks for the faithful and efficient manner in which you have discharged the duties entrusted in your care." ²⁰

The following year, 1868, was to see the most remarkable of all of De Smet's embassies to the red men in the quality of pacificator. On March 30 of that year he left St. Louis for Chicago, whence he travelled to Omaha and from there to Cheyenne. He was in company with Generals Sheridan, Sherman, Harney, and Terry and the other members of the peace commission. At Cheyenne the commission and Father De Smet parted company, the former going to Fort Laramie, while the latter returned to Omaha, whence he proceeded to Fort Rice. His plan was to penetrate the interior from this point with a view to meet the Sioux bands still in arms and arrange a council between them and the commissioners. It was a perilous undertaking, one which in the opinion of Major General David S. Stanley, no other white man could have attempted with impunity. ^{20a}

¹⁹ *Idem*, 3: 886.

²⁰ *Idem*, 1: 92.

^{20a} *Idem*, 4: 1584. *et seq.* An account of De Smet's peace mission of 1868, based on Charles Galpin's journal (*infra*, n. 41) may be read in Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux* (Boston, 1932), Chap. XV.



Father De Smet with a group of Indian chiefs of the Pacific Northwest, 1859. Daguerreotype in the Linton Album. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.



Father De Smet meets the hostile Sioux, Powder River, 1868. The most notable of his peace conferences with the Indians. Sketch in the Linton Album by Matthew Hastings, 1835-1919, painter of Indian and western scenes. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.

The missionary set out from Fort Rice in company with an escort of eighty friendly Sioux for the camp of Sitting Bull, designated by him "the generalissimo" of the hostile chiefs. The camp was on the Yellowstone about ten miles above the mouth of the Powder River. Here had gathered some five thousand Sioux, the warriors numbering about five hundred. Charles Galpin, a trader of many years experience on the upper Missouri, accompanied De Smet as interpreter. The mission was completely successful, the Sioux chiefs being induced to meet the commissioners at Fort Rice and there conclude with them a treaty of peace and amity. The picture of the venerable missionary, robed in his religious garb and going forward to meet the vengeful Sioux without other arms or protection than a banner having on one side the name of Jesus and on the other the image of the Virgin Mother is one which the brush of the painter might well immortalize.

His achievement was one of the most remarkable in the history of our Indian wars. He was sixty-eight years old and suffering with bodily infirmities which in a few years were to end fatally. He made a journey of 350 miles through a rough and unknown country to a large force of Indians who had sworn death to any white man who might fall within their power. There was no other man who could approach them. Yet by virtue of his great reputation among all the tribes, their absolute faith in his word and their belief that he had their interests at heart, and, we may add his devout trust in the Lord whom he served, he did this remarkable thing and brought about a peace in the most hateful and difficult situation that our government had been called upon to face in all its troubles with its Indians. The Commissioners formally acknowledged that but for Father De Smet their work would have been a failure.²¹

²¹ *Idem*, 4: 1584; 1: 102. For De Smet's own account cf. *idem*, 3: 899-921. For the speeches made by the chiefs at the council he drew upon Galpin's journal. Cf. *infra*, note 41. Galpin reports the speeches of Sitting Bull and Two Bears as follows:

"The Sitting Bull came boldly forward. After going through the usual ceremonies with great dignity and due respect, [he] said, 'Father, you pray to the Great Spirit for us, I thank you. I have often beseeched the kindness of the Great Spirit, never have I done so more earnestly than this day, and that our words may be heard above and on all the Earth. When I first saw you coming my heart beat wildly, and I had evil thoughts caused by the remembrance of the past. I bade it be quiet—it was so! And when on the prairie I shook hands with you and my cousin and sister, I felt changed and hardly knew what to say—but my heart was glad and quickly scouted deception. I am and always have been a fool and a warrior, my people caused me to be so. They have been troubled and confused by the past; they look upon their troubles as coming from the Whites and became crazy; and pushed me forward. For the last five years I have led them in bad deeds; the fault is theirs, not mine. I will now say in their presence, welcome, father,—the messenger of peace. I hope quiet will again be restored to our country. As I am not full of words I will thank [you] in the hearing of the Chiefs and

§ 2. LETTER-WRITER

In the history of the vanishing frontier during the three decades 1840-1870 Father De Smet has an acknowledged place. "Explorers of this attractive field," say his biographers, Chittenden and Richardson, are constantly crossing his trail, "which interlaces the whole Northwest

braves, as a token of peace, hoping you will always wish us well. I have now told you all. All that can be, has been said. My people will return to meet the Chiefs of our great Father, who wants to make peace with us. I hope it will be done, and whatever is done by others, I will submit to, and for all time to come be a friend of the Whites.' . . . Two Bears came forward, and said, 'Friends, I heard of the coming of this good man months ago and hearing it, was at once ready to welcome him to my country on the East side of the Missouri, where I was born and raised. As our country is common to all, I have come with him not only to see some of the old comrades I travelled the warpath with, but to hear you talk, and see how you treat this, in my opinion, our best friend. The Whites love and respect him, so do I, and my people. I pray to the Great Spirit that I may always do so. I wish you to hear what I have to say, and I mean it all. I do not come here to beg you any favors upon the strength of our relationship, but I am here with a few of our chiefs and braves who represent a large portion of the Sioux Nation, some seven hundred lodges, to tell you that our minds are made up to follow his advice and be guided by the men sent by the President to accomplish something definite for our future good. I have listened with attention to what you have said in this, the greatest [council] ever held in our country. I say the greatest, because headed by this best of men and five of the great chiefs of the Whites. It cannot mean other than for our future good and prosperity. I tell you now, one and all, my mind is made up, I shall follow this Medicine man's advice, and accept the offering of peace so kindly sent you by our Great Father. I was troubled and perplexed with the various reports from you for the last two years; seeing that you all hear and having heard you all talk, and treat this party so kindly, I will thank you one and all for your wise conclusion. I shall leave with a heart full of joy, with hopes you may ever continue to be friends with the Whites, and that this cruel war that has so long been hanging around us will soon be over. I now thank this Good Man, and raise my hands to the Great Spirit that he may pity and guide us through our future life.' " *Mid-America*, 13: 160 (1930). The letter of thanks of the Peace Commission to De Smet is in CR, *De Smet*, 3: 921.

"Fort Rice, D. T. July 3, 1868.

We, the undersigned, the members of the Indian Peace Commission, who have been present at the council just terminated at this post [Fort Rice], desire to express to you our high appreciation of the great value of the services which you have rendered to us and to the country by your devoted and happily successful efforts to induce the hostile bands to meet us and enter into treaty relations to the Government. We are satisfied that but for your long and faithful journey into the heart of the hostile country and but for the influence over even the most hostile of the tribes which your years of labor among them have given to you, the results which we have reached here could not have been accomplished. We are well aware that our thanks can be but of little worth to you and that you will find your true reward for your labors and for the dangers and privations which you have encountered in the consciousness that you have done much to promote

from St. Louis to the Straits of Juan de Fuca.”²² His letters, now available in a definitive critical edition brought out by these two students of early western history, constitute a considerable body of first-hand and generally accurate information on the geography, topography, fauna, flora, and Indian inhabitants of the West at a period before the oncoming waves of white emigration and settlement had transformed its face.²³ The one-time advancing fringe of western settlement long ago reached the waters of the Pacific and the frontier as a phenomenon of our national history has ceased to be. But in De Smet’s day it was a reality, and as such, lives in his written work. The Indian lore in particular which he managed to pick up and consign to the printed page is of abiding ethnological value. “The history of the native races of North America,” to borrow again the words of his biographers, “can never be fully written without consulting the writings of Father De Smet.”²⁴

The usual designation of De Smet’s published writings as letters is something of a misnomer. The more lengthy letters, at least, are not so much examples of conventional epistolary correspondence as they are carefully drawn up and often elaborate dissertations or sketches covering interesting phases of the life of the old West. Considered as literature and apart from the body of ethnological and other information which they contain, the De Smet letters merit a high degree

peace on earth and good will to men; but we should do injustice to our feelings were we not to render to you our thanks and express our deep sense of obligations under which you have laid us.

We are, Dear Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect,

Your Very Obedient Servants,

Wm. S. Harney,

John B. Sanborn, Comr.

Bvt. Majr Gen & Indian Peace Comr.

Alfred H. Terry,

Bvt. Major-General U.S.A. & Comr.”

²² CR, *De Smet*, 1: viii.

²³ *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., 1801-1873. Missionary Labors and Adventures among the Wild Tribes of the North American Indians, embracing Minute Description of their Manners, Customs, Games, Modes of Warfare and Torture, Legends, Traditions, etc. All from Personal Observations Made during Many Thousand Miles of Travel with Sketches of the Country from St. Louis to Puget Sound and the Altrabasca, Edited from the original unpublished manuscript Journals and Letter Books and from his Printed Works with Historical, Geographical, Ethnological and other Notes. Also a Life of Father De Smet. Maps and Illustrations.* By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Major, Corps of Engineers, U.S.A. and Alfred Talbot Richardson (four volumes, New York, Francis P. Harper, 1905). This edition of the De Smet letters is cited in the present work as CR, *De Smet*.

²⁴ Cf. CR, *De Smet*, 1: 138. On the alleged exaggerations of the De Smet letters as regards the results achieved with the Indians, cf. *supra*, Chap. XXV, § 7.

of praise. There can be no question that their author possessed literary gifts above the common. It has often been observed of men of action that when they take the pen in hand they reveal at times an unexpected freshness and vigor of expression. This is true of De Smet. His literary manner shows a virility and directness that reflect faithfully his own robust and manly nature. In the art especially of accurate and vivid portrayal of nature, animate or inanimate, his writing leaves little to be desired. His descriptive power is indeed his chief literary asset, and to it his letters chiefly owe whatever they possess of effectiveness and charm. Hardly any feature in the physical background against which the life of the old West and Northwest was set is left unnoticed by this keen observer. The buffalo, the bear, the mountain lion, the antelope, the wolf, the polecat, the prairie dog, the rattlesnake, the prairie fire, the forest fire, the tornado, the aurora borealis and Rocky Mountain scenery of whatever kind—all are portrayed with accurate and often graphic touch. A favorite topic of description with De Smet was the Missouri River.²⁵ He knew the noble stream as few white men ever came to know it, having travelled frequently on it in canoe or steamboat and along its entire course from the great falls to the mouth. His attitude towards it was one of deep personal affection. Its snags and sawyers, the dizzy swirl of its yellow and turbid waters, its varying moods, agreeable and disagreeable, the splendid growths of timber that line its banks for hundreds of miles above the mouth—he has pictured it all with a pen as sympathetic as it is true to fact. No Missouri River pilot, it has been said, could have indicated with more correctness, certainly not with more vividness, the perils that beset early navigation on the great water highway of the West. And what he did for the Missouri, De Smet did in lesser degree for the Columbia. Sources, rapids, the inspiring scenery that lies along its course, and the dangerous bar at its mouth are all touched off with his usual descriptive skill. Rivers, in fine, with the intimate part they played in the drama of frontier life, seem to have made a particular appeal to De Smet's imagination. His letters picture for us, besides the Missouri and Columbia, the Colorado, the Athabasca, the Saskatchewan, the Platte, the Yellowstone, and other streams of minor note.²⁶

²⁵ The index to the Chittenden-Richardson edition of the De Smet letters lists thirty-five references to the Missouri River, covering such topics as snags, sawyers, scenery, steamboat navigation, forts, etc. Of a certain passage (3:846) the editors say: "This is one of the most complete descriptions of the Missouri River steamboat extant." Again: "This observation upon the habits of the Missouri river is literally correct. The most experienced pilot could not have stated the case more exactly" (3:867). "This excellent summary of the difficulties of Missouri river navigation is evidence of Father De Smet's habit of close observation" (1:161).

²⁶ "De Smet's brilliant and poetical descriptions of the grandeur of the [Colum-

The letters of Father De Smet written at the request of his superiors as a means of securing material aid for his missionary work gave him widespread publicity both at home and abroad. What gives them interest from an historical point of view is especially the circumstance that through their medium thousands of readers in Europe and America acquired their first knowledge of the great unopened country west of the Mississippi. Travellers and explorers from Lewis and Clark on had been gradually unfolding in their published reports the outstanding features of the vast inland empire which (up to the line of the Rockies at least) had been acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase; but in the forties, when the De Smet letters were first given to the world, it was still largely a land of mystery. The letters did much to lift the veil. The prairies of Kansas, the high arid plains of western Nebraska and Wyoming, the interlacing valleys and defiles of the Rocky Mountain region, the great fresh water lakes of Idaho and western Montana and the promising lands of the upper and lower Columbia Valleys were themes of absorbing interest which the reader could find filling the pages of the De Smet letters. There too one was introduced to the Oregon Trail, the historic highway par excellence of our national history, over which through two eventful decades poured the sturdy emigrant stock that was to build up the Pacific Northwest and California. "These intrepid pioneers of civilization," wrote De Smet, "have formed the broadest, longest and most beautiful road in the whole world from the United States to the Pacific Ocean. . . . [It] is as smooth as a barn floor swept by the winds and not a blade of grass can shoot on it on account of the continual passing."²⁷

In 1853 De Smet was requested by Governor Isaac Stevens to accompany him in his impending government exploration of a route for a transcontinental railroad from the upper Mississippi to the Pacific Coast. "From your work entitled 'Oregon Missions,'" Stevens wrote to the Jesuit, April 11, 1853, "I have derived much pleasure and much information; but I understand that since its publication you have journeyed extensively in the western country, particularly between the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. The object of my writing at this time, therefore, is to ask of you such additional information as you may be able to give me. The geography of the country, the Indian tribes, their numbers and character, the missionary and trading posts, I am particularly anxious to receive information about."²⁸ Another instance of the

bia] river and its forests denote a keen appreciation of nature and a facile pen." William Denison Lyman, *The Columbia River*, p. 156.

²⁷ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 671.

²⁸ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1568. "The information we already have of this region," he [Stevens] writes to Donelson, 'is based upon the following works; Lewis and

effect produced by the De Smet letters is found in a letter addressed to him by Governor Gilpin of Colorado, who did more than any other individual, so it has been maintained, to point out and bring to public notice the possibilities for settlement and development of the country lying between the Rockies and the Missouri. Sending to the missionary a copy of his work, *The Central Gold Region*, Gilpin wrote:

It is necessary for me to require of you to inflict upon yourself the task to read it through. I attach a chief gravity to the judgement which you may pronounce upon it, because, as you were my predecessor in the regions of which it treats, so it has been from your oracular delineations that my boyhood took fire and burned with an inexpressible ambition to penetrate to a complete comprehension of this superlative portion of our country. May we not congratulate one another that those magnificent countries of the great Mountains, of which *you* were the *first* to speak and write with the enthusiasm of truth, have now in so short a time become the very arena of fashion and prospective empire. As you have been so prominently a pioneer in directing the tide of intelligent progress into the wilderness, I implore you to remember that there remains a still more delicate and sacred mission. This is the judicious location and growth of cities.²⁹

From his earliest years De Smet had cultivated an amateur's interest in nature-study and botany in particular. This interest he developed more and more, as his travels through the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Northwest brought him opportunity to make known to the public the salient natural features of what were then all but unknown parts of the United States. In 1838 at Council Bluffs he was taking meteorological observations with instruments furnished him by Joseph N. Nicollet, French scientist and explorer in the service of the United States government, who commended the accuracy of the missionary's carefully tabulated work and used it freely in his own published reports.³⁰

Father De Smet often turned to map-making as a means of embodying in permanent form the great mass of geographical and topographical

Clark's Travels; Irving's Astoria and Rocky Mountains; Travels by the Missionary De Smet; Nicollet and Pope; Governor Simpson's Journey around the World and some information not yet published obtained from Dr. Evans on his geological survey of these regions.'" Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Stevens* (Boston, 1901), 1: 292. Stevens telegraphed to De Smet, April 21, 1853: "Is it an absolute impossibility for you to go with my expedition? It will be a great opportunity to meet your friends among the Indian tribes and you would render great service to them and the country." CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1569.

²⁹ Gilpin to De Smet, July 20, 1860. (A). Of course other books on the West had appeared prior to De Smet's.

³⁰ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIII, § 4.

detail which he picked up in the course of his travels.³¹ While not marked by any degree of technical finish, these maps will always be interesting historically as being among the earliest attempts made in the field of western cartography. In 1851, at the request of Donald D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, he drafted a map of the western country for the government.³² His maps of the sources of Clark's Fork of the Columbia are particularly interesting pieces of work. Commodore Wilson of the United States Navy, who had himself published a map of the Oregon region, commends one of these sketches in a letter to the Jesuit as supplying the lacunae which his own map showed in regard to the Flathead country. Probably the most significant of the De Smet maps are those showing the Yellowstone Park region, with many of the important features of that great wonderland, the geysers, for example, clearly indicated. De Smet's French for geyser (nearly all his map-nomenclature is in that language), is *fontaine bouillant*, "boiling fountain." These sketches of the upper reaches of the Yellowstone Valley are all the more noteworthy in that they antedate by some twenty years the Washburn expedition of 1870, which first brought the natural wonders of that region to public notice and started the agitation for making it a national park. "It would indeed have been fortunate," say Chittenden and Richardson, "if the park had been set apart on the lines he describes rather than as it was, for it would then have embraced much territory, particularly the Jackson Hole country, which, it is generally conceded, should have been a part of the Park and which is now largely included in recent forest reservations."³³ A newspaper statement of date early in the fifties is

³¹ De Smet's ms. maps, bound in a stub file, are in the St. Louis University Archives.

³² This map is now in the Library of Congress, Washington. It bears in a cartouche a dedication to D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, at whose request it was made. "Understanding that you will shortly start for the Upper Missouri country on your missionary labors and intending as you are aware to hold a treaty or treaties with the various prairie Indians at Fort Laramie in September next, you will do me a favor by informing such of the upper tribes as you may see, of the intentions of the Government, which are more particularly set forth in the circulars herewith, which I will thank you to distribute to any persons that would be likely to make known their contents to the Indians. Should your other engagements permit I shall be rejoiced to see you at Fort Laramie. Any sketches that you can take and the outlines of maps of the Prairie and Mountain country would be of great importance and would be highly appreciated by the Government, as well as any information with regard to the habits, history or other interesting matters appertaining to the Upper Indians." Mitchell to De Smet, St. Louis, April 19, 1851, CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1565.

³³ CR, *De Smet*, 2: 662. "In a scrap-book containing a large number of manuscripts maps prepared by Father De Smet during his travels are four maps that embrace the sources of the Yellowstone. From these maps are taken the following

interesting in this connection: "It must be gratifying to Father De Smet to know that when that country shall have been peopled by an industrious population, his explorations will be spoken of as his predecessors now are in the valley watered by the Father of Rivers and upon the borders of Lake Superior."³⁴

Not all the geographical and other information which Father De Smet embodied in his letters was acquired by him at first hand. He managed also to secure valuable data from trustworthy informants, having in his frequent journeyings come into contact and in cases formed lasting friendships with many of the picturesque figures of the pioneer West. The list of his acquaintances of this type include John McLoughlin, the "Father of Oregon";³⁵ James Bridger, typical fron-

names of features now familiar to every visitor to the Park: Gardiner Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone Lake, Yellowstone Falls, noted as 290 feet high with an outline of the Grand Canon below them, Firehole river, the various hot spring districts, Jackson Lake, the Teton Mountains, Two Ocean Pass, Atlantic and Pacific creeks and 'Colter's Hell.' On one of the maps occurs the following notation: 'Great volcanic region about 100 miles in extent now in a state of eruption.'" *Loc. cit.* "This description [letter of January 20, 1852] is the first that defines correctly the geographical location of the geyser region." Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park, Historical and Descriptive* (Cincinnati, 1915), p. 42. Bryan Mullanphy, mayor of St. Louis, in a letter of January 7, 1847, introducing De Smet to President Polk wrote: "The Rev. Peter De Smet, superior of the Catholic missions in Oregon, the bearer of this letter, has spent some six years travelling in Oregon. He has confined himself to no particular route as other travellers but has crossed and recrossed the mountains in every direction and has in consequence been enabled to prepare a chart of unparalleled accuracy. He is cognizant of safe routes that emigrants to Oregon might take, incomparably shorter than those now followed. Mr. De Smet is a friend of mine of twenty years acquaintance; but his elevated enterprises interest me more in his success than even the very high personal regard I entertain for him. He has deserved well of the United States and has been among the Indians an effectual pacificator." (A).

³⁴ Unidentified clipping. The writer alludes apparently to the explorations of Marquette and other early Jesuit missionaries. Mention may here be made of De Smet's alleged discovery of gold in the Northwest and his reticence on the subject through long years for fear the Indians would suffer by the invasion of their lands by the whites in case the discovery were made public. The point is discussed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 4: 89, where conjecture is made that the missionary was led into error in the matter, probably mistaking mica for gold. For the credit given him by the public in the early sixties of early and intimate knowledge of the presence of gold in the Northwest, see account (undated) in the St. Louis *Democrat* cited in Rosen, *Pa-ha-sah-pah or the Black Hills of Dakota* (St. Louis, 1895), p. 245.

³⁵ Chittenden and Richardson publish five letters of McLoughlin to De Smet, 4: 1553-1558. McLoughlin began openly to profess Catholicism in 1842. Cf. Edwin V. O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon* (Portland, Oregon, 1911), pp. 13, 139. An excellent biography of McLoughlin is Frederick V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon* (Cleveland, 1907).

tiersman and founder of Fort Bridger on the Oregon Trail;³⁶ Major Alexander Culbertson, fur-trader and founder of several upper Missouri trading-posts;³⁷ E. T. Denig, Assiniboin trader;³⁸ Robert Meldrum, Crow interpreter;³⁹ Zephyr Rencontre⁴⁰ and C. E.

³⁶ Two half-breed children of "Jim" Bridger (1804-1881), a boy and a girl, were looked after by Father De Smet, who put them to school in St. Charles, Missouri (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1483, 1484, 1488). Col. Robert Campbell appears to have been legal guardian to the children. "I hope Major Bridger will find his children in good health on his arrival in St. Charles. He has spent upwards of thirty years among the Indians and is one of the truest specimens of a real trapper and Rocky Mountain man. He has been always very kind to us and as he has much influence among the various tribes of the Far West he may still continue to exercise it in our favor." De Smet to Verhaegen, March 11, 1854, in CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1489. For accounts of Bridger, cf. Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park*, p. 335; Hebard and Brinstool, *The Bozeman Trail* (Cleveland, 1922), 2: 204-252; Alten, *Jim Bridger*.

³⁷ "I shall never forget the unbounded kindness and charity I have received from our good and great friend, the major [Culbertson]. He has most literally taken under his care all the little effects I have been able to collect to assist poor Father Hoecken and his brethren in their missionary labors among the Flatheads and Rocky Mountain Indians." De Smet to Denig, June 13, 1856 (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1495). "About a fortnight ago I received a visit from Major Culbertson; he is now settled with his family near Peoria, Illinois; he requested me to visit him and to remain some days with him, to enable him to arrange matters and things. I think he intends to marry his wife and to have her instructed and baptized. I intend to visit him soon. He placed his daughters at a convent in St. Louis." De Smet to Denig, January 13, 1858. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1500.) Culbertson's two girls were entered at the Sacred Heart Convent in St. Charles, Mo.

³⁸ "I was happy to learn that during my absence you still consented to be married by Reverend Father Daemen [Damen] and that your children have been baptized." De Smet to Denig, August 23, 1855 (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1494.) Denig's children were entered by him in a sisters' academy in St. Louis. Cf. also CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1499. "Charles Primeau was here for some time with his wife and children. He followed your example and was lawfully married to his wife. I baptized her with all her children. I likewise baptized the three children of Bouis and two of Alfred Beeman. All have been provided for and placed in various religious establishments."

³⁹ "Mr. Meldrum, the Crow interpreter and considered as a chief in the nation, having resided over thirty years in their midst and having become fully identified with them, writes as follows: 'The Crows speak of you [De Smet] frequently and are anxious to be baptized and to become Christians. I consider them candid and we frequently converse on the subject.'" De Smet to Miége, September 19, 1852. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1310.) "July 11, 1866, Yellowstone steamer about Little Cheyenne River baptized Mary about 25 years of age of the Upper Blackfeet tribe. Same day she was married by me [De Smet] to Robert Meldrum, Indian trader. Witnesses and sponsors of Mrs. Meldrum were Mr. Roelotte and Mr. Culbertson." *Baptismal Register*, St. Mary's, Kansas.

⁴⁰ "Zephyr [Rencontre], the great Sioux interpreter, in the name of the different bands of Sioux Indians, numbering thousands, begs most earnestly and

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Galpin,⁴¹ Sioux interpreters; F. F. Gerard, Sioux trader; ⁴² John Gray, hunter; ⁴³ Captain La Barge, Missouri River pilot for thirty years; ⁴⁴

urges the arrival of missionaries among that powerful nation. 'Remember,' says he, 'the holy waters of baptism have flowed on the foreheads of our children.'"
De Smet to Miège, September 19, 1852. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1310.)

⁴¹ Charles E. Galpin was interpreter to De Smet on his visit to the hostile Sioux camps in 1868. Galpin's ms. journal of this expedition, brought by Father De Smet to Brussels, Belgium, where it remained until 1925, is now in the St. Louis University Archives. De Smet used this source in preparing his own account for publication. The journal is in *Mid-America*, 13: 147 *et seq.* (1930). Galpin was married to a Sioux woman. "The Reverend Father had with him as interpreter, Mr. Galpin, who is married to an Indian woman of the Hunkpapa tribe. This lady is a good Catholic and an excellent person, a striking example of what the influence of religion and civilization can accomplish for the welfare of the Indians." (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1585.) "I see your daughter occasionally at the convent. She is in the enjoyment of good health and very much beloved and esteemed by the kind and motherly ladies of the academy." De Smet to Galpin, March 17, 1868. (CR, *De Smet*, 3: 1899.) "He [the "Log"] tells me to write to you that the death of Major Galpin has left him as an orphan, that the only hopes of the Indians were in Major Galpin and you; and one being dead their hopes are now solely in you." Guelberth to De Smet, March 13, 1870. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1590.)

⁴² "I have been known to Mr. Gerard and have been intimately acquainted with him for upward of twenty years. . . . In my long intercourse and visits to the Indian tribes on the Missouri river I have often had occasion of meeting Mr. Gerard, particularly among the Aricaras, the Grosventres and Mandans at Fort Berthold. I have always considered Mr. Gerard as a true friend to the Indians, assisting them in their need and advising them to keep peace and quiet towards the whites. I hesitate not in adding that it is particularly due to Mr. Gerard and to his well-timed advice and persuasion that the three united bands of Indians at Fort Berthold did not go over to the hostile bands of Sioux etc." De Smet to Governor Burbank, October 4, 1869. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1538.)

⁴³ John Gray was with De Smet's party on his journey of 1841 to the mountains. "We had a hunter named John Gray, reputed one of the best marksmen of the mountains; he had frequently given proofs of extraordinary courage and dexterity, especially when on one occasion he dared to attack five bears at once." (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1398.) The earliest certified marriage within the limits of what is now Kansas City was performed by Father Van Quickenborne, July 18, 1836, between Benjamin Lagautherie and Charlotte Gray, "daughter of John and Marianne, both Iroquois." Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ H. M. Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River; Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge* (New York, 1903), has an account of De Smet's associations with Captain Joseph La Barge. The latter's son, Joseph, also in his day a Missouri River pilot, lived as late as 1930, retaining vivid memories of De Smet, with whom, as a child, he travelled on his father's boat up the Missouri in 1848. Capt. La Barge was perhaps De Smet's most intimate personal friend among the laity in his declining years and it was at the launching of the Captain's new boat, which he had named the *De Smet*, that the missionary made his last public appearance, May 13, 1873.

Lieut. John Mullan, U. S. A., road-builder; ⁴⁵ and Robert Campbell, ⁴⁶ Thomas Fitzpatrick ⁴⁷ and Andrew Drips, ⁴⁸ figures in the fur trade. Many of these persons furnished De Smet particulars of value regarding the Indian tribes or the topography of the country. Bridger, for instance, appears to have been his informant in regard to the Yellowstone Park region, which, it would appear, De Smet never personally visited.

Most of Father De Smet's published letters were written by him in French. The English versions are due to other hands, the *New Indian Sketches*, to cite one instance, being translated into the vernacular by Robert A. Bakewell of St. Louis. Even to the end De Smet never had a firm grip on written English, often lapsing into improprieties of syntax and diction. But this was true apparently only when he laid himself out to compose in English with a view to publication, on which occasions he became self-conscious with numerous lapses from correct idiom as a result.⁴⁹ On the other hand, his offhand familiar

⁴⁵ "I thank you most gratefully for the great interest you have always taken in the welfare of our missions in the mountains and particularly for all you have lately effected for them on your late visit to Washington." De Smet to Mullan, March 31, 1858. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1500.) Mullan Road, the first wagon highway over the mountains from Fort Benton to Walla Walla, was laid out by him.

⁴⁶ Colonel Robert Campbell (1804-1879) and Major Fitzpatrick were adopted by Michael Insula, the Flathead chief, as his brothers on the occasion of a visit paid by them to the tribe. Father De Smet travelled back from the Fort Laramie council of 1851 in company with Campbell and Fitzpatrick and later, in St. Louis, had dealings with the former in connection with the education of the Bridger children (cf. *supra*, note 36). Campbell, a native of Ireland, was actively engaged for years in the fur trade, first in the mountains and later in St. Louis where he died. Cf. H. M. Chittenden, *Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), and *A History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri* (New York, 1903).

⁴⁷ Thomas Fitzpatrick piloted Marcus Whitman and his wife in 1836 and Father De Smet in 1841 across the plains. "The Captain is identified with the whole of that region having spent the greater part of his life in it. He knows the localities well and is acquainted with all the tribes who reside in it. Captain Fitzpatrick is too well known to need any recommendation. I had the pleasure and happiness of travelling in his company, during the whole summer of 1842 [1841], being my second expedition to the mountains and every day I learned to appreciate him more and more." De Smet to McKay, May 10, 1849. (CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1465.) A sketch of Fitzpatrick is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Cf. also Hafen and Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver, 1931).

⁴⁸ Andrew Drips, Pennsylvanian (1789-1860), member of the American Fur Company, was in charge of the expedition with which De Smet made his first journey to the Mountains, 1840. His papers are in the collection of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

⁴⁹ This is illustrated in a ms. history of the beginnings of the Missouri Province compiled by De Smet not long before his death. *Supra*, Chap. III, n. 1.

correspondence is not only generally free from solecisms, but shows a freshness and vigor of expression which makes it readable to a degree. Many of his letters written to government officials or other persons in public life are models of the somewhat stiff, but dignified and at times impressive epistolary style practiced by correspondents a few generations ago.

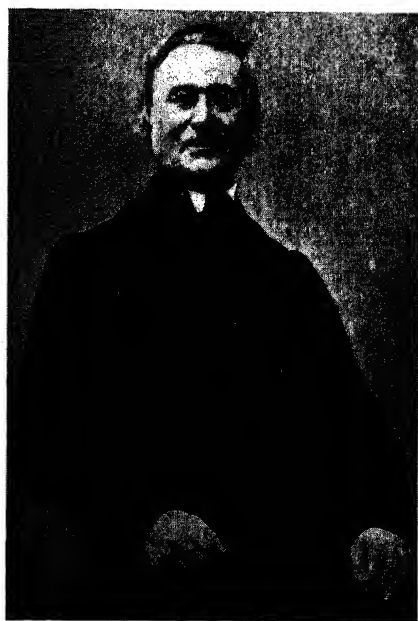
§ 3. THE MAN

In the history of the middlewestern Jesuits almost the most significant factor for a quarter of a century and more was the work of Father De Smet in collecting material means and recruiting the personnel.⁵⁰ No other single individual among them was as active in maintaining the economic basis necessary for the activities they carried on. Hence any account of those activities will revolve to an appreciable degree around the personality of Father De Smet. From 1848, approximately at the close of his Rocky Mountain career, to his death in 1873, a period of twenty-five years, he was procurator or treasurer successively of the Jesuit vice-province and province of Missouri and in this capacity had ample opportunity to exercise whatever business and administrative ability he possessed. Strangely enough, this man of seemingly restive temperament and nomadic habits showed himself an unusually competent keeper of accounts and in many ways an adept in finance. As superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions he had at one time to meet the charge of wastefulness in the handling of funds. But no such imputation was at any time laid at his door during his quarter-of-a-century career as procurator in St. Louis.

The episode which centers around the charge of maladministration of mission funds brought against Father De Smet and his reaction to it has significance, marking as it did in many ways a turning point in his career. It was difficult for Father Roothaan not to credit the reports on this score that had reached him from distant Oregon; he apparently accepted them at their face value and did not hesitate to call De Smet to task. "Oh, how many imprudences have been committed especially in that land of buildings (*cette terre de batisses*) at Wallamet. I cannot dissemble with you, my dear Father; you do not seem yourself to have had the sentiment of religious poverty, which should have made you attentive not to go beyond necessity in your expenses."⁵¹ In view of the light in which Father De Smet had thus been placed by the reports which reached him the Father General was greatly surprised when he learned that Father Elet had made De Smet procurator of the vice-province and he wrote promptly to both Elet and De Smet

⁵⁰ Cf. *supra*, Chaps. XI, § 4, XVIII, § 8.

⁵¹ Roothaan à De Smet, February 17, 1849. (AA).



Peter John De Smet, S.J. (1801-1873).

Memorandum of the Contributions & Expeditions made in Belgium & Holland
in favor of our Mo. Province from 1832 till 1872 Apr 1st

			Florins	Francs
1832	6	Arrival of five young missionaries. Chr. Hoeken, Jan J. Bloy, Staekenbries, De Blyen, Busshold with \$5954 =	15,592, 50	33,000, 00
		The material consisted of 9 boxes, valued at		1,400, 00
1833	4	Arrival of four missionaries. Walters, Druyts, Odenmakers & Buerinck, with a letter of exchange of \$ 5370 =	14,015, 70	29,662, 86
		cash on hand	966, 26	2,045, 00
		a material in goods		12,000, 00
1834	5	Arrival of five missionaries. Verheyden, Van den Eyken, Oden, Lohmann & Huot. with a letter of exchange of \$ 6500 =	17,160, 00	36,317, 46
		cash on hand	743 00	1,572, 48
		a material in goods		20,613, 00
1835	7.	Arrival of seven missionaries. De Leeuw, Gysvogels, Kynan, Van Miele, Arnoudt, Steurs, Chapuis with \$2500 =	6,500	13,756, 61
		cash on hand	1, 181	2,500, 00
		with a material in goods		2224 00
		NB. In the material mentioned, personal effects are not included, neither all other necessary travelling expenses		
1837	5.	Arrival of five missionaries. Ghizal, Damen, D'Hoop, Hendricks, D. J.		
		cash on hand, material shipped, valued at		60,000, 00
1843	12	Arrival of twelve missionaries. Vancuyper, Accolti, Nivali, Nobili, Mbayani, Jony Trévis, D. J. & King Louis de Notre Dame de Namur - crossed the Atlantic & the Pacific Ocean, from Astoria to Fort Vancouver in Oregon, in a chartered vessel (the Infatigable) with cash & material of		125,000, 00
1848.	5	Arrival of five missionaries. Ch. J. J. Heyken, Luingemakers, Hoedecorn, Van Tongen (Fr. J. J. D. J.) cash & material,		30,000 00.
1853	8.	Arrival of eight missionaries. Van Zoeland, Giffens, Guldens, Schuendelers, Miller, Chouveau, Brandt, Leuninger & J. J. J. J.		25,000 00
1857	7.	Arrival of seven missionaries. Druyschaert, degen, Bunkon, Lamm, Kuyper, Van Gorp, Patten (D. J.) cash & material, etc.		20,000 00
1861	3	Arrival of three missionaries. Lambert, Van der Molen, Lisse, (D. J.) cash on hand & a material valued at		40,384 00
1864	11	Arr. of eleven missionaries. Grijns, Van Kester, Van Oyl, De Jong, Korte, Oden, Luyken, Van der, Omer, Wille, Schuyt, five Sisters of St. Catharine		86,692, 00
1869	2	Arr. of two Sisters. Grijns, Schier (D. J.) cash & material valued at		76,000, 00
				680,767 41

Financial statement compiled by Father De Smet in his last year of life. It summarizes for the Society of Jesus in the American Middle West. Archives of the Missouri

1872	9	Brought over from preceding page	Francs.	680.76 1/2	
		Arrival of nine Missionaries, Vancouver, landing, Quits			
		Kennedy, Darcy, Krigan, Schuyler, Jacquet, Schank (D.S.)			
		Cash on hand	fr	456.00	
		with a material of		2062.00	747,002 1/2
		Notanda & D. Jenda. In 1834. D. S. sent to St. Louis			
		the ancient library of the Augustinians of English valued		26,000.00	
		In 1834 D. S. sent over 30 fine paintings of St. Charles de		17,000.00	
		In 1835 D. S. obtained gift of D. S. to pay for 2000 church		22,000.00	
		" & 1/2 of musical instruments for 1000 (L. S. S. S. S.)		3,000.00	
		" D. S. obtained annual interest of 24. - fr (200 fr) yearly		24,000.00	
		for those 24 years past		53,354.00	
		The annual rent of D. S. for 36 years amounts to		25,000.00	
		In 1864 D. S. obtained for the Holy Rosary, 2 large churches		10,000.00	
		of instruments, houses, sacred vessels &c. amounting to		10,000.00	
		In 1867 D. S. obtained instruments, sacred vessels, houses &c		100,000.00	
		A gift from D. S. in Belgium		20,000.00	297,154. -
		A gift from D. S. in Belgium to D. S.		1,449,56 1/2	41
1832	5	Travelling expenses & outfit, of the Vancouver Expedition		5730.00	
1833	4	" " " " "four " " "		2984.00	
1834	5	" " " " "five " " "		4222.00	
1835	7	" " " " "seven " " "		5200.00	
1837	5	" " " " "five " (D.S.) " "		4500.00	
1843	7	" " " " "seven " (D.S.) " "		2000.00	
1848	5	Five Sisters of St. D. from Quebec to Vancouver		5000.00	
1853	8	Travelling Expenses & outfit, of five Members from Europe		6800.00	
1857	7	" " " " "seven " (D.S.) " "		6300.00	
1861	3	" " " " "three " (D.S.) " "		3500.00	
1864	11	" " " " "eleven " (D.S.) & Sisters of Mary		2700.00	
1869	2	" " " " "two " (D.S.) & American		2000.00	
1871-72	9	" " " " "nine " (D.S.) " "		8544.00	4,580.00
		Total sum includes D. S. sent to St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Louis, St. Louis		222,556 1/2	41
		Francs.			
		P. J. De Smet, S. J.			

$\frac{1}{2}$ after 11.

My dear father de Smet,

I went into the room the moment you left me. He immediately said to me, "are you pleased with what I have done?" I said "I am"; and then urged him to yield to the opiates he had taken, and ^{go to} sleep. He said: "Contentment and ^{happiness} have done ^{more} for me than sleep can do." and immediately turning his eyes to Heaven as he lay on his back, the head raised on the pillow, He said in a clear, calm, modulated voice & radiant look, "Thank God I am happy!" Then turning his eyes to me, with the same voice and look, he repeated the words to me, and said: "I intended to do it long ago, but did not know whether you would like it." I told him he made me

happy. And truly it is the first feeling of relief I have had in these five terrible days and nights. So, dear Father all is in your hands now. You are giving peace to me in giving it to him.

affectionately,

Thomas Benton.

Randolph Benton, son of Thomas Hart Benton, American statesman, was received into the Catholic Church on his deathbed by Father De Smet in St. Louis, 1852. A note addressed to the Jesuit on the occasion by the elder Benton. Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J., St. Louis.

deprecating the appointment.⁵² De Smet, deeply distressed over the matter, wrote to Father Roothaan in explanation of his conduct in the handling of money:

I have received your letter of February 17 last and I thank you for it in all humility. At the beginning of last year Reverend Father Elet had the kindness to communicate to me a passage from one of your letters in which he was asked to tell me "that your Paternity gave me all his confidence." I have kept the memory of it and especially have I tried to make myself worthy of it. Your letter of the 17th announces to me that I no longer deserve this confidence, "that I appear not to have had any idea of religious poverty—that the management of money could not possibly be put into my hands—that I have never known how to give an account of my expenses." I have communicated without delay the apprehensions of your Paternity to Very Reverend Father Provincial begging him with tears in my eyes to take away from me the procuratorship of which I am judged so unworthy and incapable and the burden of which weighs so heavily upon me today. Permit me, Very Reverend Father, to give your Paternity a brief explanation concerning the period during which the handling of money has been entrusted to me, an explanation which your honored letter of February 17 seems to render necessary. In 1830, 31 and 32 I was Procurator of the College of St. Louis. I always knew how to keep my books in order and how to render my accounts to the satisfaction of Superiors, for at no time that I know of have I ever been suspected or accused of faulty administration, of prodigality or of wastefulness. On the contrary some accused me (to Superiors) of keeping the purse-strings too tight. In 1840-41-43-44, I made collections with the approval of my Superiors. I succeeded in obtaining nearly all the money necessary for these various expeditions. I gave account to my Superiors of the alms thus gathered and of the expenses incurred by me. In 1844 I collected in Holland and Belgium. I turned over faithfully to the Procurator of the Province all funds collected together with the money which your Paternity granted me from the allocation of Lyons for that year. I made my purchases in Belgium and gave my receipts to the Procurator. I chartered a vessel and paid the passage of 12 persons furnishing besides an equivalent in money of about 80,000 livres [\$16,000]. I sent a sum of about 22,000 francs [\$4,400] for the journey of Father Joset and his three companions. This journey of three Fathers and a Brother, who arrived in the Mountains in utter destitution, cost fifteen thousand francs [\$3,000], exactly the sum which I paid for a dozen persons from Antwerp to Fort Van Couver, who besides carried with them a large sum of money. Arrived at the Wallamette after my voyage and before my departure for the Missions in the Mountains, I left a sum of about twenty-five thousand francs [\$5,000] in the hands of Father Accolti to be remitted to Father De Vos for payment of the debts contracted by the latter during my absence.

⁵² Roothaan à Elet, April 28, 1849. (AA).

As to practicing economy in my own personal needs, I will say without fear of contradiction that apart from a very modest wage paid to a guide, I made the journey three times from the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis without spending a single dollar. In my visit to the Indians last year [1848] I travelled more than three thousand miles and was absent four months and my expenses did not come to fifty dollars. I made a hurried collection in Belgium and Holland in the beginning of 1848, an account of which I gave to Reverend Fathers Elet and Van de Velde. The five thousand francs received from [Rev.] Mr. De La Croix, which came from the Association of the [Propagation of the] Faith, have been given (and much besides) to the relief of the Fathers and Scholastics of the Swiss Province, an account of the same being given to Father Van de Velde at that time Procurator of the Province. I have now in my cash-box, and an account of the same has been rendered to Reverend Fathers Elet and Van de Velde, a sum of more than four thousand dollars for the mission which your Paternity has allowed me to open east of the Rocky Mountains whether among the Blackfeet or the Sioux and for which Reverend Fathers Miede and Baltes are destined. I regret to have to enter into all these details in order to remove what I consider a false impression given in my regard. If I have done wrong in doing so, I beg pardon of your Paternity.⁵³

Meantime the Father General had not by any means lost his confidence in De Smet as a useful member of the Society. He wrote to him again, this time, it would seem, through one of the father-assistants and probably before the letter of De Smet's just reproduced had come into his hands: "Very Reverend Father says of Father De Smet that one may be an apostolic man without being a good procurator and that he has not withdrawn his confidence in him except as regards the office of procurator. The best proof of his fitness for the procuratorship is the way he fills the post. Let us see, then! Let him show exactness in using his resources, punctuality in keeping books, accuracy in drawing up his accounts and submitting them in the form prescribed by the Institute."⁵⁴

To be called to account for inefficiency and imprudence in the discharge of his official duties was a trying experience to the sensitive temperament of Father De Smet; but his reaction to it was remarkable. He apparently took Father Roothaan's strictures as a challenge; he would for the future so comport himself in his office of procurator as to avoid giving even the slightest grounds for a renewal of any such unfavorable criticism as had been directed against him. The event proved the earnestness of his resolve. Already in 1849 Elet was assuring the General that the extravagance alleged against De Smet was without

⁵³ De Smet à Roothaan, April 3, 1849. (A).

⁵⁴ Roothaan [?] à De Smet, May 8, 1849. (AA).

foundation and that he was showing himself the most efficient custodian of temporalities the vice-province had ever known. In 1852, when there was question of De Smet's residing permanently in Belgium, the vice-provincial wrote of him to Father Roothaan: "I am satisfied with him in every respect and in money matters I don't see what the vice-province would do without him."⁵⁵ In 1862 he was succeeded in the office of socius by Father Keller; but Father Beckx insisted that he was to be retained as procurator and consultor in view of what he had already done and might be expected to do in the future to advance the temporal interests of the province. In 1864, on the eve of De Smet's departure for a collecting trip in Europe, Father Keller is apprehensive that "his prolonged absence may result in some harm to our temporal concerns."⁵⁶ Finally, in 1868 Father Coosemans was petitioning the General for permission to have De Smet undertake "another one of those journeys which have always yielded such large results in men and money."⁵⁷ "After all when there is question of recruiting for the novitiate, it is Father De Smet who has always succeeded best in obtaining good subjects and numbers of them as well as money for the province and missions."⁵⁸

The procurator's office, as De Smet conducted it, was marked by regularity and system. His ledgers and financial papers, still preserved, were kept with unfailing accuracy and neatness. His practice was to keep facsimiles of all letters personal as well as business, using for this purpose the tissue-paper letter-books in vogue before the advent of the typewriter and carbon copies. Some dozen of these letter-books are preserved, embodying an extensive correspondence with persons both in and outside the order.⁵⁹ De Smet as treasurer was in frequent communication with the superiors of the various midwestern houses. But his business letters were not merely such; they were often conceived in a more or less familiar vein and almost invariably carried items of current Jesuit domestic news, for De Smet had the knack, less common now than in his more leisurely age, of writing an interesting letter. Sometimes six or eight correspondents were addressed in a single day on business matters, each one receiving incidentally more or less the same budget of informing items concerning Jesuit persons and affairs.

This view of De Smet as a patient and painstaking bookkeeper,

⁵⁵ Murphy à Roothaan, February 15, 1852. (AA).

⁵⁶ Keller ad Beckx, October 12, 1864. (AA).

⁵⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, September 4, 1868. (AA).

⁵⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, October, 1868.

⁵⁹ Chittenden and Richardson had the De Smet letter-books at their disposal when preparing the edition of his letters that bears their name.

skillful financial manager, and faithful business correspondent is not a familiar one and in truth is hardly consonant with the current idea of the famous friend of the Indians. To most people, as far as he is known to them at all, De Smet is the typical Indian missionary engaged in life-long residential work among the red men, speaking their languages and serving them to the exclusion of every other activity. Yet such was not the real De Smet. So far was his life from being one of prolonged immediate contact with the Indians that, on the contrary, his years from 1848 to 1873, the most fruitful of his career, were spent, apart from visits to the Indian country and to Europe, in desk-work in St. Louis in the discharge of the routine duties of socius or assistant vice-provincial and of procurator. And yet the Jesuit Indian missions of America found in De Smet their outstanding friend and support. As a promoter, a propagandist, a publicity man for the cause of these missions, he had no equal. This above all else is the service which he rendered them, and this is the reason why the name De Smet spells missionary zeal and enterprise on behalf of the American aborigines. He made their cause known to the Catholics of Europe and America by his letters; he collected large sums of money on their behalf; he sought with repeated success to promote relations of peace between various Indian tribes and between the tribes and the government; finally he recruited numbers of young men for missionary service in America. This is the true relation he bore to the Catholic Indian missions of the United States. The ordinary conception of an Indian missionary as one in residence among the natives, dealing with them in their own language and pursuing ministerial work on their behalf, scarcely fits him at all. Not only was he never engaged for any considerable period of time in residential missionary work on behalf of the Indians, but he was to a great extent temperamentally unfitted to be so. Nature had equipped him to be a pathfinder, one who could blaze the trail but not sit down easily to the uneventful, humdrum labor which befalls the resident missionary. "He is a wonderful man," said Congiato, "for opening up the way." "He is good for making excursions, for overcoming initial difficulties," so Father Roothaan judged, adding the comment, "but this is not enough for evangelical work."⁶⁰ Sopranis, the Visitor, reported to the General in 1860: "He [De Smet] is perfectly ready to go to the Rocky Mountains though he avows that he is fitted rather for making excursions by which he opens up the way for the missionaries and prepares the field than for staying permanently in some or other station."⁶¹ Indeed De Smet assured Congiato in 1859

⁶⁰ Roothaan ad Joset, September, 1846. (AA).

⁶¹ Sopranis ad Beckx, October 13, 1860. (AA).

that to remain right along with the Indians would be uncongenial to him but it is to be noted that he was at this time nearly sixty years of age.⁶²

There is extant somebody's recollection of Peter De Smet sitting as a child on the banks of the Scheldt in his native Termonde and watching the boats, as they arrived, with wistful fancies of the great world beyond from which they come. Even at this early date the elder De Smet felt that his son's career would be a roving one. "May God protect him," he would often say, "he will be a soldier or a great traveller. He will never be able to lead a quiet life." So it turned out in a certain sense to be. It is a commonplace of Catholic theology that grace builds upon nature. There was nothing unhealthy in Peter De Smet's instinct for visiting new lands. It was an instinct that could lend itself to the more facile pursuit of spiritual and religious aims and so it was with him. A scholarly biographer of St. Francis Xavier has pointed out that the Basques are born travellers and adventurers and that this racial trait seemingly asserted itself in the incomparable missionary who with a holy wanderlust passed from one kingdom to another of the mysterious East. "Nothing then prevents one from seeing in the tireless travels of the apostle what has been called the restlessness of the Basque. . . . A Basque, he had his compatriots' spirit of initiative, one might say a taste for adventure, which has often laid him open to the charge of inconstancy. . . . Their eyes, one would say, are always seeking out far-away lands."⁶³ That nomadic tendencies were also strong in Father De Smet is evident from his own career and from the testimony of those who knew him. "His great temptation," Father Van de Velde wrote of him, "is to travel. His adventurous character would impel him to roam the four quarters of the globe. It is the most striking trait of his character."⁶⁴ "He loves to travel and to visit new places," said one who had been a novice with him; "he will never stay long in the same place."⁶⁵ Father Roothaan disapproved of what he considered his excessive travelling and his seemingly restless and migratory ways. "We cannot charge ourselves with all the countries to which his taste for travelling would carry him."⁶⁶ But this view of De Smet's repeated journeys, it may be noted, was not, on the whole, the one taken by Roothaan's successor, Father Beckx, and by the American superiors,

⁶² Congiato à Beckx, December 8, 1859. (AA).

⁶³ Alexandre Brou, S.J., *Saint François Xavier* (Paris, 1912), p. 356.

⁶⁴ Van de Velde à Roothaan, March 3, 1844. (AA).

⁶⁵ Van Assche ad Roothaan, July 24, 1844. (AA).

⁶⁶ Roothaan à Elet, August 6, 1845. (AA). "His journeys have been the journeyings of sappers (*sappeurs*)." Roothaan à Miège, April 14, 1851.

Father Van de Velde excepted.⁶⁷ Most of Father De Smet's long journeys whether in America or Europe were undertaken at the instance of his immediate superiors or of the government. Moreover, they were often accompanied with great physical discomfort, not to say hardship, and could in no wise be described as pleasure trips. It was a case where temperament smoothed the way for the discharge of unpleasant duties which superiors would not so readily have imposed on individuals of a different type. Father Van de Velde, vice-provincial, had written to De Smet that a certain letter penned by the latter had been "the death-blow," to all his [De Smet's] plans. In a long reply to Van de Velde sent in December, 1844, De Smet explains his whole position in regard to travelling:

The only plan I have had in view since my Superior thought proper to send me to the R[ocky] M[ountains] has been to augment and to increase the glory of God among the abandoned tribes; allow me to mention, Rev. Father, that any person who could remain in this desert with other plans in his head than the A.M.D.G. must be and cannot be other than a fool or a madman and this because he must endure the privations, the hardships and dangers which we have daily to encounter and in which the kind Providence of God has a hundred times most visibly saved his poor, unworthy servants. F[ather] Joset acquainted me [with the fact] that there exist of late great prejudices in St. Louis against me; and that I was represented to him as one who loves to travel and who had very little else in his head. . . . As to my travelling much, have my Brethren forgotten that Superiors have placed me in this situation; that I have been sent to wandering Indians? F[ather] Joset adds: our brethren in St. Louis are under the impression that little is taught to the savages . . . let them know, dear Father, that the work is progressing, that thousands have been redeemed in the sacred waters of baptism, that thousands who were plunged into the darkest superstitions now know what salvation is and how to attain it,—that in several different nations where four years ago the devil reigned now resound the praises, the prayers of the true God . . . were my brethren acquainted with the dangers and privations of the deserts and the mountains, I am confident the good Fathers would not think them very desirable trips . . . I invite them to come and make a trial of it provided they have a good stock of zeal and fervor for the conversion of the Indians (*conditio sine qua non*). As to all my different journeys, as I

⁶⁷ Beckx ad Ponza, April 16, 1859. Father De Smet's accurately kept record of his travels shows more than 180,000 miles covered by all sorts of transportation. His reputation as a traveller became widespread. "He [Reverend Isaac McCoy] probably did more travelling than any other man engaged in Indian missionary work with the possible exception of Father De Smet of the Roman Catholic Church." Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (Chicago, 1916), 1: 199.

have understood that these are considered *my plans*, I will give your Reverence a synopsis of them and I appeal in this to R[everend] F[ather] Verhaegen, your Reverence's predecessor. He 1st as my Superior sent me to the Mountains on an exploring expedition, which I have happily performed and of which the result has been faithfully transmitted to my Superiors. 2nd R[everend] F[ather] Verhaegen, with the agreement of all the consultors, one excepted, sent me to N[ew] Orleans on a begging expedition and the Lord blessed it. 3rd R[everend] F[ather] Verhaegen sent me again with 5 companions to the Mountains where in the space of one year about 2000 Indians were baptized, of which your Reverence's humble servant baptized upwards of 1200. 4th At the end of the year all was want about us—the gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company had granted us one supply and not till this supply was paid for, agreeably to the established regulations of the above said Company, could we obtain another supply. At the earnest request of all my companions I ventured a fourth time to recross the pathless desert with two men only to obtain means and to pay off our 1st debts. My Superiors approved of my return, encouraged me to visit the different cities of the Union from N[ew] Orl[eans] to Boston to obtain the wanted means. These again were ample and sufficient. 5th R[everend] F[ather] Verhaegen thought proper to send F. F. [Fathers] De Vos and Hoecken together with several brethren to reenforce the infant mission and he sent me across the Western and Eastern states again to embark to [at] New York for Belgium and Rome on business for the Vice-Province and in behalf of the Rocky Mountain Mission. In Belgium I performed the affairs of St. Louis University I was sent for. From Belgium I hurried to Rome and performed the journey in 7 days. I communicated to his Paternity all the commissions I was charged with by Reverend Father Verhaegen, whose office as Provincial, I heard, was to cease: his Paternity kept the papers containing the different items I was to execute and among them to beg for the University. By word of mouth and by writing Reverend Father General requested me to exert myself in behalf of the Indian Missions. Had I been allowed to beg for the St. Louis University, with all the good will possible, the time I was allowed to remain in Belgium was much too short. The sum I received from his Paternity and from other benefactors for the Rocky Mountain Missions was sufficient, but not over, for we were twelve in number and the voyage was long and costly. 6th Rev. Father Franckeville and his consultors thought proper that we should leave Antwerp directly for the mouth of the Columbia. Those who know what I have suffered at sea will certainly not suppose that I have undertaken this long, dangerous passage from some natural inclination or liking. I trembled at the very idea of it and nothing but the interest of the Mission, apart from obedience, could have induced me to make it. I enter in all these details on account of the observations made against me . . . from which the Mission itself might suffer and in order to acquaint your Reverence as my actual Superior with all what I have undertaken by obedience and agreeably to the intentions of my other

Superiors. The wish, the desire, the order of my Superiors, I hope, with the grace of God, will be always my only plan, my only rule.⁶⁸

While the character of Father De Smet was one of transparent integrity, he showed withal certain idiosyncrasies which did not escape notice. Father Elet, who understood him perfectly, touches him off with the words, "thoroughly good but a little original." When question arose in 1856 of removing him from the office of socius, Father Druyts, the vice-provincial, was reluctant to take the step for fear of the effect it would have upon him. "It does not require much to make him imagine that he has lost the confidence of Superiors, that he is made little of by them and looked upon as an entirely useless member and I don't know what he might do in such depression of spirits."⁶⁹ Father Druyts went on to say that he was not an easy subject to handle and that inferiors and superiors even must deal with him with circumspection. Father Coosemans made reference to De Smet's sensitiveness on an occasion when a letter of his to the Father General had gone without an answer. "This good Father is of a very sensitive nature. Your Paternity might find time to write him a few lines. This would give him great consolation." It was further said by Coosemans that De Smet, showing here a trait common in the sensitive, was often a prey to unfounded suspicions, imagining prejudices or unkindnesses towards him where none such existed. Thus Father Roothaan urged him to lay aside as entirely unfounded the suspicion he entertained in his Rocky Mountain days that his fellow-workers on the missions were in agreement to discredit him.⁷⁰

A feeling that he had lost the confidence of the Father General reduced Father De Smet at one time to a state of acute dejection, from which a consoling letter from the former helped to rescue him. "For the rest, I pray your Reverence to throw off all distress of mind. I know perfectly well your excellent good-will and pious zeal. Still, I had a feeling that you were altogether too much engrossed in external work and did not sufficiently restore your strength of soul by communication with God."⁷¹ His chief support during these trying days was the vice-provincial, Father Murphy. "Take it kindly, Very Reverend Father," so Murphy wrote to the General shortly after the latter had written encouragingly to De Smet, "if I send you a letter which good Father De Smet has written to me of his own accord, so to say. I confess that his tears have touched me. Your bit of a letter came like a

⁶⁸ De Smet to Van de Velde, December, 1844. (AA).

⁶⁹ Druyts ad Beckx, November 4, 1856. (AA).

⁷⁰ Roothaan ad De Smet, February 18, 1846. (AA).

⁷¹ Roothaan ad De Smet, January 20, 1852. (AA).

bolt from the blue. Thank God, prayer has restored him in truly extraordinary fashion. He is like a little novice in my hands; he is gradually bending down to exact regularity [ms.?]. I would make bold to ask you to send him a little word of consolation. He is faithful, so it seems to me, in his exercises of piety and ready to obey in all things. It appears it has been reported to your Paternity that his book has done harm here in America. I confess this amazes me. I should have said just the opposite according to what I have read and heard. . . . Grace works marvellously in his soul. He will come out of this trial more interior and more detached from self. *Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me.*" ⁷² Some three and a half years later, August 15, 1855, Father De Smet pronounced his final vows as a Jesuit, which were the solemn vows of the professed members. His studies did not entitle him to this grade in the Society, which was assigned to him by Father Beckx in view of the distinguished services he had rendered on its behalf.⁷³ "After a very earnest retreat made in the novitiate the excellent Father De Smet," wrote Father Murphy on the occasion, "made his profession on the fifteenth of the month. In everything regarding the spiritual life he is a man of marvelous docility and simplicity *lac sine dolo concupiscens.*" ⁷⁴

In the attempt to bring before the reader Father De Smet as he really was recourse may be had again to the testimony of Father Murphy, who always showed insight and sympathy in balancing the man's remarkable gifts and good qualities against his peculiarities of temperament:

To speak in general, one does not approve of Father De Smet's trip to the Indians. Yet in view of the man's disposition and the really remarkable eagerness of traders and travellers about to depart for the same destination to have him along as a companion, my judgment has been that he ought not to be kept back, especially after he learned from your Paternity's letter to him that I might grant such permission. Father Visitor [Sopranis] indeed does not like it much, considering only the reason which Father De Smet principally alleges, namely, the baptizing of babies. Still, he does not interfere with Father De Smet's leaving in May. Our people are very hard in their judgment on this good Father; among outsiders he enjoys the greatest reputation and popularity. To the latter he is said to show him-

⁷² Murphy à Roothaan, March 3, 1852. (AA).

⁷³ Father De Smet was due for his last vows as a spiritual coadjutor in 1833 together with Fathers Verreydt, Van Assche and Smedts. However, as he appeared to be somewhat unsettled in his vocation as a Jesuit, Father Roothaan directed that his vows be postponed. When he withdrew from the Society of Jesus in 1835 he had not as yet taken his final vows.

⁷⁴ Murphy ad Beckx, April 21, 1855. (AA).

self very benevolent and gracious, but to his brethren not so. To explain, as Procurator of the Province he is most exacting in money affairs, and perhaps querulous and out of sorts if any delay or dispute turns up, as happens, and, furthermore, he easily imagines that he is going to incur some loss or risk. Add to all this, in passing judgment on our men and their affairs, he is led by imagination and feeling rather than by sober reason. In a word, he is extremely impressionable. Finally, as a result of the nomadic life he has led ever since youth, he does not easily accommodate himself to the details of common life. For the rest, these and other failings he candidly acknowledges without the least trace of self-complacency. But they are counterbalanced by really remarkable gifts and by great services rendered to this Vice-Province. In my opinion the Vice-Province owes to him almost all it has. What an excellent number of young men he has brought to us! Moreover he collects the money with which more or less they are supported and in discharging the duties of his office administers it with the utmost prudence. Again, by his reputation and influence with bishops and prominent people he aids us greatly while by his writings and journeys he has spread abroad the name of the Society. Would that our own people would bear all these things more frequently in mind.⁷⁵

What Father Murphy says regarding De Smet's influence and prestige in secular and especially governmental circles and the services he was thereby enabled to render to his fellow-Jesuits is worthy of note. All the superiors under whom he lived wrote appreciatively to headquarters regarding his unique position in this respect. As early as 1849, at which time he had not yet begun the series of official peace negotiations with the Indians which won for him widespread public notice, Elet wrote of him to the General: "He has single-handed done more for the reputation of the Society in the United States than all the rest in the two provinces. He is all powerful with the bishops."⁷⁶ Father Van de Velde notes how "his affable and insinuating manners win for him the affection of all he meets with in the great expeditions he has undertaken."⁷⁷ Father Murphy conversing with one who had been in De Smet's company on his Missouri River trip of 1862 learned that the missionary was looked up to by all as "an idol and an oracle." Father Sopranis, present in St. Louis when De Smet returned from Washington with the ten thousand dollars of overdue Indian money he had secured "from Lincoln," commented: "It is wonderful what industry he shows in transacting business of this kind, all to the very great advantage of the vice-province."⁷⁸

There were many reasons to explain De Smet's hold on the affec-

⁷⁵ Murphy ad Beckx, April 15, 1861. (AA).

⁷⁶ Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849. (AA).

⁷⁷ Van de Velde à Roothaan, March 3, 1844. (AA).

⁷⁸ Sopranis ad Beckx, February, 1862. (AA).

tions and esteem of others. His disinterested services on behalf of the Indian won for him widespread and well-merited regard. He had an agreeable and charming personality, could interest others in conversation and above all showed breadth of sympathy and an habitual readiness to lend a helping hand to others. Reference may be made to his dealings, already mentioned, with John Bidwell and the Protestant clergyman, John Williams, on his Oregon trip of 1841. He interested himself in the half-breed children of James Bridger, Alexander Culbertson and Charles Galpin and placed them in convent-schools of the Sacred Heart at St. Charles or St. Louis. Kit Carson pictures him thus in his autobiography: "I can say of him that if ever there was a man who wished to do good he is one. He never feared danger when duty required his presence among the savages and if good works on this earth are rewarded hereafter I am confident that his share of glory and happiness in the next world will be great."⁷⁹ Thurlow Weed recorded a meeting with De Smet on an ocean trip: "We have been delighted during the passage with his recital of Indian habits, customs, wars, worship etc. . . . My travelling companions have made a donation to the good Father for the benefit of his Indians."⁸⁰ Weed gave De Smet an introductory note to President Lincoln in which he wrote: "No white man knows the Indians like Father De Smet nor has any man their confidence in the same degree."⁸¹

It is as a friend of the Indian, as an ardent promoter by whatever means lay at his command of the Indian's material and religious welfare that Father De Smet is best remembered today. His whole life, it may be said, was devoted with remarkable singleness of purpose to this noble cause. His views on the Indian problem, which he grasped with

⁷⁹ M. M. Quaife (ed.), *Kit Carson's Autobiography* (Chicago, 1935), p. 53. There are numerous contemporary testimonies as to the striking impression produced by Father De Smet on those he met. "His face was a benediction," said of him a Montana pioneer, Col. W. F. Sanders of Helena, Montana, who knew him well." CR, *De Smet*, 1: 4. For De Smet's relations with the family of General Sherman, cf. Anna McAllister, *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman* (New York, 1936), *passim*. A testimony from Edward Bates, attorney-general in Lincoln's cabinet, is interesting: "A few days ago *Father De Smet*, the famous Jesuit Missionary, paid me a visit—We are old friends.—and yesterday, he sent me two books (his more recent publications) 1st "Modern [Western] Missions and Missionaries" and "Indian Sketches." Father De Smet is, I think, full of courage, zeal and self-devotion: upon the whole, a very superior man. I have known him for many years and have always, found him consistent and persistent in what he believed to be right." Howard K. Beale (ed.), *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), p. 555.

⁸⁰ Harriet A. Weed (ed.), *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884),

p. 547.

⁸¹ CR, *De Smet*, 4: 1582.

an insight and sympathy not always found among his contemporaries, were enlightened and always temperate. One may find them expressed in scores of passages in his writings.⁸² What he pleaded for was fair play towards the Indian on the part of the whites and the government. For the Indian, however, to maintain his free and wandering life and engage in the hunt as his principal means of livelihood became impossible as the waves of white immigration and settlement gradually filled up the open spaces of the West. Because the Indian was thus doomed, if not to extinction, at least to a straitened and artificial manner of life within the narrow barriers of a reservation, the hope conceived by Father De Smet of the wholesale conversion and civilizing of Indian tribes continuing to live in their traditional habitats could not be realized. In this sense only has his work been without permanent result. But in the larger sense of promoting interest in the well-being of the American red men and supplying means to enable them to attain to such economic and social comfort as is possible for them under the changed conditions in which they are compelled to live, De Smet's crusade on behalf of the Indians is bearing fruit to our own day. Some of the mission-posts which he set up are still maintained to the obvious advantage of the Indians while his memory is still a force to inspire men and women to carry on the work which he planned and, with the

⁸² The best discussion of De Smet's views on the Indian question is in CR, *De Smet*, 1:115-126. Cf. also *idem*, 3:1186-1211. At the end of the Oregon Indian troubles of 1858-1859 he submitted a report embodying a plan for the concentration of the Indians in reservations. In transmitting the report General Harney wrote: "The system adopted in California of placing large numbers of Indians upon a single reservation and causing them to adopt summarily the habits of life of the whites failed in consequence of the abrupt transition brought to bear upon these simple and suspicious people.[?] The plan proposed by Father De Smet is not open to this objection; it places the Indians in a country abounding with game and fish with sufficient arable land to encourage them in its gradual cultivation; and by the aid of the missionaries at present with them, that confidence and influence will be established over their minds by degrees as will induce them to submit to the restraints of civilization when the inevitable decree of time causes it to pass over them.

"From what I have observed of the Indian affairs of this department the missionaries among them possess a power of the greatest consequence in their proper government and one which cannot be acquired by any other influence. They control the Indian by training his superstitions and fears to reverence the religion they possess, by associating the benefits they confer with the guardianship and protection of the Great Spirit of the whites. The history of the Indian race on this continent has shown that the missionary succeeded when the soldier and civilian have failed; it would be well for us to profit by the lessons its experience teaches, in an instance which offers so many advantages to the white as well as to the red man and adopt the wise and humane suggestion of Father De Smet." Harney to assistant adjutant-general, June 3, 1859. CR, *De Smet*, 4:1579.

measure of success that circumstances allowed, carried into effect. It will be remembered to his credit that his pleas for the aborigines while genuine and often vehement were never one-sided or fanatical in tone. "Far be it from us," he wrote in 1858, "to accuse the noble Republic of injustice and inhumanity in her late treaties. It seems to us on the contrary that no nation has ever furnished more means of civilization. If any one must be blamed on this point, it is rather private persons, new colonists who act and place themselves in direct opposition with the good intentions of the Government in behalf of the Savages."⁸³

No characterization of Father De Smet would be complete that did not undertake to appraise him as a religious and a priest. It may be said of his personal piety that it was genuine and solid, without being in any particular way impressive. He had the Catholic instinct for the Church's approved devotions. Like Marquette he had a lively and unflinching devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He named his first Indian mission in her honor and from a remote corner of the Far West wrote to his superior in St. Louis to keep a lamp burning before her image for the success of the expedition in which he was engaged. In 1876 Father Coosemans in answer to a petition for biographical material on De Smet penned his impressions of him as a Jesuit. In view of the former Missouri provincial's intimate contacts with De Smet for a period of years and of his delicate conscientiousness in recording his opinions about persons and things, the statement is one of interest and value:

Father De Smet was a good religious but presented nothing remarkable in the practice of virtue and observance of religious discipline; in this respect he was considered as belonging to the class "*de Com[muni] Con. [fessorum]*." Owing to his continual missionary excursions to the mountains and elsewhere almost ever since his return to America in 1837 and his frequent voyages to Europe in behalf of his missions and the Missouri Province and his exceptional position during the intervals he spent in Missouri, Father De Smet was or rather appeared to be somewhat of an *ex-lex*. I say, *appeared*, because in reality he was a lover and observer of the rule and the solid virtues. Meanwhile I will give you for what they are worth a few *items* respecting Father De Smet's life which came under my own notice and which are brought back to my mind by my poor memory.

1. *Regarding the practice of poverty.* Owing to his exceptional position a certain latitude was necessary for him in the use of money. He was very care-

⁸³ CR, *De Smet*, 3:1198. De Smet of course could write passionately when picturing the wrongs suffered by the Indians at the hands of the whites. "This is one case among a thousand. Is it surprising that the victims of such cruelties and oppressions having no recourse to any laws for justice, rise furious, dig up the tomahawk and make their appeal to their quiver and scalping-knife as their last and only resort for the remedy that is denied them elsewhere." (CR, *De Smet*, 3:1201.)

ful, however, to be duly authorized and to have periodically renewed the general permissions which he held from the Provincial.

2. *Obedience.* He loved, cherished and practised it so as to astonish strangers, who admired this childlike reverence towards his superiors in an old gray-headed man. He would never set out for an excursion, however short, without the full permission of his superior. For his long excursions and great undertakings he was not satisfied with this. He liked to be assured that this was his wish. Then he set out with confidence and felt sure of the protection of heaven. He willingly braved the dangers with which the journeys were beset. When he was at home he was in reality a faithful observer of religious discipline, though it may not always have appeared so. As I speak of my personal knowledge, my testimony embraces only a period of nine years, when I had him for Consultor and Procurator of the Province.

Not infrequently some one or other gentleman would call him away during the evening recreation after supper. Yet he always managed to be present at the Litanies, and more than once it happened that not being able to expedite the affair he would leave the gentleman, begging to be excused for a little while and then return to him after the Litanies were over. His devotion to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament was evinced in a special manner by his practice of saying mass daily no matter how unwell he might be or in whatever difficult circumstances presented themselves he would never absent himself. It was either severe sickness or an open impossibility that would prevent him from celebrating the holy Sacrifice. His love and devotion to the Blessed Virgin was apparent in his fidelity to say the beads daily in his old age like a little novice. His special devotions were the *Souls in Purgatory* and to *St. Anthony of Padua*. Whenever he returned from a long journey either across the ocean or across the Plains of the West we were sure he would beg the Fathers to say some masses for the Souls in Purgatory; because whenever he was in some difficult strait or exposed to some danger, he would always call on the holy Souls in Purgatory to help him in his travels and was very generous in promising them masses, more in fact, than he could say himself, relying on the charity of his brethren who always readily helped him in cancelling his indebtedness. As regards St. Anthony, he had very much confidence in him. To him he had recourse whenever he had lost anything and almost always his confidence was rewarded by his recovering it in more or less a strange manner. Sometimes after a futile search he would refer the matter to St. Anthony. Numerous are the instances, and truly remarkable which he related to me.⁸⁴

On the occasion of Father Thomas O'Neil's accession to the provincialship in 1871 Father De Smet was dropped from the board of provincial consultors. But he continued to administer the finances of the province as procurator. Meantime, his health became gradually undermined by renal disease though he continued to the very end to

⁸⁴ Coosemans to Deynoodt (?), 1876. Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.

attend bravely to the duties of his office. He undertook to bring together scattered manuscript sources for a history of the pioneer western Jesuits and began to compile such a work on his own account, leaving behind him an English narrative on the subject running into some eighty pages. The last sentence of the last letter written by him, May 12, 1873, reads: "In my sickly moments I collect materials which may be of great service for the future history of the Missouri Province." On May 14 he attended the blessing of the new steamboat *De Smet*, named in his honor by its owner and captain, his intimate friend, Joseph La Barge. He returned to the University where he gradually declined, dying May 23, 1873. Bishop Ryan, the Auxiliary of St. Louis, visiting him a few days before the end, had found him full of Christian hope and courage in the face of death. The *Missouri Republican* for May 24 carried an appreciative editorial:

In the death of Father De Smet the world has lost one of its most indefatigable and enterprising missionaries of Christian civilization. Early in life he became strongly impressed with the wrongs perpetrated on the Indians of our country and with the possibility of their being brought into intimate relations with Christianity if not with civilization. To the practical accomplishment of this idea he devoted his talents, his time and all the energies of a more than vigorous organization. Without stopping to count the obstacles in his way he pushed forward in the course he had worked out for himself, without flagging or abatement of zeal and if he did not succeed in doing all he believed possible, he set an example to the world of what a man with a strong conviction may do in overcoming apparently insurmountable obstacles. His heroic and self sacrificing exploits as a Christian missionary will long remain in the memory of mankind.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ "Father De Smet, the great Belgian missionary, was as great a man in America as Livingstone in Africa." Agnes C. Laut, *The Blazed Trail of the Old Frontier* (New York, 1926), p. 94. "I have known many people who were intimately acquainted with this remarkable man and they all speak of him as possessing generous and genial qualities. Some regret that he gave himself up to the missionary career, claiming that in other walks of life he would have become a giant among men." C. G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming* (Laramie, 1899), p. 238. Harriet A. Weed (ed.), *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), pp. 547, 548. A remarkable tribute to De Smet is embodied in the passport issued to him June 27, 1871, by Governor Gratz Brown of Missouri:

"To Officers and Citizens of the United States residing abroad.

Reverend Father De Smet, being about to go abroad and not having time to secure the proper official papers has requested me to facilitate his trip by testifying to his character and standing in Missouri.

I therefore take pleasure in certifying to the fact that he is one of our most distinguished citizens who has spent a lifetime of good works among us; that he has been one of the most zealous of the missionaries of the religion of Christ among the Indians; that no one has ever done more to introduce civilization and

The news of De Smet's death was immediately cabled to the Belgian government by its consul in St. Louis, Mr. Hurck, who wrote on the same day to a friend in Belgium: "I need not tell you how pained I am by the loss of a man who held so just a title to universal veneration." When the steamer *De Smet*, to which he had given his blessing only a few days before his death, arrived at Sioux City on its first trip up the Missouri, Captain La Barge was handed a telegram announcing the missionary's death. The boat's flag was immediately displayed at half-mast. Then, as the craft continued its way upstream, Captain La Barge spread among the trading-posts and Indian camps the news that the great friend of the red man had passed away. The Indians were distressed, some of them in token of grief smearing their faces with mud. "At Fort Peck the head chief turned his back and while his stalwart frame shook with emotion, tears coursed down his tawny cheeks. No other man ever had such a hold on the affections of the Indians as Father De Smet and they look upon his departure from earth as a terrible calamity."⁸⁶

true religion among them; that his life has been one of work, self abnegation and devotion to the interest of the unlettered and uncultivated classes and that he is perhaps more esteemed than any white man in the whole community. I desire thus publicly to commend him to the good will and the confidence of all with whom he may come in contact.

This letter is given from the Executive Department in Missouri and is intended to accredit him generally and respectfully to all who may represent our Country abroad." (Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.)

Numerous tributes to De Smet were written by Jesuit associates of his in America to Father Deynoodt in Belgium when the latter was gathering materials for a De Smet biography. Two extracts follow: "I shall only say having spent some time in his company and more than once on journeys rather painful by reason of bad roads, bad weather and numerous other difficulties, that what particularly struck me was to see him retain his even temper and usual cheerfulness in the face of all difficulties, theoretically an easy thing but in practice something quite different." Gazzoli à Deynoodt, Coeur d'Alène Mission, August 2, 1879. Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J. "I spoke to a gentleman who would make a long journey to enjoy the pleasure of seeing him—another told me he would give everything to hear him preach and as he delighted to preach on the Indians he became eloquent when he mentioned the wrongs done to those unfortunate beings. Let us apply to him the words of Scripture: '*Erat vir simplex, rectus, timens Deum et recedens a malo*.' [he was a simple man, upright, fearing God and holding aloof from evil]." Busschots to Deynoodt, Good Friday, 1875. Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.

⁸⁶ An English clergyman who visited De Smet shortly before his death wrote these lines: "As I write my acknowledgements my memory carries me back (nigh nine years) to his one room in the Catholic University of St. Louis, Missouri. In memory's clear painting, I still see that dear old man who for me will ever inhabit that cell as at our first interview. Everything connected with it is so vividly before me. The sun light still seems to stream through the window over his face as it did

Father De Smet's remains were interred in the historic cemetery mound at the Jesuit novitiate, Florissant, where they rest with those of the other members of the pioneer band of 1823 who laid the foundations of the Society of Jesus in the Middle United States. All the warmth of missionary zeal and enterprise on behalf of the American red men, much, too, of the romance and adventure of the old frontier are associated permanently with his name. In the words of the non-Catholic biographers who have appraised with insight his contribution to the story of the West, Father De Smet remains today "an august figure in our national history."⁸⁷

then, goldening the white locks straying from under his biretta. . . . I have not forgotten the sorrow that crept over me when one day going to the college to make inquiries about his illness before seeing him, the Brother Concierge told me, 'He is dead.' I remember standing by his open coffin in the church of the University and thoughts of those dim prairie wayfarings rushed over me. His dead hands even then were clasping the chalice and paten as though he were still pleading that awful sacrifice while that death smile upon his face seemed sadder than tears. . . . The greatest monument to him is the one he unknowingly built for himself in taking out to civilize that Western life nigh one hundred and ten [?] Missionaries to the Province of Missouri." W. E. Youngman, *Gleanings from Western Prairies* (Cambridge, England, 1882), pp. 13, 14.

⁸⁷ CR, *De Smet*, 1:108.

PART V

THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER XXXI

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS

§ I. THE PROBLEM OF EXPANSION

The Society of Jesus in the original intention of its founder was to be ministerial and missionary rather than educational in its aims. To exercise the sacred ministry on behalf of Catholics at home and unbelievers abroad, not to conduct schools, was its first objective. Schools were in the nature of an afterthought, an evolution of circumstances. "Who invented the colleges?" St. Ignatius was asked by his Boswellian biographer, Padre Gonzales de Camara. The answer came without hesitation, "Laynez was the first to touch on the subject." The colleges here in question were the Society's private schools for the training and education of its own members. The founder of the Jesuits at first had doubts whether his organization, then in embryo and with Constitutions yet to be formulated, could in view of the rigorous poverty to be professed by its members consistently conduct schools of this type, which manifestly would find it necessary to possess permanent sources of revenue for their support. Laynez, keen theologian, removed the saint's scruples by pointing out that such revenue-supported institutions, indispensable as they were for the Society's continued existence, did not run counter to the Jesuit vow of poverty. Seminaries for the education of the youth of the order were therefore the first step in the evolution of the Jesuit college. The next step was the admission of outsiders or externs (*externi*) to these private seminaries or scholasticates, as they would nowadays be called. A third and final step was the opening of colleges for externs exclusively or at least primarily; it was in 1548 that the first Jesuit school of this type, Messina, started on its career. Before the death of St. Ignatius a number of such colleges were in operation and the whole idea of the education of secular youth had been definitely embodied by him in the Constitutions as an important and even substantial feature of the Jesuit scheme of work.¹

In succeeding chapters of this history the story of Jesuit educational endeavor in the Middle United States will be told in connection with

¹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, 27:416 (1908); *Études Religieuses* (Paris), 98:474-484.

the sequence of events at St. Louis, Cincinnati, Bardstown and other points. Here we touch on broader features of the movement and first on the attitude of Jesuit superiors in face of the numerous requests that came to them for the educational services of their men.

An appeal from Bishop Bruté of Vincennes to Father Roothaan to open a college on the site now occupied by Notre Dame University was without effect. No one could have set himself more firmly against premature expansion of Jesuit activities in America than this vigilant General of the Society of Jesus. The saintly prelate's petition for a Jesuit college in Indiana was made four weeks before he passed away:

I renew the simple petition for a college of the Society which I first made in 1834 on my arrival in this new diocese. I have felt much joy over Bishop Purcell's success on behalf of Ohio and it has revived my hopes for our Indiana. The particular locality [I mention] is one which I believe to be of the highest promise, namely, South Bend, your self-same celebrated Mission of St. Joseph, on behalf of which I forwarded to you my first petition in June, 1835, through Father Kohlman of blessed memory.²

Southbend village has already trebled itself—now approximately 2,000 souls; but the surrounding country has grown fourfold and more. An exceeding healthful country in the latitude of New York and covered in every direction with farms and villages—its situation is central with reference to all our northern Indiana (now a state of 70,000 to 80,000 souls), Michigan, Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, northwest Ohio, upper Canada on the west [*sic*]; moreover, by the lakes, canals and routes which open out on every side one can make still more distant contacts, . . . One of your fathers conversant with the actual geography of our region and with its latest statistics, concerning which there is a fund of available documents that could be sent, I think, from your colleges [here] to Rome would easily make my general position intelligible. I find myself so weakened that I can scarcely repeat my first letters and make this final effort, which my successor will take up with you and carry on.

As to the college, the offer is a very simple one—an excellent tract of land, one mile from the town, from which it is separated by the St. Joseph river—at least 400 to 500 available acres—a spot already picked out by Rev. Mr. Badin for a school, on a hill near lake St. Mary, which is a small

² A rumor was current at the time that the Jesuits at the instance of Bishop Purcell were about to open a school in Brown County, Ohio. Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J. (1771-1836), one-time superior of the Maryland Mission and founder of the New York Literary Institute, was later professor of theology in the Roman College. The "celebrated mission of St. Joseph" was situated on the banks of the St. Joseph River somewhere from one to three miles south of the site of Niles, Michigan, near the Michigan-Indiana boundary. It was started late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century on behalf of Miami and Potawatomi bands and lasted until about 1768. Father Claude Allouez, S.J., the "Apostle of Wisconsin," is said to have died there in 1689. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXIII, § 1.

body of water belonging to us—no colleges yet established within a considerable radius. St. Mary's in Kentucky and the one in Brown Cy. [County, Ohio], which you are commencing, are about 300 miles away as is the one in St. Louis, while the new one at Jefferson City which they propose to the fathers in St. Louis is to the west of St. Louis, 400 miles from South Bend.

The confidence of the West in the colleges of the fathers is manifest; it exists everywhere, influencing even the prejudiced and making them desirous to have these colleges—I am persuaded that this would particularly be the case in our North where the memory of the fathers is very much alive, as evidenced, not among those few Indian tribes which are being everywhere dislodged, but in the eagerness shown in all our towns to found historical societies, all of which trace our origins back to those [early] efforts of the Society of which they stand in admiration—I have written [on the subject] several times myself, but it is the protestant writers, reviewers, journalists, compilers of statistics who do more to spread abroad this glory of religion—only this year we have had two remarkable articles—the Life of the Father [Marquette] who is regarded after the Spaniards (Fernando Soto) as the discoverer of the Mississippi, published in volume X of the American Biography by Sparks of Boston—while in the North American Review for January, also of Boston and the best in the country, [there are] 50 pages more on the subject of this very biography of Father Marquette [?].

But I am too long; my letter, a sick man's, touches only too feebly on the more positive considerations which the Society in her wisdom would first wish to see more clearly set forth. But the rest to my successors! My heart is content with having made this effort! ³

Father Verhaegen, as Father Elet after him, was regarded in Jesuit domestic circles as a particularly ardent advocate of the policy of expansion. His principle, so a fellow-Jesuit of Kentucky, Father Evremont, averred, was this: "We must get possession of posts; in the beginning things will go badly; our successors will fare better." In a letter of June 6, 1843, urging upon the Father General the acceptance of the college in Fordham, New York, which Bishop Hughes had offered to the Society, Verhaegen wrote: "As to myself, I am of the opinion that it would be one of the finest of the enterprises taken in hand under your administration. Believe me, Very Reverend Father, we must profit by these attractive offers. Later on they will no longer be made to the Society. I should certainly be happy to be able to contribute in some

³ Bruté á Roothaan, May 28, 1839. (AA). Bishop de la Hailandière, Bruté's successor in the see of Vincennes, transferred the Notre Dame property as it then stood (five hundred and twenty-four acres) to Father Sorin, first superior of the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the United States. The property was originally purchased by Father S. T. Badin from the government. *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 4: 274.

way to this very important undertaking. The beginnings would be a little difficult, but we should soon have a goodly number of subjects."⁴

For Father Verhaegen as superior of the middlewestern Jesuits there was no lack of fields of labor to occupy if the pitifully small personnel at his command did not tie his hands. Prelates were eager to have his men open colleges in their dioceses. In March, 1840, he wrote to the General expressing his willingness to accept invitations from the Bishops of Detroit and Cincinnati to establish colleges in their respective cities provided a few professors were sent to him from Europe. "And if both colleges cannot be undertaken by the Society, let us accept one or the other."⁵ Father Roothaan's choice was Cincinnati; Detroit was to go without a Jesuit college until thirty-seven years later. In 1842 there was a possibility of Jefferson College in Louisiana passing into Catholic hands. Bishop Chanche of the newly erected diocese of Natchez, who was desirous of getting possession of it and turning it over to the Jesuits, had expressed a wish that Father Larkin of the Kentucky Mission be put in charge. Father Verhaegen took the matter up with the Father General in July, 1842. "The Bishop has asked me whether we could assume charge of this enterprise, which would do so much good for our religion in that non-Catholic locality. This of course is on the supposition that the buildings, which are ample and substantial, could be obtained from the managers of the college for a period of ten or fifteen years. I think the thing to be entirely impossible. What does your Paternity think?"⁶ Father Roothaan was opposed to the acceptance of Jefferson College under any circumstances. Two years later, in 1844, a Jesuit wrote to him from Kentucky: "Reverend Father Van de Velde has written to the Bishop [of Natchez] that in two years the Vice Provincial of Missouri could open a boarding school at Natchez—but his Lordship, not being willing to wait, has addressed himself to [the Jesuits of] Kentucky."⁷ Neither the Kentucky nor the Missouri Jesuits were to establish themselves in the southern town though Father Van de Velde, when he came to it as its bishop in the fifties, sent re-

⁴ Verhaegen à Roothaan, June 6, 1843. (AA).

⁵ Verhaegen à Roothaan, March 12, 1840. (AA).

⁶ Verhaegen à Roothaan, July 6, 1842. (AA). Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXXII, notes 34, 35.

⁷ Murphy à Roothaan, February 16, 1844, (AA). Father Van de Velde wrote to Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans: "If the Legislature is under obligation to establish a college, it will do so without doubt; and then all the bad elements in Louisiana and all the anti-Jesuits will do all they can to decry us. It will be nothing but calumnies, vexations, rancors on every side. This is what frightens me almost as much as the debt. The debt is certain; the success is not so." Van de Velde à Blanc, August 4, 1844. (AA). Cf. *infra*, Chap. XXXII, notes 34, 35.

peated invitations to his associates of the North to open a house and college in Natchez.

In the forties numerous alluring offers were made to the French Jesuits settled in Kentucky, all of them declined except Bishop Hughes's gift to them of his college at Fordham. Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati would have had them (c. 1840) take over his college known as the Athenaeum, which was subsequently accepted by Father Verhaegen. Bishop Loras of Dubuque offered them (1841) property for a college near Rock Island, this venture to be followed in time by an Indian mission somewhere in his diocese. Bishop Reynolds of Charleston was ready (c. 1843) to finance a college for them in the metropolis of South Carolina while Bishop Byrne of Little Rock was anxious to secure their aid in building up his new diocese (1844).⁸ In 1841 Bishop Hailandière of Vincennes would have them start a college in Indianapolis. "As to the proposition made to us," Father Murphy, then rector of St. Mary's College, Kentucky, informed the General, "it offers great advantages. Indianapolis is quite a new town with a population of two thousand souls. It is the capital and center of the State. The Legislature and Supreme Court meet there. It is accordingly a location where a college can be brought to public notice, since all the counties [of the State] are represented there. On the other hand, the Bishop's conditions appear to us to be favorable. The unanimous advice of the consultors is to accept the proposition. I have accordingly written to the Bishop that I accept his offer as far as I can, that is, on the express condition of the approval of your Paternity."⁹ About a year later Murphy wrote again to Father Roothaan saying that Bishop de la Hailandière was insistent in urging his petition and had even sent his vicar-general to talk the matter over. But the provincial of France stood out against the Indianapolis offer as the new and burdensome Mission of Canada was now on his hands.¹⁰ Nothing came of de la Hailandière's efforts to secure the Kentucky Jesuits for the capital city of Indiana, which in later years was to be tendered more than once but without result to the Jesuits of St. Louis as a promising field for educational work.

All through the fifties and sixties overtures continued to be made for the services of the St. Louis Jesuits. In 1850 Father Elet informed the General that he was rejecting offers made to him by the "bishops of Vincennes, Detroit and Chicago."¹¹ In 1854 the Bishop of Yucatan offered a college, residence and novitiate in Campeche, all of which

⁸ Murphy à Roothaan, May 11, 1841; February 16, 1844; August 14, 1845. (AA).

⁹ Murphy à Roothaan, June 29, 1841. (AA).

¹⁰ Murphy à Roothaan, June 10, 1842. (AA).

¹¹ Elet à Roothaan, August 17, 1850. (AA).

were declined by Fathers Murphy and Beckx. "The Archbishop of Cincinnati," Murphy reported to the General in August, 1856, "is ready to purchase a certain college with his own money should we be in a position to accept it. The Bishop of Dubuque is making us a like offer. I mention these particulars merely to make known the attitude of these prelates in our regard. We shall return them very cordial thanks and thank likewise Almighty God, who works to such good purpose in human hearts. The Bishops of Louisville and St. Louis continue to be favorable."¹² In 1856 Bishop O'Regan was offering the Jesuits his college in Chicago.¹³ In 1857 Bishop Juncker of Alton was asking St. Louis for the ministerial services, at least temporary, of a few Jesuits.¹⁴ In 1861, the college of Sandwich, Ontario, previously offered to and declined by the French Jesuits of New York, was also declined by Father Murphy, Missouri vice-provincial, because it was outside his territory but more especially because he was exceedingly short-handed in men. In 1862 Bishop Rappe of Cleveland, on occasion of a mission preached at his cathedral in that city by Father Arnold Damen, broached the subject of a Jesuit house in some city of his diocese, preferably Toledo, where he was ready to provide a church and residence. Damen at once communicated the offer to Father Beckx, urging that it be accepted.¹⁵ But this opening, like similar ones brought at this period within reach of the middlewestern Jesuits, was under the circumstances wisely declined.

§ 2. CONDITIONS IN THE COLLEGES

During his visitation of St. Louis College in 1831-1832 Father Peter Kenney expressed disappointment with the status of classical studies in that institution.¹⁶ Frontier conditions, however, as Father Verhaegen pointed out to the General, were necessarily reflecting themselves in current educational standards and demands; he ventured the prediction that with greater development in the western country the academic situation at St. Louis College would steadily improve. That the prediction was not a rash one is borne out by the better organization which studies in that institution arrived at in the next two or three decades.¹⁷ Father Emig, Bardstown's second Jesuit rector and a resolute upholder of the classics, reporting to Father Roothaan on condi-

¹² Murphy ad Beckx, August 23, 1856. (AA). Where the college was which Bishop Purcell offered to purchase, does not appear.

¹³ Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 169.

¹⁴ De Smet à Beckx, June 29, 1857. (AA).

¹⁵ Damen à Beckx, April 23, 1862. (AA).

¹⁶ Cf. Chap. X, § 3.

¹⁷ Cf. Chap. XXXIV.

tions in that college as he found them in January, 1852, wrote that there were some eighty boys taking Latin and Greek, a notable increase in this type of student over the record of the preceding year. By the beginning of the session 1853-1854, so Emig hoped, the seniors would be qualified to do their philosophy in Latin, a really notable achievement if it was ever actually realized. As it was, the bachelors of arts of the preceding session, 1850-1851, had no Greek and were so little up in Latin as to find difficulty with Nepos. It appeared, moreover, that the custom prevailed of conferring academic honors or degrees on such students as did four years of Latin and two of Greek, without regard to the actual proficiency attained by them in the two languages. "It is to be recommended that Reverend Father Provincial, the Rectors and the more experienced teachers meet together and determine what is to be required of youths going in for academic honors. Nothing of a truth is more seemly and more to be desired than uniformity in the conferring of academic honors."¹⁸

Father Roothaan's edition of the *Ratio Studiorum*, which appeared in 1832, was an attempt to modernize that classic Jesuit plan of studies to such extent as changed contemporary conditions seemed to require. Its appearance was the signal for a reversion to traditional Jesuit procedure in the colleges of the Society, a procedure which had become in large measure obscured amid the confusion consequent upon the suppression of the Society and its aftermath. In the pioneer days of St. Louis, as of Grand Coteau, Cincinnati and Bardstown, the *Ratio Studiorum*, it may be fairly said, was scarcely reckoned with in the framing of curricula and in pedagogic methods. A Jesuit letter-writer of the day put the matter significantly: "It is a document rarely met with in our houses." But under pressure from Father Roothaan the *Ratio* began to receive a measure at least of serious attention as an educational guidepost to be kept in view as far as conditions in America would allow. Even in our own day anything like a literal application of the provisions of the *Ratio* is felt by Jesuit educators in the United States to be impracticable. A Jesuit General has pointed out that this time-honored and in a sense official educational charter of the Society is not so much a program or course of studies as a body of pedagogic and

¹⁸ Emig ad Roothaan, January 26, 1852. (AA). For data on American Catholic colleges in the pioneer period, cf. Francis Patrick Cassilly, *Catholic College Foundations and Development in the United States, 1677-1850* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1924); Sebastian Anthony Erbacher, O.F.M., *Catholic Higher Education for Men in the United States, 1850-1866* (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1931). Cf. also Henry Clyde Hubbard, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880* (New York, 1936), "The Beginnings of the Middle Western College," pp. 69-73.

administrative detail. It determines not so much what subjects to teach as how to teach them. It is chiefly if not altogether in this latter regard that the *Ratio* may be said to be in operation today.¹⁹

Evidences of the new attitude towards the *Ratio* began to appear in the administration of Father Elet. At a meeting of the rectors of the vice-province held in St. Louis in August, 1851, only a few weeks before his premature death, it was enjoined upon them that "more earnest efforts be made to promote the study of Latin and Greek and arrange the classes according to the *Ratio Studiorum*." This problem of the arrangement of the classes considerably engaged the wits of the college men of the vice-province and it was long in reaching a satisfactory adjustment. Father Francis Friedrich, German refugee of 1848, who showed himself a rather unsympathetic observer of things American, wrote to Father Roothaan from St. Louis in 1849: "Moreover, the principle is laid down, a principle always dreaded in the Society and justly so, that we ought to adopt the system of instruction according to which several teachers are engaged in conducting one and the same lower class, relieving one another in turns. Reverend Father Elet himself believes this to be an excellent system of teaching. . . . Now one may readily understand in what regard our *Ratio Studiorum* is held; I have sad experience of my own in this connection, however new I be in America."²⁰

¹⁹ "Under the present conditions a new revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* is not to be attempted. Not even the *Ratio* of Father Roothaan can be satisfactorily carried out on account of the special needs of different countries. For this reason the Provincial Superiors after consultation with their advisers and the most approved teachers should devise plans of studies for their provinces and for the various districts in which the same conditions prevail. There is, accordingly, no longer a uniform *Ratio Studiorum* in force as far as subject-matter and arrangement of studies are concerned . . . as the early Jesuits did not invent new methods of teaching but adopted the best method of their age, so will the Jesuits now employ the best methods of our own time." (F. X. Wernz.)" Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education* (New York, 1912), art. "Educational Work of Jesuits," 3:533. Present-day use of the *Ratio* in American Jesuit secondary schools is discussed in W. J. McGucken, S.J., *The Jesuits and Education* (Milwaukee, 1932), pp. 129-148. Cf. also Francis J. Donnelly, S.J., *Principles of Jesuit Education and Practice* (New York, 1934). Translations of the *Ratio* are in McGucken, *op. cit.*, and Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York, 1933).

²⁰ Friedrich ad Beckx, March 21, 1849. (AA). Father Friedrich's objection to what has been called the "branch-system" as opposed to the "class-system" was not well taken. As a matter of fact, the practice of having one major subject taught by the same professor to various groups of students prevails today in the mid-western Jesuit colleges, and this with the approval of the Father General; the older practice, according to which the same professor carries a group of students through several major subjects of instruction, is still to a greater or less extent maintained in the secondary or high school. In the eastern Jesuit colleges the

Some five years later than the date of Father Friedrich's strictures Father Gleizal, Florissant rector and master of novices, commented on the situation in these terms: "The Colleges of St. Louis and Bardstown have a frightful number of professors, as you may assure yourself from the catalogue, which is now being printed. This results from the plan of studies, to my mind a very defective one and far removed, so it seems to me, from the one indicated by the *Ratio Studiorum*."²¹ In 1858 Father Druyts was reporting to the General that the classical course at St. Louis University had been newly reorganized with a view to bringing it in better harmony with the *Ratio Studiorum* and was meeting with great satisfaction on the part of faculty and students alike. However this may have been, Father Beckx the following year urged upon the Visitor, Father Sopranis, that "studies both in the college of St. Louis and elsewhere be organized by degrees in harmony with the system of the Society, as is said to have been done in the Maryland Province and lately in California with great advantage." In 1860 Sopranis himself suggested to the St. Louis prefect of studies that he "propose some definite plan [of studies] adjusted both to the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society and to the [circumstances] of this country." Even as late as 1863 the problem of the organization of the classes was still awaiting a satisfactory solution as certain comments of Father Keller's indicate:

Studies do not seem to be very flourishing [in St. Louis] and this not through any lack of teachers for these are numerous and excellent so that never before was this college staffed with such learned men; but somehow or other the classes are not arranged as they should be. Boys are set ahead too far to make it possible for them to grasp the subjects taught in their classes; in a lower class they might perhaps have succeeded in learning something. This situation, it is true, must be blamed in part on the Civil War, which has almost depleted the upper classes and so gives occasion to transfer from lower classes students who otherwise would not have been advanced. It must be incumbent, therefore, on the Rector and Prefect of Studies to show greater strictness and not to allow any one to pass from one class to another without proving his entire fitness by an examination. This, I think, ought to be impressed upon them; and at the end of the year let there be no candidate at all for a diploma rather than have academic honors bestowed on the unworthy.²²

Father Keller, assistant to the provincial at the time he wrote these words, was known among his confrères as a man of exacting standards

"class-system" is the one more or less in vogue. Cf. McGucken, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²¹ Gleizal à Roothaan, November 10, 1854. (AA).

²² Keller ad Beckx, April 21, 1863. (AA).

in education as in other things. But there is nothing to indicate that the view expressed by him in the present instance was unduly severe; he did no more than indicate his concern that proper steps be taken to safeguard the sincerity and solidity which, more than anything else, enter into the ideal of Jesuit education. As a matter of fact the effective organization of studies on the basis of the *Ratio* which Father Keller and others of his colleagues contended for arrived somewhat late in the midwestern Jesuit colleges. It was not until 1887 that a uniform and well-graded program of studies worked out on the lines of the *Ratio* was officially introduced into the high schools and colleges administered by the middlewestern Jesuits. By that time the general educational situation in the United States had shown marked improvement at least as concerned organized curricula and administrative methods. Further, the difficulties created by frontier conditions had to a great extent disappeared and Jesuit colleges were left free to shape their curricula more in accordance with the Society's traditions. But at St. Louis as elsewhere in the sixties the problem how to bestow the blessings of a classical education on the reluctant youth of western America was still a perplexing one. "It will take time," Father De Coen assured the General in June, 1860, "to convince the youth of America, even in a well-organized college like that of St. Louis, that the study of the ancient languages is of any use to them; we shall never be able to get along without teaching a special course for such as are preparing for a career of business."²³ And yet, as Father Roothaan often insisted, Jesuit education was virtually based upon the classics. In 1852 he expressed satisfaction at hearing that Father Stonestreet in Maryland had given over to the Christian Brothers such schools as were not in conformity with the Jesuit Institute, schools, to wit, in which Latin and Greek were not being taught. "It is entirely fit and proper that the various Institutes [religious orders and congregations] devote themselves to their respective specific tasks and do not in their eagerness to accomplish everything prevent themselves from doing the things to which they are called."²⁴

The veteran Father Verhaegen summed up for Father Sopranis in 1861 his views on the problem of the colleges:

In my opinion the ministries of the Society which are of most utility in this country are those in which Ours go about various places giving the

²³ De Coen à Beckx, June 1, 1860. (AA).

²⁴ Roothaan ad Stonestreet, October 4, 1852. (AA). In general Roothaan wished the Society of the United States to develop along the same lines as the Society in Europe. "I desire that in all things the Society assume the same form and proceed in the same manner as in Europe; as far as circumstances will permit, let nothing new be introduced." Roothaan à De Theux, May 10, 1834. (AA).

Spiritual Exercises to the laity, hearing confessions, confirming Catholics by various devices in the Faith and bringing non-Catholics into the bosom of the Church. It does not seem to me in this present state of the Vice-Province that the number of the colleges ought to be increased; and I judge that day-colleges ought to be preferred to boarding-schools. Let there be only one boarding-school in the whole Vice-Province, but that one excellently organized, and in the cities let there be day-schools only. As to the location of the single boarding-school, I do not think that anything regarding it can or ought to be determined before the end of the deplorable civil war which undoubtedly will change many things from what they are now. If our teachers do their work properly, if the Sodalities are well managed, if there are Fathers to give due instruction to the students and instruct them often in words that breathe the love of God, if the frequent use of the sacraments is commended earnestly and with success, it seems to me that all the [necessary] means are provided for instilling morality and piety into the students. I believe that both in the boarding-schools and the colleges, in view of the character and circumstances of the people of this region, especially the Catholics, both the classical and commercial course ought to be retained and I think it expedient that the two courses, as far as possible, be taught by the same professors. Schools in which only the commercial course is taught seem to me to be of the greatest utility nor do I see any work in which coadjutor-brothers who have an aptitude for teaching could be better employed under the direction of some one of the Fathers. These schools, if they are well conducted, promote the greater glory of God among the youth of this country with more efficacy perhaps than even the colleges.²⁵

Two things especially which Verhaegen touches on in his letter, the boarding-school and the so-called commercial course, were giving rise at this time to discussion in Jesuit domestic circles. At the beginning of the sixties, to which period the letter belongs, the Jesuits of the Middle West were conducting two boarding-schools, St. Louis and Bardstown, not to mention the two schools among the Potawatomi and Osage. Probably the prevailing opinion in regard to this type of school, the *convictus* of Jesuit educational history, was that it scarcely repaid in its net results the trouble expended upon it and was in fact to be regarded as a necessary evil, seeing that it could not be dispensed with altogether. As Father Verhaegen expressed it, day-schools were to be preferred to boarding-schools. This judgment, however, was not applicable to the Indian schools, which perforce had to lodge the boys during the period of their studies if any impression at all was to be made upon them. Notwithstanding the skepticism that showed itself thus early in regard to its utility in meeting the scholastic and moral ends of education, the boarding-school successfully held its ground and in 1930 the Missouri Province alone was conducting three schools of

²⁵ Verhaegen ad Sopranis, June 5, 1861. (AA).

this sort, all with an honorable record of educational service behind them.

An anonymous correspondent writing at the same time as Father Verhaegen suggested that the vice-province should have a boarding-school which offered only the classical course to the exclusion of others. Though the necessity of providing opportunities of education for such students as were not ready for one reason or another to pursue the standard classical course made itself felt from the very beginning at St. Louis and elsewhere, the non-classical courses, commercial or English as they chance to be called, were regarded more or less as intruders into the curriculum as indeed they were from the traditional Jesuit viewpoint. Even before the so-called commercial course made its first appearance in the St. Louis University catalogue, the substance of the thing had found a place in the University's scheme of studies. In 1859 Father Druyts was finding that his most teasing problem, that of finding the necessary personnel for carrying on the numerous activities of the vice-province, was due in part to the circumstance that the colleges had to provide a double staff of professors, one for each of the two courses, classical and commercial, and he suggested the expediency of discontinuing the latter course in one or other of the colleges.²⁶ In 1862 Father Sopranis, after conferring on the subject with American superiors, decided on a uniform policy to be followed by Jesuit colleges in the United States in regard to the commercial course. First, such course was to be retained both to meet the wishes of parents and students and to help the colleges along in a financial way. Secondly, it was to be kept entirely apart from the classical course and no Jesuit professors were to be employed in it except for philosophy, which was to be given in English. Thirdly, the commercial students were to be subject in disciplinary matters to the prefect of studies.²⁷

In the event the commercial course succeeded in achieving for itself, at least for a period of years, a recognized place in the curricula of the middlewestern Jesuit colleges and, with the prestige that came from the introduction into it of philosophy and the higher mathematics, became almost a competitor of the classical course itself. But with the elimination in recent years of the more technical features of business education, the commercial course has approximated more and more to the English course so-called, and, in fine, has come to be identified with it.

It is a commonplace of educational history that the Jesuits, and in this they do not differ from Catholic educators generally, lay a major emphasis on the moral and religious training of their students. This

²⁶ Druyts ad Beckx, January 1, 1860. (AA).

²⁷ Sopranis ad Beckx, May 14, 1862. (AA).

obviously is the only logical course for men to pursue who profess to believe that moral and religious issues are paramount in life and that the only really worthwhile pursuit is the pursuit of the realities of faith which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. If it were not for the influence in a spiritual way which they hope to exercise over their students, the Jesuits would not be in the business of education at all. "The purpose which the Society proposes to itself in its schools," says a decree of a general congregation, "is to bring the neighbor to the knowledge and love of God"; and it adds that the chief concern of the Jesuit educator ought therefore to be to train the students at once in Christian morality and letters.²⁸

Though in view of the scope of Jesuit education religious instruction is necessarily a highly important feature of the curriculum, in actual practice it has not always received the place of honor which is its due. This condition, as regards Jesuit American schools of the pioneer period, is largely to be accounted for by the presence in them of a large proportion of non-Catholic students, which made it embarrassing to carry on religious instruction freely and in due measure for the benefit of students professing the Catholic faith.²⁹ Father Anderledy, the Jesuit General, when a theological student at St. Louis University, 1848-1849, noted what he thought was a neglect of proper catechetical instruction for the benefit of the student-body and regretted that, being yet engaged in his studies, he could not proffer his services to help supply the need. As to the general religious tone prevailing in the schools, reports varied, being sometimes encouraging and sometimes less so. Father Gleizal wrote in 1854: "One notices a good spirit prevailing everywhere among our students and in the case of a good many a spirit of piety and the reception of the sacraments."³⁰ Two years later the same father commented on the excellent morale of his novices. That they are such, he asserted, "they owe undoubtedly to the education which they received in our colleges."³¹ On the other hand, thirteen years later, in 1869, Father Coosemans reported a complaint that piety in the St. Louis student-body did not measure up to standard. "The last retreat, by Father Van Goch, produced a very good effect, but did not entirely remedy this defect."³² Piety in the sense of a rather open expression

²⁸ "Siquidem finis quem Societas sibi in scholis suis proponit est proximum ad Dei cognitionem atque amorem adducere, haec in juventute instituenda sit prima Nostrorum cura ut discipuli una cum litteris mores Christianis dignos hauriant." *Epitome Instituti S.J.* (1924), p. 164.

²⁹ Friedrich ad Beckx, March 21, 1849. (AA). But cf. Chap. X, § 3.

³⁰ Gleizal à Beckx, January 20, 1854. (AA).

³¹ Gleizal à Beckx, February 6, 1856. (AA).

³² Coosemans à Beckx, March 4, 1869. (AA).

of religious earnestness and fervor, however desirable this may be, is not a phenomenon that can be evoked at will; correct ethical conduct and compliance with peremptory Christian duties are matters that can be required of a student-body with more insistence and there is no evidence that the midwestern Jesuit colleges were falling short of their duty in this regard.

In connection with the religious training of the students a question was raised in the early fifties which caused a momentary flurry in Catholic academic circles. This was the alleged evil influence of the study of the pagan classics. The Abbé Gaume published in 1851 his famous polemic, *Le Ver Rongeur*, in which he assailed classical education as the "canker-worm" of modern society, and proposed that it be displaced in Catholic colleges in favor of an education based on the writings of the Fathers of the Church and other Christian authors. The Jesuits and other Catholic educators with them took up the defence of the classics, maintaining that the morals of the students were adequately safeguarded by the use of specially prepared and expurgated texts of the pagan authors. An echo of the controversy is caught in a letter of Father Murphy written in reply to one from Father Roothaan on the necessity of providing suitable editions of the classics for the students:

The work of the Abbé Gaume is known [to me] only through the criticism, as just as it is severe, of the *Catholic Review* of Boston. Here [in the United States] you find Ovid and Phaedrus expurgated. Our Fathers of old did not tamper with Vergil; as to Juvenal and Terence, one can get along without them altogether. We have, then, only to get up Horace in order to speak with propriety. The Greek prose-writers, and in the form you would like to have them, can be obtained here as in Europe. In this connection I can say that I have never met a single American pupil who read one line of Latin without being obliged to do so by his professor. Father Jourdan, whom we saw here lately, says as much. It is possible it may be otherwise at Georgetown and Worcester [Holy Cross], where studies are on a better basis. It will be easy to come to an understanding among ourselves in regard to getting suitable editions. As to English authors we shall do every thing possible to diminish the evil; it is all we can effect.³³

Another problem was that created by the presence of large numbers of non-Catholic students especially in the boarding-schools. The pioneer Jesuit colleges of the West, as the Jesuit colleges of today, placed no restrictions as to religious belief on their registrants. All, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, who met the requirements of good moral char-

³³ Murphy à Beckx, 1860 (?). (AA). The Gaume controversy is set forth in Joseph Burnichon, S.J., *La Compagnie de Jésus en France: Histoire d'un Siècle, 1814-1914* (Paris, 1922), 4: 25-37.

acter and academic fitness were admitted into the classes. But in the pioneer period the proportion of non-Catholic students in the high schools and arts colleges was often far in excess of what it ordinarily is today. This condition was due partly to the existing scarcity of colleges of any kind, so that Catholic institutions were freely patronized by students of all denominations, partly, it would seem, to the desire of Protestant parents to entrust the education of their sons to Catholic teachers. While students other than Catholic were thus eligible for admission, it was felt at the same time by managers of the Jesuit colleges that too large a proportion of this class of registrants reacted unfavorably on the religious morale of the Catholic students. Father Verhaegen declared in 1858 that the Protestant boys "drank in heresy with their mothers' milk" and later spread it among their school-companions, while Father Coosemans in 1864 attributed a marked falling off in religious piety among the students of St. Louis University to the large admixture of Protestants. As a result of this experience efforts were sometimes made to restrict the number of non-Catholic students, as in St. Louis in 1851, when they counted only ten out of one hundred and thirty-five boarders. But in 1865 they actually outnumbered the Catholic students so that a decision was reached during the course of the year to admit no more students who were not of the Church. Father Coosemans, commenting on the situation, said it was a common one in Catholic colleges generally throughout the country, and from one viewpoint was to be accounted a good result of the Civil War, indicating as it did the favorable attitude of Protestant parents towards Catholic schools. "As a result many [of the non-Catholic students] are converted while nearly all leave college with favorable impressions of our holy religion. Back at home they become our defenders against those who calumniate us."³⁴ In April, 1865, the majority of the first division boarders at St. Louis were, so it was reported, non-Catholics but withal "well disposed." Protestantism was said to have lost much ground in consequence of the Civil War. "Conversions to the Church were frequent and such as were prevented by human respect from becoming Catholics showed their good disposition by sending their children to Catholic schools." In the session 1864-1865 students of St. Louis University received into the Catholic Church numbered ten. "The rest lose their prejudices against our holy religion." A St. Louis University alumnus, with all his children, one excepted, was baptized (*c.* 1864). He gave as chief reason for his conversion the favorable impression he had received of the Catholic Church while a student at the University.

As to the net results achieved by Catholic college education in the

³⁴ Coosemans à Beckx, March 11, 1864. (AA).

United States in the early and middle decades of the last century, some difference of opinion asserted itself for a while in Jesuit circles. In a previous chapter note was taken of the eagerness of many among the pioneer middlewestern Jesuits for the parochial ministry and of their enthusiasm for the parish missions preached by Father Weninger among the Germans and by Father Damen among the English-speaking Catholics of the country. To this group the parishes and parish missions were everything and the colleges a factor of only secondary importance in the work of the vice-province. In their view the substantial fruits of Jesuit activity and zeal were being garnered in the parishes and the missions, not in the colleges. The ideal occupation was to work directly upon souls in the ministry, not indirectly, as must to a large extent be done within the four walls of a class-room. Father Verhaegen, to recall his view of the situation, declared that the most profitable of all employments for a Jesuit was to go around the country preaching sermons and recovering lost sheep for the fold. "We must, indeed," declared Father Weninger in 1858, "do one thing and not omit the other. Colleges are necessary and very excellent things; but they are not what is chiefly and much less what is exclusively needed in the present condition of things in this country."³⁵ But it was not merely a question which of the two outlets of apostolic enterprise and zeal, the sacred ministry or education, was of relatively greater importance. The indictment was made against the colleges that their output, the students who had enjoyed the advantages of religious training which they offered, did not to a surprising extent prove themselves practical Catholics in later life. Moreover, the colleges were turning out few candidates for the priesthood and the religious orders, the Jesuit novitiate at Florissant, to mention one instance, receiving a disproportionately small quota of its recruits from this quarter. Said Father De Smet in 1856: "They [the colleges] are no doubt necessary and one would have to create them if they did not exist; yet such is the moral situation of the country that few of the young men who leave them persevere in the holy practices of religion. I have heard this observation many times from the mouths of Bishops."³⁶ A few years before a report to the

³⁵ Weninger ad Beckx, May, 1858. (AA).

³⁶ De Smet à Beckx, May 16, 1856. (AA). Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis expressed himself on the matter in 1843: "There is also another subject not, however, connected with the first spoken of, which ought to become matter of our deliberation [at the impending council of Baltimore]. I allude to our colleges, which I have long since regarded as anything but useful to religion. The Catholics appear to lose rather than gain by frequenting such academies, and as for the protestants, they lose if you will some prejudices but they are rarely otherwise benefited by a residence in our colleges." Kenrick to Purcell, March 27, 1843. (I). Kenrick appears to have later held a more favorable view regarding the results

same effect had reached Father Roothaan.³⁷ Father Murphy, always a staunch friend of the colleges, communicated to the General in April, 1853, his own view of the situation:

I admit that our colleges are not doing all the good which one might desire, but I believe that the fault is not in the colleges, but in the circumstances in which the majority of our pupils find themselves at their entrance into the world, scattered as they are over a vast continent, without support, without direction, often without church or priest. And yet without the colleges where would our poor youth be and what would become of the service and support which the colleges lend to religion? As to our own men, where would they be trained before throwing themselves into the ministry? . . . Such as they are, the colleges do a great deal of good. Everyone agrees that our churches in the towns do immense good. I believe before God that the proximity of the college helps a great deal to this end. Meantime the Society's position is made more secure and common life is maintained. Considering the position in which we are, we are doing as much for the churches as the colleges in France [are doing] and, I should think, more than those of England.³⁸

Father Murphy's apologia for the American Jesuit college rested on solid ground. After all, none of the advocates of ministerial work in preference to educational activities called into question the need of Catholic colleges. As has been seen, Father Weninger pronounced them "very excellent things" and Father De Smet declared that "one would have to create them if they did not exist." Archbishop Kenrick, who wrote unfavorably of the colleges in 1843, a few years later invited the Fathers of the Holy Cross to open one in St. Louis while Father Damen in later life revised his one-time unfavorable opinion of the colleges as he found out in his missionary rounds that one of their products was often an exemplary parishioner and the pastor's right-

of Catholic college education in the United States. His predecessor in the see of St. Louis, Rosati, wrote as early as 1830 on the subject of Catholic colleges: "All the Bishops would consider themselves happy to have them [colleges]. Moreover, what an amount of good is not done in these colleges. Therein Catholic young people are brought up in the practice of their religion, which they would not even know about if they were sent to protestant schools; therein, too, protestant children lose the prejudices they are inspired with against Catholics, Priests, the Church, and acquire sentiments of esteem and respect for persons whom they have come to know with intimacy. Some of them become Catholics with the permission of their parents and those who do not will always be the friends of the Catholic clergy." Rosati à Salhorgne, April 23, 1830. Kenrick Seminary Archives. Father Salhorgne was Superior General of the Congregation of the Missions, to which Bishop Rosati belonged.

³⁷ _____ ad Roothaan, November 5, 1852. (AA).

³⁸ Murphy à Roothaan, April, 1853. (AA).

hand man.⁸⁹ Finally, vocations from Catholic colleges to the priesthood, secular and religious, are no longer a rarity but have multiplied with the years.

⁸⁹ *WL*, 12:63.

CHAPTER XXXII

A JESUIT COLLEGE IN LOUISIANA

§ I. ST. CHARLES COLLEGE, GRAND COTEAU

Sometime during the eighteen-twenties an anonymous memoir under the caption *Conseils aux Jésuites* was addressed to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.¹ Its author, who declared himself a priest of fifteen years' experience in Louisiana, expressed the view that the spiritual interests of Louisiana would be materially advanced by the presence of the Jesuits. Let them be given, he advised, some of its parishes, as St. James's or St. Michel's or the Ascension in Donaldsonville, and let them open a college in New Orleans. Bishop Du Bourg had in fact at an early date invited the Society of Jesus to the South. Even before Father Van Quickenborne and his party of novices left for the West the prelate had spoken at Georgetown College of a property near Opelousas, Louisiana, as a promising site for a college. The owner of the property, Mrs. Charles Smith, would no doubt, at the Bishop's suggestion, tender it to the Jesuits. In 1826 Du Bourg made a formal offer of this property to Van Quickenborne. "He offers us," the superior wrote to the Father General in May of that year, "and he will speak about it to your V. Rev. Paternity, a farm of 200 acres, situated at Opelousas in Lower Louisiana. He wishes to assign to the Society some entire district, as much as he gave us here."² Bishop Du Bourg's successor in the see of New Orleans, Bishop De Neckere, also attempted but without success to introduce the Society of Jesus into his diocese.³ Shortly after his consecration De Neckere, a

¹ *Conseil aux Jésuites, Stato della Religione negli Stati Uniti (Scritture riferite nei Congressi 1827, N. 9, America)*. Propaganda Transcripts. (G).

² Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, 1: 1028. Du Bourg had written to his brother, Louis, March 20, 1824, of an offer he made to the Jesuits of three hundred arpents of land, together with a church and house, at Opelousas. "The difficulty will be to obtain members of the Society; however, having already a handsome nucleus of them in my diocese, I hope to succeed the more easily in overcoming this difficulty." Kenrick Seminary Archives.

³ Bishop Du Bourg after his return to France in 1826 still continued to busy himself at intervals with the project of a Jesuit college in Louisiana. He wrote to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis: "I went to Bordeaux to see some Jesuits in regard to our project for Opelousas, which you have already proposed by letter to the Father

Lazarist, appealed to Father Dzierozynski, superior of the Maryland Jesuits:

You probably have learned by now my appointment to the Episcopal See of New Orleans, and the subsequent consecration which I have received at the hands of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Rosati, notwithstanding my utmost indignity and incapacity.

I am therefore now entrusted with the spiritual concerns of this extensive Diocese and although the means of promoting them are very scarce, yet something must be done. It is the common opinion of all who are acquainted with this country that the only means likely to succeed is the establishment of a college and one directed by the Revd. Fathers of your Society. In consequence of the wish expressed by a number of the inhabitants here, I have opened a subscription, the object of which is the purchase of a suitable tract of land and the building of a proper house for the intended purpose. The Revd. M. [Mr.] Delacroix, who had the honor of your personal acquaintance at Georgetown last fall, tells me that he found your Reverence not only not averse to our plan, but even inclinable towards it. If so, I apply with double confidence to your charity for such a number of Jesuits as may take possession of the college we are preparing. You will highly oblige me, if you give me some information about the probable number you may have it in your power to send and what might be the period at which we may expect them. The spot we have in view is one of the most eligible in the State [Iberville]. Immediately on the river Mississippi—sixty miles only above New Orleans from which the steamboat conveyance is equally easy and speedy—five hours suffice to go down and about double that to come up—the parish church is very near and the conveniences for provisions of butchery and bakery at hand. The house and land will be the property of your Fathers without any burden whatever except of the taxes. The desire of most parents to have a house of education in this State is such that we may with reason anticipate every kind of success. In the anxious expectation of a favorable answer I am etc.⁴

Provincial of Paris. I had written myself to the last-named. He does not see the affair as we do. He must by this time have written you his opinion concerning it. It is a proof that the project is not ripe yet, but that it is [ms. ?]. God has His time for everything as He ceases not to demonstrate. If we are not destined to accomplish this good, He will do it through others." Du Bourg à Rosati, January 28, 1829. (C). Again, he wrote to Rosati: "A college at Grand Coteau and a seminary at Donaldson[ville] should be the object of your pressing solicitude. As to Jesuits for Grand Coteau, I am pleased that you wrote about the affair to the Provincial of France [Paris]. I am going to urge him to grant your request. Circumstances appear to me to be favorable at this juncture when the Government has just closed their colleges to the bitter regret of the whole episcopate and of all Christian fathers. It is an unfortunate concession to the spirit of the age wrung from the most virtuous of kings [Charles X] by a feeble ministry. God grant that it be not the prelude to a host of others more disastrous still." (C).

⁴ De Neckere to Dzierozynski, St. Michel, July 20, 1830. (B). De Neckere had written July 13, 1830, from St. Michel to M. De Nef of Tournhout, Bel-

Father Dzierzynski's answer to the Bishop of New Orleans revealed the chronic embarrassment of the Jesuits in America, lack of men. "Nothing would please us more than to be useful to so worthy and zealous [a] Bishop and satisfy all his wishes— But I must confess that notwithstanding my inclination to serve you our means do not correspond to our desire. We are scarcely enough to fulfill our increasing occupations. Our members increase slowly. Let us, however, hope in our Heavenly Father, who as he has given the desire will give the means of putting [it] in execution."⁵

From Maryland Bishop De Neckere now turned to St. Louis for the realization of his hopes. The Jesuits on their part had scarcely made a beginning in that city when they began to look to Louisiana as a more promising field for their educational efforts. Father Verhaegen, president of St. Louis College, writing to the Father General in January, 1831, expressed his misgivings as to the future of the institution. Its situation was such that no considerable number of boarders could be looked for. Moreover, the Missouri legislature was to open a public college in St. Louis and to this well-to-do Protestants would prefer to send their sons. Finally, the Lazarist college at the Barrens with its hundred boarders and fifty day scholars would always divide with St. Louis the available patronage for higher education. "Our only hope of growth is in lower Louisiana." A letter just then received from the South conveyed the news that the people of Opelousas had decided to build a college and offer it to the Jesuits, a remarkable thing indeed in view of the known prejudices of many of them against the Society. There was no classical college in Louisiana with the result that two hundred boys having homes there were being educated outside the state. Bishop De Neckere of New Orleans had twice invited Father Verhaegen to visit Louisiana in the expectation that he would receive substantial donations and also pick up students for his college. Verhaegen had applied in turn to the Maryland superior, Dzierzynski, for permission to accept this invitation but was answered that since the existing buildings at St. Louis could not accommodate the available number of students, it was unnecessary to seek for more.⁶

The following year, 1832, Bishop De Neckere visiting St. Louis

gium, a friend and benefactor of the Missouri Jesuits, asking his help for the proposed college. "All who take a sincere interest in religion agree that the only means of succeeding is to get hold of the youth by furnishing parents with facilities for a proper education [of their sons]. A great number of the inhabitants ask for the Jesuits; but where shall we find them a suitable location? I have not the first penny." Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.

⁵ Dzierzynski to De Neckere, September 3, 1830. (B).

⁶ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, January 15, 1831. (AA).

with his vicar-general, Father Blanc, invited the Jesuits, now separated from the Maryland jurisdiction, to open a college either in Iberville, where he had acquired a house, or in Opelousas, where he held property, or in both places. Verhaegen at once communicated the Bishop's offer to the General, representing that if it were not accepted a rare opportunity for extending Jesuit education would be let slip. Louisiana could be reached from St. Louis by steamer in six or eight days, the return trip being made in eight or ten. If the General were only to send him three professors of the classics, Verhaegen would venture "with some little shifting about of men" to open a college in Louisiana.⁷ Father Roothaan, though not in a position to send the professors asked for, did not show himself averse to the project of a Jesuit school in the South provided, a contingency that may have seemed to him remote, that "men, money and a classical course would be available."

At St. Louis Fathers Verhaegen and Van de Velde were the chief promoters of the idea of a Louisiana college. On the other hand, Father Peter Walsh, also of the college staff, was dismayed by the difficulties of the project. "In view of all this," he insisted with the General, "it seems to me to be entirely impossible for us to begin a new college unless your Paternity send some well-qualified members to our relief. Here in Missouri, where the inhabitants are for the most part illiterate, we have easily been able to meet the exigencies of the place. But Louisianians are quite different from Missourians. A.B.C. schools would not suffice [for them]." ⁸ Van de Velde, on his part, laid the issue before the Father General as one of the utmost importance for the Catholic Church in Louisiana:

To instil religion and correct morals into its youth is the only means of reforming the state of Louisiana, almost all the inhabitants of which are Catholics, some pious and well disposed towards religion and our Society, many indifferent, not a few wicked and imbued with the principles of the French Revolution. I am not afraid to declare to your Paternity that if we had three colleges in that state, they would in a few years be filled with students. The wealthier parents now send their children to other states to be educated or even to France, whence they come back with bad principles and morals. Many are consigned to non-Catholic colleges; at least 100 are domiciled at St. Mary's College in this state, about 60 at Bardstown in Kentucky and 40 in our own college of St. Louis. The Bishop asks for only three or four professors to start this highly important undertaking. I have urged him to write directly to your Paternity and make known to you everything that pertains to it. So far he has been fed on hopes and promises. I hope your Paternity will now see to it that this man, who is so religious

⁷ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, August 25, 1832. (AA).

⁸ Walsh to Roothaan, February 15, 1831. (AA).

and so deserving of our Society, will see his wishes realized. How many times has he expressed this wish to me! How many times has he said to me, "this is my desire beyond all others, this is the principal object of my prayers; if only I could obtain this, I should die happy." French is even more important there [Louisiana] than English.⁹

Only a few months later than Van de Velde's pressing appeal to the Father General, Bishop De Neckere met with a premature death, a victim of yellow fever. Verhaegen was anxious that the unlooked-for incident should not put a stop to his plans for a college in Louisiana as he let the General know:

In the death of that excellent prelate our institution has sustained a severe loss and I hold it responsible for the fact that the number of our boarders has not increased since the last vacation. The public prints have recorded his praises but not in adequate terms, for in the opinion of everybody he was beyond all praise. He was a saintly, learned and very humble man. A few days after his decease the Reverend administrator, Mr. Blanc, Vicar-General of the diocese and a very great friend of Ours, wrote to me expressing the hope that the death of the Bishop would not hinder the important work in Louisiana, which he was wishing we would take in hand as soon as possible. The same reasons, Very Reverend Father, still exist for our contemplating the opening of a college there and I am not in doubt that quite a number of persons are ready to support the undertaking as far as they can. The Superior of the house of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in Opelousas lately wrote me to this effect, adding that the state of Louisiana lately spent \$20,000 to no purpose in the erection of a public institution, as dissensions made a wreck of the undertaking. So many attempts made by lay people in Louisiana to possess a college prove in my opinion its necessity and augur success for the institution if it be established.

In conclusion Father Verhaegen made mention that three novices, two priests and a scholastic were expected to arrive soon from Maryland. They would be available as teachers after one year, not immediately. If he had but two men at his call who were up in Latin and French, he could begin at once in Louisiana.¹⁰

The house and property at Iberville, Louisiana, which had been acquired by Bishop De Neckere for the purposes of a college, had been purchased by the local pastor, Rev. Aristide Anduze, in his own name with the understanding that the diocese was to take it off his hands. Preparations to do so were being made when Bishop De Neckere's death intervened. Though Rev. Anthony Blanc, the administrator, preferred to do nothing in the business until the appointment of a new bishop, Father Anduze urgently requested that the transfer of the

⁹ Van de Velde ad Roothaan, 1833. (AA).

¹⁰ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, November 12, 1833. (AA).

property to the diocese be made without delay, which was accordingly done. Blanc thereupon besought the Jesuit General to accept the Iberville property for a college:

It is now, Very Reverend Father, merely a matter of considering ways and means of utilizing a house which cost the diocese dearly but which the diocese will never regret having purchased if the Fathers of your Society wish to take possession of it; and I have reason to believe that they will refuse all the less seeing that Bishop De Neckere brought himself to make this acquisition only through an assurance of some sort given him by Father Chazelle, who is perfectly informed as to the occasion in question. Father Ladavière assures me that only your permission is needed for the opening of the college. I hope, Very Reverend Father, that you will not make us wait for it much longer; the good of religion in our poor diocese demands it and moreover the house itself is always the worse for not being occupied.¹¹

Rev. Auguste Jeanjean, named by the Holy See successor of Bishop De Neckere, having declined to accept the appointment, Father Blanc himself became bishop of the southern metropolis. He received consecration November 22, 1835, and shortly after left for Europe to urge in person with Father Roothaan his suit for a Jesuit house in his diocese. The July of 1836 saw the new bishop in Rome. As a result of his appeal to Father Roothaan, Father Guidée, provincial of France, was directed to canvass in his own province as also in that of Lyons for suitable subjects to labor in Louisiana, decision being made at the same time that "in lasting memory of our predecessors and in accordance with their ancient custom, this Mission as that of Kentucky, be registered in the catalogue of the Province of France."¹² Returning from Rome, Bishop Blanc visited Lyons and Paris to lay his plans before the French provincials. On August 10 the provincial of Lyons, Father Renault, communicated to the General his ideas on the personnel to be chosen for the Iberville college, which was to be opened in the old seminary building built by Rev. Eugene Michaud in 1824:

After reading through the entire catalogue with Father Guidée and giving the matter mature consideration before God, I would propose to your Paternity:

¹¹ Blanc à Roothaan, October 29, 1834. (I).

¹² *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Parisiensis*, 1836. (G). The Jesuit province of Paris was also known as the province of France, its present designation. The province of Lyons was established in 1836, its territory being taken from that of the Paris province, which had included all of France. Besides this source, the *Litterae Annuae Missionis Missourianae*, 1838-1841, the minute-book of the Board of Consultors of the Missouri Mission and Vice-Province, and numerous letters, especially of Fathers Roothaan, Verhaegen, Guidée, Van de Velde and Maisounabe furnish most of the data embodied in this chapter.

1. Father François Abbadie of the province of Lyons; he has a great desire for the missions of America; he already knows a little English; he can preach; he can serve equally well as professor or surveillant.

2. Father Joseph Soller of the province of France; he knows English and German; he has been a professor of the humanities for several years and can continue to be so; he has a great desire of exercising the holy ministry; but for surveillance and for the offices of minister and sub-minister he feels a repugnance that he does not sufficiently control.

3. Father Pierre de Vos of the province of France; for a long time he has been asking for the American missions; he is, says Father Van Lil, made to be an *operarius* rather than minister of a house although he is actually such at Alost; he would be capable of taking a class.

4. Father Pierre Ladavière of the province of Lyons; he will be a man ad omnia, in fine a precious man for setting up this house because of his antecedents.

But where is the Superior? I do not see him anywhere this year except at St. Mary's, Kentucky. Last year I sent Father Nicolas Point to that house; he is a man of men for a college although he is drawn by preference to the missions and the Indian missions at that, after the example of Father Van Quickenborne. In case of need Father Point could be replaced at St. Mary's by one of the Fathers whom I propose today to your Paternity.¹³

In the event Father Nicholas Point, then on the staff of the Jesuit college of St. Mary's near Lebanon, Kentucky, was named superior of the new mission while his subordinates, eight in number, the result of Father Guidée's canvassing, were to come from France. These were Fathers Pierre Ladavière and Jean François Abbadie, Joseph Chauvet, a coadjutor-brother, all of the province of Lyons, and Fathers Paul Mignard and Joseph Soller, Henri Duranquet, a scholastic-novice, and Joseph Alsberg, a coadjutor-brother, members of the province of France.

Sixty days of stormy voyaging, December 24, 1836, to February 22, 1837, brought Bishop Blanc and his recruits safely to New Orleans. The Jesuits of Paris and Lyons waited anxiously for word of the safe arrival of the party and when it came the priests among them celebrated thrice the Holy Sacrifice in thanksgiving for the welcome news. Meanwhile, Father Point had left Kentucky for Iberville, where he spent two months looking over the ground and supplying the place of the parish priest in the latter's absence. In the beginning of February, he went down to New Orleans, where rumors of pirates and shipwrecks on the high seas filled the air. Thence he was sent by the vicar-general to Grand Coteau, one hundred and sixty miles north-west of the metropolis, to take up parochial duties and serve as chaplain to the Religious of the Sacred Heart and their pupils. These were man's

¹³ Renault à Roothaan, August 10, 1836. (AA).

designs, observes the chronicler, in sending the father to that locality, but God's design was that he should sow the seed of future harvests. On March 12 Point was in New Orleans to welcome the Jesuit party after its protracted voyage. He at once laid before his advisers all he had seen and heard concerning the Iberville offer. They were unanimous in advising that it should not be accepted. The agreement entered into in France with Bishop Blanc stipulated for a building suitable for college purposes, care of the adjacent church and free, untrammelled possession of the college property. Point's examination of the college building in Iberville had shown it to be unsuited for the purpose intended. Its site was unhealthy, being close to the riverbank, which was fast crumbling away. It was, besides, disappointingly small, offering accommodation for scarcely sixty students and was so sadly out of repair that there was no prospect of restoring it without considerable expense. In addition to all this, the townsfolk had a passion for litigation and even then were at odds with their pastor, having laid claim to parochial and college property alike and even to the church itself. Father Michaud, who put up the college building, had broken down and died in middle age under a crushing burden of debts and other annoyances. Iberville was evidently not the place for Point and his community, a view that came to be shared by the Bishop himself and his vicar-general, who now deemed it advisable that the Jesuits, in view of the circumstances, should look elsewhere for a home.

On February 17, 1837, Father Point indited from Grand Coteau a long letter to the Father General in which he detailed the reasons that militated against the acceptance of the Iberville offer, as also the various problems that would have to be faced in starting a college anywhere. "No one of us," he said, "knows enough English to be able to teach it. We shall need at least two English professors and one of Spanish. In Kentucky there is Father Fouché, who knows both English and French. For this reason I think he would be more useful to us than at St. Mary's College. For the kitchen etc., we should need three or four domestics from outside. If we could have brother coadjutors, things would go much better. The price of Negroes and of professors is enormous. . . . Then, once established in Louisiana we may hope to move westward some day and go to the aid of the poor Indians, whom one cannot lose sight of."¹⁴

¹⁴ Point à Roothaan, February 17, 1837. (AA). Father Point, who had a talent for neat and graphic tabulation of data, subsequently drew up and forwarded to Father Roothaan a single-page presentation of all the particulars regarding five of the fourteen offers made, viz. Iberville, Mandeville, Rome, Donaldsonville, Grand Coteau. The particulars include e.g., advantages and disadvantages, names of the fathers who personally visited and reported on the several sites, and action

Meanwhile, the newly arrived fathers, housed with every token of hospitality in the Bishop's house in New Orleans, were not idle. During Lent they were at the service of the diocesan clergy, Soller in New Orleans, Abbadie in Assumption parish, Bayou Lafourche, Ladavière in Donaldsonville, De Vos and Mignard in Grand Coteau, and Point "everywhere." All the while the last named was engaged with the problem of a suitable location for the proposed college. Donaldsonville, about eighty miles from New Orleans at the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi, was considered and the question seemed almost resolved in its favor. A contract to settle in the town was on the point of being signed when unlooked-for opposition to the fathers on the part of some of the townsfolk made itself felt, and to such a degree that the negotiations were broken off. As a matter of fact, once it became generally known that the Iberville proposition was rejected, a dozen fresh offers were made to the fathers from various points in Louisiana. Grand Coteau, ten miles south of Opelousas in the parish of St. Landry, was to be the ultimate choice.¹⁵ From the very day it became known that the Jesuits had declined the Iberville offer and were looking for a new locality in which to settle, the people of Opelousas had written repeatedly to the Bishop and to Father Point asking that the projected college might come to them. The Bishop himself favored the location and offered to cede to the fathers the parish church of St. Charles in Grand Coteau with its revenues and parochial property, two hundred acres in extent. Ten thousand dollars in money was to be guaranteed to them to cover the cost of a new structure. Two thousand more were promised by a devout lady, apparently Mrs. Smith, and a thousand by the Religious of the Sacred Heart, who had been settled at Grand Coteau since 1822. Lumber and mortar, as needed, were to be furnished gratis, and the clay for the needed bricks was to be dug on the nuns' property and transported free of charge by the parishioners. It was a tempting offer and Father Point sought light in prayer. One serious objection could be raised to the choice of Grand Coteau and that was its remote inland position, which made it somewhat difficult of access from other points in Louisiana. Still, there were

taken in each case. The document, which is in a microscopic but perfectly legible hand, is a marvel of orderly and minute condensation of a mass of correlated data. (AA). At St. Mary's College, Montreal, there is a considerable body of unpublished manuscript material produced by Father Point, including detailed descriptions and plans of the Grand Coteau college. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXVI, § 1.

¹⁵ "Grand Coteau, as the name indicates, is somewhat more elevated than the adjacent tracts of land. It forms to the eye a rough circle of about four or five miles in diameter, bounded by different creeks or bayous with the usual amount of oaks, cypress and hickory trees, from whose branches the ornamental 'Spanish Beard' hangs to the ground." *WL*, 5: 17.

dangers in delay. The fathers, becoming more and more involved in parochial work, might lose sight of the educational project which had brought them to America. Moreover, the parents of their prospective students were growing impatient, and if an opportunity like the present were allowed to slip, opportunities of any kind might be at an end and the fathers be compelled to recross the ocean with the stigma of failure on their undertaking. These and other considerations had their influence on Father Point, who in July, 1837, definitely accepted the Opelousas offer.

Some months before that date Grand Coteau had already become the home of the Jesuit colony. On Passion Sunday, 1837, Point with his novice, Henri Duranquet, left New Orleans for the inland settlement. They were lodged on arriving in a house used as the Bishop's quarters when he visited Opelousas. When the decision was reached to settle permanently in Grand Coteau, the fathers engaged in parochial work, except Soller in New Orleans, were sent for and the reunited group thereupon took up residence in the presbytery, which adjoined the church. The Religious of the Sacred Heart provided meals for the Jesuit community and in other ways showed a substantial charity in their regard.

Shortly before July 31 Bishop Blanc arrived at Grand Coteau to lay the corner-stone of the new college. On that day, feast of St. Ignatius Loyola in the Church's calendar, there were services in the parish church at which the Bishop delivered an English sermon congratulating his hearers on the bright promise of spiritual and educational service held out to them by the arrival of the Jesuits in their midst. Then a solemn procession with chant moved to the college-site and the ceremony of laying the corner-stone took place. That same day the Society of Jesus was formally relieved by Bishop Blanc of the obligations it had assumed in the Iberville contract and a new contract was drawn up and subscribed to by the prelate and Father Point. "By that contract there was ceded to us the usufruct in the fullest right of the fields, woodlands, revenue of whatever kind of the parish of St. Charles, so that, while we might not sell the same, we could rent, cultivate and build according to our good pleasure, in so far as we should judge such measures to be useful to the college and for the period during which we held the same; the consideration being (1) that we open a college or boarding-school on the property and (2) that we assume charge of the church and parish."

Various tasks and occupations, among them, learning English, exercising the ministry, enlarging the little wooden church, determining the parish limits, planting trees and fencing in and cultivating the garden, kept the group engaged during the last five months of 1837. For

the opening session of the college the only building available was a poor wooden structure, which in later years served as an infirmary. Every effort was now made to adapt it to its new purpose.

However pleasant the prospect of a Jesuit college in their midst may have been to a large and respectable element in Grand Coteau and the surrounding towns, to others in the neighborhood it was anything but welcome. Anonymous threatening letters which ordered the fathers to leave the place within fifteen days under penalty of public whipping and expulsion began to come in. In Lafayette, the next parish to St. Landry's, organizations were set on foot with the avowed purpose of expelling the Jesuits while in Opelousas a newspaper did its best to stir up popular feeling against them. But the parishioners of Grand Coteau were equal to the occasion. They, too, literally rose in arms and day and night kept watch to see that no harm befell the fathers. Their courageous attitude quelled the opposition and the threats of the anti-Jesuit faction came to nought.

At last came January 5, 1838, the day set for the opening of the college. It happened to be a Friday and through superstition not a single student put in his appearance. Three registered the following day. At the end of the month, there were twenty-four boarders and at the end of the scholastic year, fifty-six. It was a trying year for faculty and students alike. The college was understaffed. Father Soller was retained in New Orleans, Father De Vos had care of the parish while Father Ladavière performed the duties of procurator. The teaching-staff was thus reduced to three, Fathers Abbadie and Mignard and Mr. Duranquet. The students were crowded into narrow and uncomfortable quarters, the same room serving for dormitory and class-room. During the day the beds were removed and benches and tables took their place. There was no means of heating the building and when the mercury fell the alternatives were to dismiss the students to their homes or send them to bed. Father Point strained every nerve to relieve the situation. He encouraged his colleagues by a quite extraordinary patience and resignation; he called in lay professors; he hired servants. Feeling, however, that too heavy a burden might be borne by some, he spoke to his subordinates in this strain: "When Father General sent us hither, he sent us to the college of Iberville. He had no suspicion of the sacrifices that confront us here nor any intention of imposing them upon us. Neither may I impose them upon you against your will. Are you ready then to put up with the discomforts that meet us here?" The faculty was ready to accept the situation as they found it and Father Point was reassured.

And yet, as if to compensate for the depressing features of the situation, there was, oddly enough, an excellent spirit among the students.

They were quite contented with things as they were and at the end of the session departed for their homes with praise for the college and a hearty promise to return. There were two courses, classical and commercial. Class-contests were frequent, the first one being in the catechism, a timely topic of study, for few of the students on entering knew even the Our Father or Hail Mary. Class exercises were got up in honor of the Bishop, who did not disdain to go picnicking with the boys in the woods and even lent his services as cook to the preparation of the dinner. And so the first session of St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, wore on to the solemn distribution of prizes on October 24, 1838, with a play by the students, "Joseph Sold by his Brethren," and with addresses by Bishop Blanc and the Reverend L. Boué, pastor of St. Michel.

§ 2. THE ST. LOUIS JESUITS AT GRAND COTEAU

When the next session opened, December 1, 1838, the college had passed into the hands of the Jesuits of St. Louis. However short of men for their own institutions, they were at least better circumstanced than their brethren in Louisiana. Hence in the increased personnel they would be able to furnish for service in the South lay the solution in Father Roothaan's eyes of the difficulties that beset the struggling college of Grand Coteau. Accordingly, by a decree bearing date July 14, 1838, and addressed to Father Verhaegen, he had transferred the recently established Mission of Louisiana from the province of Paris to the Mission of Missouri:

Ever since our French Fathers began a college at New Orleans [*sic*] I have frequently had it in mind to unite this French colony of the Society with the Missouri Mission under one and the same Superior, hoping that by such arrangement the aforesaid new college would be furnished the more easily with competent teachers of English and at the same time the Province of Paris, beset as it is with onerous obligations, be relieved of an embarrassing burden. But before carrying my purpose into effect, I thought it well to ascertain the opinion of the Provincial and Consultors of the Province of Paris, who unanimously indorsed the measure proposed. And so, the Father Assistants having been consulted in the matter, it seems opportune that the aforesaid union be carried out. Now, therefore, by these presents I declare such members of the Society as reside in the diocese of New Orleans or in the college therein begun to be subject to your Reverence as Superior *pro tempore* of the Missouri Mission, in the same manner exactly as other members who are attached to the Mission named.

It is incumbent now on your Reverence to execute this decree. And that this may be done properly and in a manner to produce the desired results, I earnestly recommend to your Reverence that in supplying recruits as well as in discharging other business for the aforesaid colony you proceed with

such tact and generosity that not only will they eagerly acquiesce in this new arrangement, but will with every reason congratulate themselves and their college on the change that has been made.

It will be especially necessary for your Reverence to make a personal inspection of the New Orleans colony at the earliest possible date; and since the particular need of the moment seems to be a capable teacher, one competent in particular to teach English, and also an *operarius* of endurance to act as companion and efficient fellow-worker to Father Soller, your Reverence will make your coming thrice welcome, were the colony to find accompanying you on your arrival fellow-travellers such as these and were you to present it with these first pledges, so to speak, of your paternal solicitude.

Finally, I deem it superfluous to caution your Reverence to make no immediate change in regard to customs there existing, even though they appear to be somewhat incongruous, unless indeed the Rector of the college and the graver among the Fathers be absolutely convinced of the necessity of a change; for in matters of this kind one must await a fuller measure of time and experience.¹⁶

The decree was awaiting Verhaegen on his return to St. Louis October 17, 1838, after accompanying Bishop Rosati on a confirmation tour through central Missouri. He at once published the document at St. Louis University and on November 14, in company with Isidore Boudreaux, a scholastic, left the city to visit his new jurisdiction in the South.¹⁷

The second session of the college opened with every prospect of success. As many as sixty boarders crossed the threshold the opening day. The next day, feast of St. Francis Xavier, the students began to occupy the new college building, the corner-stone of which had been laid by Bishop Blanc on July 31 of the preceding year. In May the students numbered ninety-six. After that, contrary to expectation, there was little or no increase, the attendance fluctuating between ninety-five and a hundred for the rest of the year. The faculty was soon strengthened by accessions from Missouri. Isidore Boudreaux, arriving in November, 1838, was followed in the course of 1839 by Fathers De Leeuw, Pin, De Theux, Paillason, the scholastics Mearns and Arnoudt and the coadjutor-brothers Barry and Morris. On the other hand, Fathers De Vos and Mignard, of the original staff, were sent north, the one to become master of novices at Florissant, the other to teach dogmatic theology in St. Louis University.¹⁸ Father De Theux wrote to his mother in Belgium directly after he arrived at Grand Coteau:

¹⁶ Roothaan ad Verhaegen, July 14, 1838. (A).

¹⁷ *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*. (A).

¹⁸ Fathers De Theux and Paillason, Messrs. Arnoudt and Mearns and Brother Barry travelled together accompanied by Father Van de Velde, who was conducting

The new residence from which I date my letter is 1400 miles (3 miles make a Belgian league) from St. Louis and 159 from New Orleans. . . . The country is very beautiful and the situation healthy. The parish is one of the best in Louisiana (they give the name of parish here to what in most other states is called a county). I am going to be a missionary once more, but shall have a good assistant, Father Paillasson, a very active, zealous man, with a most accommodating disposition. It seems I shall have some teaching besides. We have a fine college here, built in two years, but far from finished. Already there are seventy boarders, each one paying 1300 francs for board, tuition and lodging; but food supplies cost in proportion. Five francs here are the equivalent of one franc in Belgium. . . . There is talk here of a railroad to pass within gunshot of the college and connect us with the Mississippi. The project, if realized, will be a great boon to the college.¹⁹

The second session, December 1, 1838-December 10, 1839, fairly teemed with trouble. There was a lack of union among the students and anxious parents came to the college to make inquiries. The yellow fever raged for two months, prostrating most of the faculty and many of the boarders, two of whom succumbed to the disease. To make the situation still more trying, false reports began to be circulated outside regarding the cause of the epidemic with the result that a number of students were withdrawn by their parents. "These and similar calamities," observes the author of the *Annual Letters* of the Missouri Mission for 1839, "have inflicted on the college a wound that cannot be healed except with time." "It is not to be wondered at," he continues, "that studies this year were not pursued with the success one might desire. Our people had many an opportunity to practice the virtues befitting our vocation, for instance, charity in helping and consoling the sick, patience in adversity, resignation to the divine will. And hence, beyond peradventure of doubt, the calamities which men call evil redound in the end to their greater spiritual profit." Among those attacked by fever this year was Father Point himself. His life was despaired of. The last sacraments were administered and one evening at the hour of nine the students filed into his room to receive what was expected to be his final blessing. Meanwhile, the Religious of the Sacred Heart in their convent about a mile away were in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, determined not to desist from earnest supplica-

some St. Louis University students back to Louisiana. They left St. Louis April 7, 1839.

¹⁹ De Theux à sa mère, April 24, 1839. (A). Father Victor Paillasson died at Grand Coteau, November 9, 1840. He was born in France June 20, 1799, came to America as a diocesan priest and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Florissant, June 30, 1836. He attended Father Van Quickenborne on his death-bed.

tion till a change was wrought in the father's condition. On towards midnight the patient felt in truth a sudden accession of strength and asked the attendant father to bring him some food. The glad tidings were borne at once to the expectant nuns, who thereupon retired to a well-earned rest.

Father Verhaegen, after a survey (1840) of conditions in the college, concluded that it was not running smoothly under Father Point's administration and recommended thereupon to the Father General that he be given a successor. The recommendation was carried into effect. Father Point in his correspondence with Fathers Verhaegen and Roothaan entered into prolonged and lively justification of his conduct of affairs as head of the college. His inability or reluctance to acquiesce in the judgment of his superiors on the matters at issue was puzzling in view of the undoubted personal piety which marked him all through life. The truth of the matter is that Father Point was an enigmatic character. As was pointed out in connection with his Rocky Mountain career, his lapses on occasion in the matter of submissiveness to superiors apparently find their explanation not in perversity of will but in certain morbid mental states from which he was at intervals a sufferer. For one thing, he had never taken kindly to the transfer of Grand Coteau from the French Jesuits to those of Missouri, being under the impression that the Father General had been led to make this arrangement through dissatisfaction with his management of affairs at Grand Coteau. Father Roothaan replied to Father Abbadie, who was under a similar impression, that this was sheer imagination. Dissatisfaction with Father Point and alleged prejudices against him had had nothing to do with the transfer. The real motive behind it he had made known at the time to both Point and Verhaegen and there was nothing further to add. "The imagination," Father Roothaan wrote, "once in motion makes a man very unhappy and causes him to commit many faults without being aware of it. It is, as St. Teresa says, the crazy member of the household. No, my dear Fathers, the reasons which brought us to unite in one body your own colony and that of Missouri remain always the same and there is nothing to change in this decision."²⁰

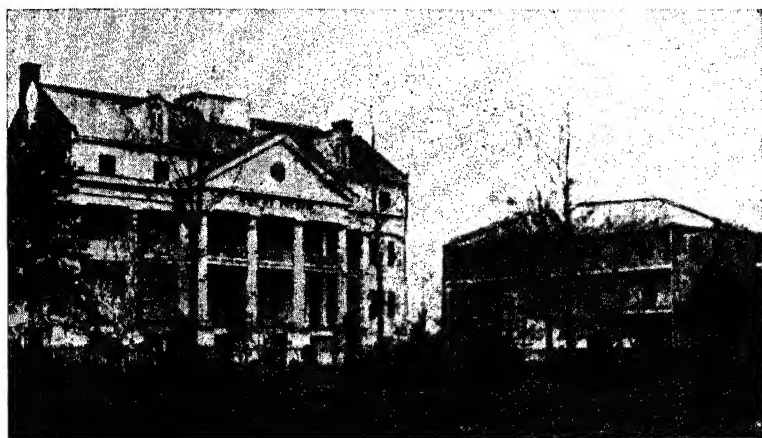
Side-lights on the course of things at Grand Coteau at this period are met with in the correspondence of Pierce Connolly, whose career was one of those tragedies which at intervals throw their shadow over the history of the Church. He was a convert from Protestantism, served for a while on the college staff at Grand Coteau as instructor in English and drawing, and was later raised to the priesthood, which he subsequently repudiated, spending his last years as an Anglican clergyman

²⁰ Roothaan à Abbadie, June 25, 1839. (AA).

in Italy. Meantime his devoted wife had entered the cloister with his approval, becoming foundress of a distinguished Catholic teaching congregation, the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus.²¹ At Grand Coteau Connolly lived on terms of intimacy with the Jesuit community and especially with Father Point, for whom he had a high regard. He wrote to Bishop Blanc of New Orleans:

God knows there are few Bishops in America who have not need of consolations and I know no one who might not be pardoned for almost envying our diocese this blessed spot. The prosperity of the College seems to be in proportion to the troubles that have assailed it within and without. It is always (as I have ventured to write to some of our friends in Rome, though it might be considered *lèse majesté* to say so here) upon a better basis so far as regards studies than any Catholic school in the country (*ex-pertus loquor*) and more upon the level with the great schools of the east; and the spirit which pervades the scholars is altogether admirable. Today there was a sort of spiritual tournament of prayers, acts, etc. which would have delighted you. All the oldest as well as the youngest of the pupils entered into it with the same simplicity and everyone or almost everyone of the highest class had communicated in the morning. We all wished for you; but no doubt something of the sort will be prepared for the time of your visit. Some little things also have happened to myself in the classes which would give you great pleasure to hear but are too long to tell. The connection indeed with St. Louis is *entre nous* a severe blow; but I think a letter from yourself to the Father General might put all back again *in statu quo* or at any rate relieve the good and merry Father Verhaegen from a post he was put in, as he told me, so much against his will and which he is so little fitted for at least if Louisiana is to be a part of his province. It is delightful to see him so zealous for his own college and so attached to it, but he is like a child in his notions of the country in general and especially of the South and East. He seems to consider his dear Missouri and Kentucky as the center of civilization and I believe would like to have all Europe as well as America modeled after them. The temporal affairs of the college are far better than could possibly have been expected in so short a time and as far as the rest, I cannot but congratulate you, Dearest Bishop, from my heart and humbly thank God for all that has been done for Grand Coteau. There has certainly been a wonderful Providence in regard to it. In Father Point

²¹ *The Life of Cornelia Connolly, 1809-1879, Foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus* (London, 1922). During Mrs. Connolly's stay at Grand Coteau Father Point was her confessor and spiritual guide. "She always spoke of him with the greatest veneration, saying that it was he who had first kindled in her soul the desire for perfection. She would tell of his wonderful power as a missionary and say that he was believed to have the gift of miracles. She learned later that though he was at the time ignorant of Mr. Connolly's intentions as she was herself, he had yet divined that the priestly and the religious life would be the end of their vocation." (P. 33).



St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, La. The original brick structure erected by Nicholas Point, S.J., in 1838.

especially the more I know him the more I am astonished at our good fortune. Of all the PP. S.J. [Fathers of the Society of Jesus] that I have met in Italy and France, in Germany, England and America, I certainly do not think there are more than five or six who can be considered equal or superior to him. . . .

Father Verhaegen has given us a sad blow in the removal of Father Point, one who so well understood the necessities of the country and the means that should be taken to satisfy them. But in God is our help. He certainly has nothing to regret, his work here has been crowned with such a success as was beyond all hope—he has done what he had to do and well—the new labors that he is called to will make up more merit and bring with them greater consolation than others of a higher and greater usefulness. . . .

I believe nearly all the religious have made their retreat—the last set are now going through the Exercises at the College. Our intercourse is so almost exclusively with these holy people that we might almost be considered a *tiers ordre*. My little wife took Adeline and the baby along with the servant to the convent and went regularly through the ten days—and the day after they came out I began with Father De Theux and the English half of the Fathers and brothers at the college.²²

On July 21, 1840, Father Point, having been relieved of the rectorship of Grand Coteau, took leave of his community and departed for St. Louis.²³

Father Joseph Soller, one of Bishop Blanc's Jesuit recruits from France, who had been engaged since his arrival in America in ministerial work in New Orleans, was named Point's successor. He visited Grand Coteau August 6 and, after looking over the ground, returned to New Orleans, leaving Father Abbadie in charge of the institution until the close of the school-year. The last months of the session 1839-1840 were marked by some disagreeable display of feeling against the Jesuit group on the part of anti-clerical neighbors. Father De Theux returning from a visit to St. Martinville was accosted by a man who threatened to strike him. Father Abbadie received letters threatening fifty stripes to every member of the faculty unless they left Grand Coteau. Finally, there was an outbreak of slaves in Lafayette, a parish adjoining St. Landry's, the blame of which malicious persons attempted

²² Pierce Connolly to Blanc, March 19, 1839, August 4, 1840, October 9, 1841. (I). Connolly later apologized to Father Roothaan with much feeling for having taken sides with Father Point in the latter's differences with Father Verhaegen. (AA).

²³ For Father Point's subsequent missionary activities at Westport (Kansas City) Missouri, and in the Rocky Mountains, cf. *supra*, Chap. VIII, § 4; XXIV, § 9; XXVI, § 1.

to fix upon the Jesuits.²⁴ Nothing came of all this unfriendliness, which soon simmered down thanks to the courageous attitude of protest promptly taken in behalf of the fathers by the citizens of Grand Coteau.

The session 1842-1843 showed a marked falling off in attendance and closed with only forty students. Soller, the rector, informed Father Roothaan of the critical condition of the college:

Events succeed one another so rapidly that I am obliged to write to you more frequently than you desire. Father Verhaegen wrote to me some fifteen days ago to announce to us that the college of St. Charles would be transferred to the banks of Lake Pontchartrain in the neighborhood of New Orleans. He told me at the same time that he was awaiting orders from you. He advised me to announce our departure to the people of Grand Coteau, but still to tell them that we would remain if only they could provide means for the support of the teachers. Here are the conditions which we thought our duty to communicate to a meeting of gentlemen which was called by us:

"1st condition. We wish you to be able to assure us that next year at the resumption of classes, that is to say, in mid-October next, we shall have a sufficient number of students for the decent subsistence of the teachers without our being obliged to contract debts. With the low rate for boarding which I made known to you I do not think we shall be able to handle our affairs properly with fewer than 70 or 80 pupils.

"2nd condition. We desire to have a guarantee right away or in a few days as to whether we can be assured the number of pupils indicated."

The people of Grand Coteau were greatly distressed over the sad news of our departure. They gave us many tokens of regret; but in the general distress which weighs on Louisiana and brings down all fortunes, they can do almost nothing for us. I have asked Father Verhaegen to come here on the ground, examine everything for himself and make a decision. We have only 37 pupils and even they do not pay. We are finding ourselves in an extremely critical position. In the matter of conduct, application to study and piety our students give us great consolation.²⁵

²⁴ "He [Abbadie] will tell you also of the horrors that were so near overtaking us from an intended insurrection of the negroes and of our anxiety about poor Nace who was one of those that were taken up in our neighborhood . . . a loaded pistol having unluckily been put in his possession by a runaway brother and accidentally discovered in his hands. As for all the threats of lynching the Fathers and driving them out of the country, they have excited nothing so far as I can learn, but a general disposition to protect them." Connolly to Blanc, September 16, 1840. (I).

²⁵ Soller à Roothaan, August 1, 1843. (AA). The circumstances that militated against the success of the college are enumerated in a contemporary document probably of date somewhat prior to Soller's rectorship. "An out-of-the-way and almost inaccessible location; the temper of the student-body, light-minded and independent; the unreasonableness of parents who practiced a sort of idolatry towards their children; the lack of religion and the multiplicity of things to teach; a great number of enemies who constantly seek to harm us; the jealousy of other colleges." (AA).

Father Verhaegen was not to be further distressed with the problem of Grand Coteau. In September, 1843, he was succeeded in the office of vice-provincial by Father Van de Velde, who at once conferred with his consultors about the suppression of the college or its transfer to another place. It was agreed that no action be taken pending the new vice-provincial's visitation of the college. Meantime the students had been dismissed at the close of the session 1842-1843 without assurance being given them that the school would be continued. Van de Velde decided to keep it open and appointed November 21 the first day of the new session, an announcement to this effect being given to the press. Four students registered the first day and the attendance during the year reached thirty. Board and tuition charges were again lowered and externs or day-scholars admitted.

During Father Soller's term of office the disagreement that arose between the college authorities and the contractor of the new building was brought to a happy issue. Father Verhaegen made allusion to it in a letter to Bishop Rosati, December, 1839:

The college of St. Charles gets along well, as far as the number of students is concerned, but in financial matters its position is a critical one. Good Father Point, the Rector, having no experience of the Yankee tricks of the country, made only a verbal arrangement with the contractor of the building and now this gentleman does nothing but pile fraud on fraud. His estimates are exorbitant and though our Fathers have made many sacrifices to avoid law-suits, he is so obstinate that nothing we have done satisfied him. I had a talk with him myself, and I think that since justice is on our side, it is better to have this unfortunate affair definitely settled in court.

It appears that no written agreement had been required from Ardennes, the contractor. Work on the building was needlessly delayed. Asked again and again to push operations, Ardennes maintained that the contract was no longer binding on account of unforeseen difficulties. Friends of the college intervened to effect a settlement but in vain. Father Point finally put the matter into the hands of a lawyer, Mr. Simon, whose opinion he communicated to Father Verhaegen. The latter thought the opinion a sound one and replied that the case should be taken into court. Meanwhile, Soller, succeeding Point as rector, dismissed Ardennes's workmen and hired others. He sent Negroes to haul the lumber which the people of St. Martinville had promised the Bishop for the new college; but mischief-makers intervened, as on other occasions, and the Negroes returned without the lumber. Whether legal action was actually taken against the contractor, does not appear. At all events, at his own petition a settlement was finally reached, seem-

ingly on his paying an indemnity of four thousand dollars, though the terms of the settlement are not clear.

Father Soller, who was thought by Father Van de Velde to be lacking in decision and courage, was supplanted in the office of rector, April 17, 1844, by the Missouri Jesuit, Father Van den Eycken, who on taking office assumed the name of Oakley, a clever English rendering of his Flemish patronymic. He was a man of artistic temperament and tastes, a lover of music and an adept in mathematics, which he taught the students during the entire term of his rectorship. During his incumbency the attendance notably improved. His first year began with twenty-three students and ended with sixty-three; his second, with sixty-four, ending with ninety-seven; his third, with fifty-one, ending with eighty-six. The debt, which was twenty thousand dollars in 1843, was almost paid off three years later. Father Oakley introduced Greek into the curriculum, which he attempted to improve and perfect in other ways. The college staff, though never fully adequate to the needs of the institution, was reenforced at intervals by accessions from the North. After the beginning of Soller's administration, these included Fathers Sautois, Truyens, d'Hoop, Parret, Parrondo and Van Hulst, the scholastics Baekers, Coosemans, Florentine Boudreaux and the coadjutor-brothers, Donahue, Schmitz, Offstetter, Dieudonne, Willebois, Van der Borght, Power and Ryan.

In April, 1846, the scholastics Mearns, Truyens and Van Hulst were raised to the priesthood in New Orleans by Bishop Blanc. Father Oakley could ill spare their services in the college and he urged the Bishop to send them back at the earliest opportunity, though it were the very day of the ordination.²⁶ The improved situation in the college is reflected in lines written by Oakley to the Bishop:

Everything goes on marvelously well in the college; our pupils have never given us so much satisfaction, not even when they were only 23 or 30, while at present they are 104. . . . All these terrible mishaps which have made so much noise in the newspapers did not check us in the least and the pupils arrived safe and sound at the College on Wednesday, September 1, at ten in the morning. On the 6th despite all the rains we already had 76 pupils and today we count 98; some are still late.²⁷

§ 3. LOUISIANA STATIONS

While the majority of the Louisiana Jesuits were engaged in educational work at Grand Coteau, a few of their number exercised their zeal in the parochial ministry. The parish of St. Charles had been as-

²⁶ Oakley à Blanc, April, 1846. (I).

²⁷ Oakley à Blanc, September 16, 1846. (I).

signed them by Bishop Blanc as one of the inducements for them to settle at Grand Coteau. It covered a great stretch of territory, reaching to the Gulf of Mexico on the south and including, besides Opelousas, the towns of Lafayette and St. Martinville, and at its southern limit, the district of Calcasieu. The first Jesuit pastor of St. Charles was Father Peter De Vos, who in 1839 was summoned north to take up the duties of master of novices. He was succeeded at St. Charles by Father Theodore De Theux, late professor of theology at St. Louis University. "The parish is immense," De Theux wrote December 24, 1839, to his mother in Belgium, "150 miles long and about 20 wide. We have a good number of poor whites, not beggars, however, and very many slaves. There have been communicants every Sunday—most of them persons of advanced age, who for lack of opportunity or some other reason have not received the sacraments."²⁸

The *Annual Letters* for 1839 dwell on the difficult ministry that fell to the lot of the pastor of Grand Coteau and his assistant. "Scattered over a vast prairie which extends as far as the Mexican Gulf live a number of Catholic families who on account of the great distance and the rough roads cannot reach the parish church. To visit and instruct them in the principles of faith and fortify them with the sacraments is no light task. Among the places visited this year was Calcasieu. The inhabitants welcomed the missionary with enthusiasm and prepared to purchase ground for a church. It is regrettable that owing to lack of workers this promising field cannot be cultivated with proper care." Father Victor Paillason, the assistant pastor, died in November, 1840, and in the course of 1842 Father De Theux was recalled North. His place as pastor of St. Charles Church was taken by Father Florian Sautois, who remained in charge until the release of the Louisiana houses from Missouri.

In New Orleans Soller was zealously at work from his arrival with Bishop Blanc's party of 1837 up to his appointment in 1840 to the rectorship of Grand Coteau. When Point summoned his fellow-Jesuits to assist him in setting the infant college on foot, Soller, at the Bishop's request, was permitted to remain in New Orleans. He was the only German-speaking priest at the time in the city and his services were in constant demand by the emigrants then beginning to reach the American ports in large numbers from Germany. In addition to this ministry he attended the hospital conducted by the Sisters of Charity. His place of residence during these years was at the church attached to the Ursuline convent, of which he was chaplain. It was the General's desire, explicitly declared in the decree effecting the union of the Missouri

²⁸ De Theux à sa mère, December 24, 1839. (A).

and the Louisiana missions, that Soller should, in accordance with Jesuit practice, be assigned a fellow-priest of his order as companion. Verhaegen accordingly decided in March, 1839, to send Fathers Mignard and Ladavière to New Orleans, as soon as Father De Theux and his party should arrive from the North at Grand Coteau. In the event, only Ladavière was sent. He appears in the register of the Missouri Mission for 1840 as superior of the "Mission of New Orleans" with Soller as associate *operarius*. The appointment was perhaps a merely nominal one, for Ladavière at the time was advanced in years, being in fact the senior member of the Missouri Mission. He had entered the Society of Jesus in 1814, the year of its restoration, and had labored in the American mission-field for many years in various places, among them New Orleans. He returned to Europe only to find his way back to Louisiana as one of Bishop Blanc's recruits of 1837. In 1840 the ministry of Ladavière and Soller in New Orleans was brought to an end, the first-named assuming charge of the parish of St. Michel, and the latter going to Grand Coteau to succeed Point as rector of the College. Thereafter, during the Missouri administration of the Louisiana Mission New Orleans appears to have been without any resident Jesuit priest if we except the year 1845-1846, when Father Ladavière was again stationed in the metropolis, residing with Bishop Blanc at his residence of St. Mary's.

The *Annual Letters* for 1839 declare that a Jesuit residence was soon to be started in the German quarter of New Orleans. In that case, comments the annalist, "Ours who disembark so often at this noble port will have a convenient and pleasant place of lodging."²⁹ The residence was not to be established by Missouri Jesuits. While Father Verhaegen began in 1840 to plan for one in accordance with Bishop Blanc's desire that the Jesuits should settle in the chief city of his diocese, in October of that year he decided not to take further steps in the affair pending the arrival of certain subjects whom the General had engaged to send from Rome. These were apparently not sent and neither Verhaegen nor his successor, Van de Velde, opened a residence in New Orleans. In June, 1841, the former wrote to Bishop Rosati in Europe: "Bishop Blanc is very anxious for us to open a residence of the Society in New Orleans. The property he offers us alongside of the orphan asylum is large enough and well located; but we are without means to build a

²⁹ A residence and even a college in New Orleans were contemplated by the French Jesuits from their first arrival in Louisiana. "It is then with the Superior [of the Missouri Mission] that our Fathers of New Orleans and Grand Coteau will henceforth correspond. It is this same Mission which is charged with the support of the college and residence which there was question of starting in New Orleans." Guidée à Blanc, 1839 (?). (1).

church and house for the missionaries. I believe the spiritual harvest there would be abundant—it pains me accordingly to be compelled to delay the undertaking.”³⁰ When Father Gleizal of St. Louis University visited New Orleans in 1848 to conduct missions in the churches of the city, the impression made by him on the Catholic laity was so favorable that an effort was made to retain him permanently in their midst. A petition to this effect was presented to Father Maisounabe, the recently appointed superior of the Louisiana Mission, which had been made a dependency of the province of Lyons; but circumstances did not allow of the transfer of Father Gleizal to New Orleans. Some had hoped that his influence would be instrumental in securing the funds needed to construct the contemplated residence. But Father Maisounabe was in a position before long to go ahead with the project on his own account. “We shall soon have a residence with a chapel and school,” he informed Elet, the Missouri vice-provincial, June 17, 1848. “The land is bought; I count on beginning to build in July.”³¹ The first Jesuit residence in New Orleans was opened in the midsummer of 1848, Father Maisounabe, its founder, dying a few weeks later.

Sixty miles above New Orleans on the left bank of the Mississippi is the village of St. Michel. Forests of cypress trees extend for miles above and below the town, those near the river being for several months in the year partly under water. The people are of French-Canadian origin, descendants of the Acadian exiles of the mid-eighteenth century who had gone forth from their homes in the North to build new ones in semi-tropical Louisiana. St. Michel had its convent of Religious of the Sacred Heart dating from 1825 and its stone church built in 1832 by Father Charles de la Croix, to whom is due the historic brick church at Florissant.³² It was to this restful Creole village of St. Michel that Father Ladavière was assigned in 1840. His past services to religion

³⁰ Verhaegen à Rosati, June 4, 1841. “Fruit would be produced there [New Orleans] in abundance. The success which Father Soller has met with there proves this assertion. But even though *operarii* were available, this residence cannot be established as the Bishop, besides the property, offers nothing towards building the house and church.” Verhaegen ad Roothaan, April 22, 1841. (AA).

³¹ Maisounabe à Elet, June 17, 1848. (A). Cf. also Albert H. Biever, S.J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* (New Orleans, 1924).

³² In a letter to De Smet Father De La Croix recalls in a vein of pleasant recollection his ministry at St. Michel: “As to the church I built at St. Michel in 1838, it can scarcely have undergone much change. It was a large and beautiful structure for that country. It cost about \$20,000. I love to recall the hardships and annoyances I underwent to build those two churches and to establish the first convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart at St. Michel in 1825, by raising up and down the country a subscription amounting to about \$8,000. God be praised, I should never have succeeded but for the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the Guardian Angel, whom I invoked constantly.” De La Croix à De Smet, June 25, 1855. (A).

elicit comment in the *Annual Letters* for that year: "Here [at St. Michel] resides with a companion the senior member of our Vice-Province, a man who has seen long service. May the venerable father continue to labor for many years in pulpit and confessional until the Lord calls him to his reward."³³

§ 4. THE ST. LOUIS JESUITS WITHDRAW FROM LOUISIANA

The annexation of the Louisiana Mission to Missouri was apparently meant by Father Roothaan to be a provisional arrangement only pending the time when the province of Paris should be in a position to equip it with an adequate personnel. As a result, then, of Missouri's uncertain tenure of the southern mission, difficulties arose as to the status of its original members and especially their relation to the provinces in France, from which they were never really detached. The Missouri registers from 1840 to 1847 enter these Jesuits in the list of those belonging *de jure* to other provinces but residing at the time in the Missouri jurisdiction of the order. At a meeting of Father Verhaegen with his consultants in August, 1841, a resolution was passed to the effect that the fathers of the Paris and Lyons provinces should either be permanently assigned to the Missouri Vice-province or else should not be withdrawn before five or six years and then only at their own petition. In March, 1843, a request from Father Boulanger, provincial of Paris, that Fathers Mignard and Soller be restored to him was met by a counter-proposal from Verhaegen that Boulanger take over St. Charles College with its staff from the Paris and Lyons provinces. In September of the same year Van de Velde, the newly appointed vice-provincial, after deliberating with his advisers in St. Louis on the suppression of the college or its transfer to some other place and journeying to Louisiana to study the problem on the ground, decided to maintain the institution at least for a further period of time. Three years later Soller, relieved of his rectorship at Grand Coteau, was sent to join his brethren of the Paris province at their little college of St. Mary's in Kentucky in accordance with the Father General's express desire.

Without the assistance, however, of the French fathers, the Missouri superior did not feel himself in a position to equip St. Charles College with the necessary staff.³⁴ It became, as a consequence, his settled policy

³³ The *Catholic Almanac*, 1842, registers Father Ladavière as Rector at St. Michel, Bringier's P.O. with the Rev. C. Moracchini, a diocesan priest, as assistant. Two stations were attended. Father Pierre Ladavière was born in Condrieu, Département of the Rhone, France, September 23, 1777, entered the Society of Jesus August 20, 1814, and died April 3, 1858, at Spring Hill College, Alabama.

³⁴ On account of lack of men Van de Velde was obliged in December, 1843,

not to accede to requests of the French provincials for the recall of their members in Louisiana unless they agreed at the same time to assume entire charge of the college and thus disembarass Missouri of a burden which it was carrying only with extreme difficulty. A resolution to this effect was put on record by Van de Velde and his consultants in January, 1846. In June of the same year Boulanger announced to the Missouri superior that St. Charles College had been attached by the Father General to the province of Lyons, accompanying the intelligence with a request that Fathers Mignard and Duranquet be restored to his jurisdiction. Van de Velde deferred acceding to this request until formal intimation of the transfer of the college should come from the General. Such intimation was conveyed by Father Roothaan under date of July 14, 1846:

I judge that it will make for the better government of the Vice-Province to restore the College of St. Charles to the French Fathers. An opportunity to execute the plan presents itself now in the opening of a new college, Springhill, in the diocese of Mobile. I decree, therefore, that these two colleges be assigned not to the Province of Paris, but to the Province of Lyons. In the course of this year Father Mailland will send, together with the personnel appointed to begin the Mobile college, one or other Father and perhaps some teachers for the College of St. Charles. In view of the slender resources of the Vice-Province, Father Mailland will be at pains to restore to it before long, say within a few years, all such as strictly belong to it and, perhaps, some coadjutor-brothers. Those originally sent from the French Provinces will of course remain.³⁵

to refuse petitions from Bishops Miles of Nashville and Chanche of Natchez for a college, at least for day-students, in their respective dioceses. About the same time an offer to take over a college in Jefferson, La., was likewise declined. "I would consider no further taking over the college in Jefferson with its debts." Roothaan ad Van de Velde, April 10, 1847. "It is deplorable indeed if the college in Jefferson should fall into the hands of the Protestants; but that is no reason for the Society to burden itself with new debts." Roothaan ad Van de Velde, September 7, 1844. (A).

³⁵ Roothaan ad Van de Velde, July 14, 1846. (A). In this same letter Father Roothaan notes that Van de Velde had repeatedly asked for the retrocession of Grand Coteau to the French Jesuits. Van de Velde himself observed in January, 1847, that some of his associates, among them Verhaegen and Elet, disapproved of his giving up Grand Coteau; however, it was for the best interests of all concerned that he had petitioned the General "to annul the decree of annexation and put things back on their former footing." Van de Velde à Roothaan, January 2, 1847. (AA). Cf. also Van de Velde à Blanc (?), August 14, 1846. (I). "It seems that our Fathers of Lyons have agreed to take the college and seminary [Spring Hill] of Bishop Portier. I had written to Rome to propose my ideas on Jefferson College and to ask for subjects if our Reverend Father General would agree to accept it. I then wrote to ask whether, if he thought it proper, the Province of Lyons might also take charge of Jefferson and Grand Coteau colleges. I believe this plan to be

The winter of 1846-1847 was spent by Father Van de Velde in the South arranging the details of the transfer. Father Abbadie was named rector of the college by the General in succession to Father Oakley with the option, however, of declining the appointment. He chose to accept and was accordingly installed in office on February 2, 1847, on which day also, so it was understood, the General's decree of the previous July attaching the two southern colleges to the province of Lyons was to be carried into effect. In this settlement, as determined by the General, Van de Velde thought he saw some practical difficulties. It had been his expectation that the Grand Coteau college would pass into the hands of the French Jesuits of Kentucky, who formed a mission dependent on the province of Paris and had been long enough in the states to make acquaintance with English.³⁶ Now, with the college assigned to the Lyonesse Jesuits, he feared that the Missourians would be retained inconveniently long on its staff, until such time, namely, as would be required to give the newcomers practical acquaintance with the vernacular. Bishop Blanc, informed of the situation, advised that no change of administration be made until September 1, 1847, so that the fathers arriving from France might be promptly distributed among the Mis-

preferable to that of lending us subjects of another Province while this Province has independent subjects in the neighborhood." It would appear that the vice-provincial, on receiving the General's letter of July 14, 1846, had appealed to him to suspend execution of the decree, proposing a new arrangement by which the vice-province of Missouri would not only retain Grand Coteau, but also take over Jefferson College in Louisiana. Roothaan replied August 27, 1846: "This arrangement made in accordance with the repeated [petition?] of your Reverence cannot any longer be changed." Later, October 8, of the same year, Roothaan wrote to Van de Velde: "Even though the Province of Lyons does not accept these two colleges [Grand Coteau and Jefferson], I would altogether dissuade your Reverence from accepting Jefferson. The reasons against it are obvious, excessively large debts, as things stand, and a lack of trained members. Accordingly, by ceding the College of St. Charles to the Province of Lyons I judged myself to be consulting the real welfare and development of the Vice-Province, which would thus the more easily train men in due fashion in letters and spirituality. The only reason which seemed to make for acceptance, namely, a good opportunity perhaps never more to return, seems to me no reason at all. Provided we have well-educated men, colleges will not be lacking especially in America and certainly your Reverence will agree with me that we ought to think first of educating our men rather than of multiplying houses." (AA).

³⁶ "For more than four years the Superiors of our Society in France have been urging the Superiors of the Vice-Province of Missouri to restore to our Mission in Kentucky the subjects who comprised the community of Grand Coteau at the time this house was attached to the Vice-Province. So far circumstances have not permitted them to dispense with these Fathers with the result that this Mission has found itself embarrassed all along and in a position where it was impossible for it to take a single step forward. And yet our Superiors kept on enjoining us to make renewed appeals to Father Verhaegen." Murphy à Blanc, April 25, 1844. (I).

souri houses with a view to their learning English. The Missouri vice-provincial even went so far as to suggest that while the Mobile or future Spring Hill College be given to Lyons, Grand Coteau remain attached to Missouri. But Father Roothaan would admit of no modification in the arrangement he had made, insisting that "the colleges of St. Charles and Mobile and any others that might be founded in Louisiana belong to the Province of Lyons until such time as the erection of a new Province should appear possible."³⁷ A written agreement to cover the terms of the transfer having been drawn up, it was subscribed to by Abbadie on the part of the province of Lyons and by Van de Velde on the part of the vice-province of Missouri.

In the beginning of February, 1847, Father Maisounabe, superior of the Mission of New Orleans, now transferred from the jurisdiction of Missouri to that of Lyons, arrived with a contingent of Lyonese fathers at Grand Coteau. Fathers Oakley and d'Hoop and Mr. Florentine Boudreaux were at once withdrawn from the college, but most of the other Missouri members of the faculty remained at their posts until the summer of 1848. Maisounabe was not in a position to dispense with their services sooner. "First," he wrote to Van de Velde, "I must thank you for all the services you have rendered to the College of Grand Coteau since the direction of it has been confided to our Province. I expressed my thanks to you on this score in the first letter I wrote to you after my arrival in the United States. Yes, according to your own expression [letter of September 19, 1847] you have done everything which you might reasonably be expected to do to save the College of Grand Coteau from failure."³⁸ He then proceeded to offer the restoration of all the Missouri members with the exception of two scholastics and two coadjutor-brothers. He was doing this even at great inconvenience to the college and though not obliged to the sacrifice by any explicit instruction from the Father General; but he was eager to accommodate Missouri and place it in position to man the college of Bardstown, which it had recently accepted. Shortly after writing in this sense to Van de Velde, the New Orleans superior was informed by Father Roothaan: "The dispersal of the Province of Upper Germany enables me to assign a number of subjects to your Mission so that you will find it possible to restore to Missouri the subjects that belong to it." In view of these reenforcements Father Maisounabe felt that he could dispense with the services of the Missouri members still resident at the college. Accordingly, on July 19, 1848, the day following the "Distribution of Prizes," Father Van Hulst left Grand

³⁷ Roothaan à (?) Van de Velde, April 10, 1847. (AA).

³⁸ Maisounabe à Van de Velde, June 16, 1848. (A).

Coteau, taking with him a party of five coadjutor-brothers, all of whom were destined for the college at Bardstown. He was followed on July 26 by Fathers De Leeuw and Sautois and three scholastics. They were the remnant of the Missouri colony at Grand Coteau and with their departure the work of the Missouri Vice-province in Louisiana was at an end. The work, dating its inception from Father Roothaan's decree of annexation, July 12, 1838, had lasted a decade.³⁹

³⁹ The question of reannexing the Louisiana Mission to Missouri was reopened in 1852; also in 1861 and 1880.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ST. XAVIER COLLEGE, CINCINNATI

§ I. THE ATHENAEUM

On or about December 24, 1788, Matthias Denham and Robert Patterson with a party of twenty-six landed on the north bank of the Ohio River at what is now the foot of Sycamore Street in the city of Cincinnati. Their purpose was to form a settlement and they proceeded at once to give it effect. Denham, Patterson and John Filson, schoolmaster and author, had become joint proprietors of a tract of seven hundred and forty acres which Denham had originally obtained from John Cleves Symmes at the price of about fifteen cents (in specie) an acre or some hundred and eleven dollars for the entire tract. Filson disappeared from the party before it reached its destination and was never heard of afterwards, having in all probability been murdered by Indians. His one-third interest in the land was thereupon assumed by Israel Ludlow, a surveyor, who laid out the town in streets and lots. The limits of the town, as originally surveyed, were Eastern Row, (Broadway), Western Row (Central Avenue), Seventh Street, and the river front. A thick forest growth covered the ground and the street corners had perforce to be blazed on trees. As the town lay opposite the mouth of the Licking River, it was given the name of Losantiville, a grotesque coinage from Latin, Greek and French elements. Two years later, in 1790, General Arthur St. Clair, while on a visit to the new settlement to lay out Hamilton County, took offence, so the tradition runs, at its outlandish name, which was in consequence changed to Cincinnati in honor of the influential society of one-time Revolutionary officers and soldiers known as the Order of the Cincinnati.¹

The first Mass in Cincinnati was celebrated in 1811 in the house of Michael Scott by the Dominican, Father Edward Fenwick, whose far-flung and indefatigable ministry fills out the first chapter, an absorbing one, in the history of the Church in Ohio. The Scott house was on the west side of Walnut midway between Third and Fourth Streets. The first Catholic church was erected under the title of St. Patrick in 1818 at what is now the northwest corner of Vine and Liberty Streets, then

¹ Howe, *Historical Collection of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1902), 1: 747 *et seq.*

outside the town in a district known as the Northern Liberties, and the first Mass was said in it on Easter Sunday, April 11, 1819. In 1821 Pius VII erected Cincinnati into an episcopal see with the aforementioned Father Edward Fenwick as the first incumbent, the new diocese including all of Ohio and Michigan Territory. He was consecrated by Bishop Flaget in the Dominican church of St. Rose's, Kentucky, in January, 1822, and in the following March was installed as bishop in the humble Catholic chapel in the Northern Liberties:

When I arrived in Cincinnati to take possession of my See, I was obliged to rent two rooms, one for myself, the other for the missionaries who accompanied me. The same day I had to send to market for our first meal, no arrangement whatever having been made for the board and lodging of the Bishop. I scarcely had a penny. The long journey of 300 English miles which I had just finished ate up the money which the good souls of St. Rose had given me as a voluntary subscription, and the little (in paper money) which I had left over lost half its value when I crossed the Ohio. There was no church, not even a chapel, in Cincinnati. I had to have recourse to a collection. The proceeds were not sufficient for my purpose and so I had to buy on credit a piece of ground of modest dimensions on which to build a wooden church fifty by thirty feet in size. I am thus beyond dispute the poorest of all Catholic bishops as also the one with the largest diocese, if you except Louisiana and Nova Scotia.²

The lot on which Bishop Fenwick erected his first cathedral was situated on the west side of Sycamore Street between Sixth and Seventh. The need of a larger edifice for the growing Catholic population of Cincinnati was soon felt and a new and substantial structure of brick was accordingly built on ground adjacent to the site of the first church. The architect of the new cathedral was Michael Scott, in whose house Bishop Fenwick had celebrated the first Mass in Cincinnati. The cathedral was regarded in its day as one of the most imposing structures the town could boast though its dimensions were modest enough, for it was only fifty feet wide by one hundred and ten in depth. Its cost, including the organ, was ten or twelve thousand dollars. It was opened for divine service on June 29, 1826, and dedicated on December 17 of the same year. It was adorned with paintings presented by Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, to Bishop Fenwick on the occasion of the latter's visit to Rome in 1824, a particularly fine painting of Our Lady of the Rosary by the Flemish artist, Verschoot, being suspended above the main altar.

² Victor O'Daniel, *Life of Bishop Fenwick* (Washington, 1920), pp. 234-239; *Ann. Prop.*, 2: 89. The house rented by Bishop Fenwick on his arrival in Cincinnati after his consecration stood at Ludlow and Lawrence Streets.

The opening of a seminary and college next occupied the Bishop's attention. He wrote to the officials of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith:

Adjoining the cathedral is a small piece of ground, where I intend to build my seminary; but it does not belong to me and I cannot get possession of it for less than four thousand dollars. However, I shall purchase it in a few days, with a view to building thereon my long-desired seminary, without which I cannot hope to effect anything of permanent value. I might, indeed, without a seminary, obtain some priests from Europe from time to time; but they would always be too few in number to answer all the needs of the mission. Besides, I should be obliged to support them for two or three years in order to allow them time to learn English, etc. With a seminary, I do not lose those who come from Europe while at the same time I form a native clergy, bred to the customs of the country, accustomed to the hardships and well acquainted with the language, etc. Moreover, I shall be able to convert the seminary into a college and in this manner obtain means to better our condition and set up other establishments, useful or necessary. I shall thus exert some influence in the instruction and education of the youth of this state, a thing that would redound greatly to the advantage of religion. In a word, gentlemen, with a seminary the prospect before me is very consoling; without one, the future holds out nothing but distress. I am, then, fully determined to direct all my efforts to this end and to delay no longer. I shall begin accordingly by buying shortly the plot of ground of which I have spoken, using for this purpose money I already have as well as a part of the sum which you have had the goodness to assign to me; I shall then take in hand the construction of the necessary buildings. I can secure some young men, European and American, who have made their humanities, so that, as soon as the building is finished and even before, I shall have seven or eight seminarians. I shall employ them first in teaching the rudiments of Latin to a few children in age from fourteen to sixteen, having every reason to expect that this feature of my plan will prove a success; but I tremble when I consider the expense. The balance of the sum will not suffice for the construction of the building, and yet I shall, at the same time, be obliged to furnish board and lodging to the seminarians and perhaps most of the children; all this will probably put obstacles in the way of building the college. Nevertheless, with the example of the Bishop of Bardstown before me, I am going to commence. I confide myself to the care of Divine Providence and of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith and I trust that neither the one nor the other will abandon me.⁸

An account of the opening on May 11, 1829, of Bishop Fenwick's seminary in the old frame church that stood alongside the new cathedral was penned by his secretary, Father Cliteur:

⁸ *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 504, 505.

I have the pleasure to announce to you that at last we have a Seminary in Cincinnati. It was to have been opened on the 15th of March; but owing to unforeseen circumstances, the opening took place only on the 11th of May. After the *Veni Creator* and Mass, Monseigneur read the regulations and made an address to the new seminarians. The Seminary has been dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, whose name it will bear. There are four seminarians, all clerics studying theology, who are regularly given one lesson a day, and six young men who are taught Latin: we hope their number increase by the arrival of some young men whom we expect from Europe. To judge from the start it has made, the institution promises excellent results. The discipline, patterned after the best European model and modified only to the degree called for by the customs of the country, is already in full force, and some missionaries from abroad, on passing through here recently, expressed their astonishment at the progress made in so short a time. Besides the prayers recited for all the benefactors of the Mission, they recite here every day and in common a special prayer for the members of the Propagation of the Faith, to whom almost exclusively the Seminary owes its existence.⁴

Admiration for the missionary zeal of St. Francis Xavier was more than once expressed by Bishop Fenwick and it was no doubt his desire to leave to the future priests of his diocese the inspiration of the saint's memory and example that led him to dedicate his seminary to the great apostle of the Indies. Only more means and missionaries, Father Reese wrote, were needed "to see again the glorious days of St. Francis Xavier in Ohio and Michigan."⁵ The prayer which the Bishop's seminarians recited daily for their benefactors in Europe ran as follows:

Let us pray for those associated in Europe for the propagation of the faith.

O Lord, Thou, who, where two or three are gathered together in Thy name, art in the midst of them, be also, we beseech Thee, with all those who in Europe constitute the Association for the Propagation of Thy Faith; grant that their efforts may bear abundant fruit and that faith in Thee may increase everywhere; bestow on those so associated, in reward for their generosity and zeal, happiness temporal as well as eternal. Saint Francis Xavier, pray for them.⁶

Two and a half years later than the opening of the Seminary of St. Francis Xavier Bishop Fenwick's college, known as the Athenaeum, began its first session, Monday, October 17, 1831. It was housed in a building erected for the purpose on Sycamore Street in the same block with the cathedral and some fifteen or twenty yards north of it. The college building was "two and a half stories high, with an ample and

⁴ *Ann. Prop.*, 4: 516, 517.

⁵ O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, 368.

⁶ *Idem*, 356.

well lighted basement, and one hundred and twenty or thirty feet long by fifty in width." Later a building serving the purposes both of seminary and episcopal residence was erected between the cathedral and the college. Alpheus White, a convert to the Church, and prominent among the pioneer architects of Cincinnati, drew the plans of both college and seminary, the three buildings together presenting a rather impressive appearance so as to be generally reckoned among the architectural attractions of the city. The college and seminary were each surmounted by a tower topped with a gilded cross.⁷

§ 2. TRANSFER OF THE ATHENAEUM TO THE JESUITS

The first association of the Society of Jesus with the city of Cincinnati may be said to date from the letter addressed by Bishop Fenwick, then installed a little over a year in his episcopal see, to his cousin, Father Enoch Fenwick, a Jesuit of Georgetown College. The letter was written May 7, 1823, at which time Father Van Quickenborne and his party were already *en route* to the West.

I understand some of your brethren are about going to St. Louis into Bishop Du Bourg's diocese. I rejoice at the news and I know much good is done by them. I wish I could hear of some of them coming into my diocese where nearly as much can be done. I flatter myself, however, with the pleasure of seeing them one day established in my neighboring state and of our becoming good neighbors to each other, notwithstanding any former disagreement. I wish to know when your gentlemen will set out on their noble and generous expedition. You will, I hope, direct them to stop with me on their way down the Ohio, as I suppose they will take that route. I shall be happy to see them and to furnish them all the refreshment, aid and support they may need and that may be in my power.⁸

The Jesuit emigrants of 1823 passed by Cincinnati in their broad-horn boats without disembarking, an adventure which no doubt they

⁷ *Idem*, 392. Fenwick's Athenaeum of 1831, after being in use as a college building for sixty years, was demolished in 1891 to make room for the new St. Xavier College. The ground of the "engine-house" adjoining the Athenaeum on the north was bought by the Jesuits from Bishop Purcell in 1847. On this property stood in later years what was known as the Carrell building.

⁸ (B). In 1825 Father Stephen T. Badin, acting as vicar-general for Bishop Fenwick made an appeal to the English Jesuits to open a house in the diocese of Cincinnati. Said Father Sewell, the provincial, in answer: "I should be happy if I could find any zealous missionaries for Dr. Fenwick's diocese; but at present we are so distressed for want of men, that it is impossible; and from what we hear from America I fear much that Georgetown College will soon be of no service to that country." Badin to Fenwick, April 19, 1826. (I). Cited in Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (Cincinnati, 1921), p. 226.

thought it more prudent to forego. Two years later, in October, 1825, Father Theodore De Theux and Brother John O'Connor, while on their way from Maryland to reenforce the embarrassed Jesuit colony at Florissant, journeyed through Cincinnati, being, it would seem, the first members of their order to set foot in the city. In 1831 another party of Jesuits travelling from the East to St. Louis reached the metropolis of Ohio. It consisted of Father Peter Kenney, Visitor of the Jesuit houses in North America, Father McSherry, his assistant, and Father James Oliver Van de Velde, who was to join the teaching-staff of St. Louis College. Eager to reach their destination shortly, they spent but a single day in Cincinnati, where they were entertained by Bishop Fenwick. The latter was most anxious to engage the services of Van de Velde as president of the Athenaeum and petitioned Kenney to this effect. Under the circumstances it was an impossible request, for nowhere were the services of Van de Velde more urgently needed than at St. Louis College, to which he had been assigned. How Fenwick's recently erected buildings impressed Van de Velde is set down in letters addressed by him to a friend in the East:

Cincinnati, October 14, 1831. The good Bishop came to our hotel this morning to invite us to dine with him. It happens well, for this is a day of abstinence. We went there accordingly at about one o'clock p. m. After dinner we visited the Church and the College. The Church, the only Catholic one at present in the city, and called the Cathedral, is an edifice fine enough for this country. It is built of brick and is of Gothic style. The interior is well ornamented. There is a fine painting above the altar, and two others, one on each side of the first mentioned, besides six more between the windows, presented to the Bishop by Cardinal Fesch. There is also another painting which had formerly served as altar-piece at the college of Bornheim. In front of the communion railing there is a stone which can be raised, under which there is a vault destined for the sepulture of Bishops and priests. Two priests have been laid there: Mr. De Clicteur, a Belgian, and the first priest ordained by Bishop Fenwick and Mr. Munos, a Spaniard, his vicar-general, a man of the greatest talent, and formerly confessor to the King of Spain. The College called Athenaeum is a building somewhat similar to the Church, but of modern style. It has, like the Church, a small turret or steeple, which looks very pretty. The Bishop's house, which is rather small, joins the two other buildings. The whole, taken together, presents an imposing sight. The College is ample enough to receive a large number of students. The rooms are large, but the dormitory, though spacious, does not admit enough fresh air. The boys will suffer from this cause in the summer. There is a printing establishment attached to the College. Next week will be published the first religious paper under the name of the *Catholic Telegraph*.

Cincinnati, October 15, 1831. I must state that the College is 130

feet long and fifty feet wide and that the Church has about the same dimensions. Only ten years ago there was here neither Church nor any resident priest. At present there are priests in divers parts of the State of Ohio and the Bishop has fifteen or sixteen young men who are preparing for the priesthood in his seminary. Of the number three are Belgians. As they were not introduced to me, although I wished to see them, I did not become acquainted with any of them. Perhaps they suspected that I might want to make Jesuits of them; if such was the case, the suspicions were not well founded.⁹

Within a year of the visit of Father Van de Velde and his companions to Cincinnati, Bishop Fenwick was dead, at Wooster, Ohio, September 26, 1832, having been stricken by cholera while returning home after a visitation of his diocese. No more edifying chapter in the story of the Catholic Church's development in the United States is told than the one which records the apostolic labors of this prelate for the up-building of the diocese of Cincinnati, the vast reaches of which, as originally organized, he covered in toilsome journeys that brought him as far afield as Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac and Green Bay. For his coadjutor and successor in Cincinnati he had recommended Father Peter Kenney, one of the Jesuit travellers whom he entertained at his episcopal residence the year before his death. From Detroit he wrote on August 22, 1832, to his metropolitan, Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore:

In Ohio our prospects are also consoling. Religion and piety are on the increase in most parts of the State; conversions frequent. My business and labours increase, while my health and all my faculties seem to fail me. I therefore feel and see the propriety and even necessity of soliciting the common Father of the faithful to grant me a coadjutor who may be prepared to succeed me at my death and carry on the works I have been entrusted with. I hope and request your Grace will unite with me in that petition and use your interest and intercession for me at the Court of Rome. Upon serious and frequent reflection on the subject, I find no one in America of my acquaintance so well qualified to succeed me in the See of Cincinnati as Rev. Mr. Kenny, the Provincial or Superior of the Jesuits of Maryland. I do not know his Christian name or I should mention it. His talents, zeal and piety claim my fullest confidence, and I am persuaded he would not only secure the prosperity of my diocese [and] the confidence and satisfaction of all my clergy, but would much promote the cause of religion, the honor of God and the prosperity even of his own Order (the Society of Jesus) by being placed at Cincinnati, as it would be a central point between the eastern and western provinces of that Society in the United States. His

⁹ *WL*, 10: 121, 122. Translation of Van de Velde's letters from French originals by Father Gustave Kernion, S.J.

eloquence and learning and piety would no doubt command respect and confidence from all denominations and contribute much to increase the flock of Christ in these western states.¹⁰

In a letter to Bishop Rosati, dated a day later than his communication to Whitfield, Fenwick sought to enlist the aid of the St. Louis prelate also in his effort to have Kenney appointed Coadjutor-bishop of Cincinnati.¹¹ Two lists of names for the coadjutorship of Cincinnati appear to have been transmitted to Rome. On the first list, besides Father Kenney, were Reverend John Hughes of Philadelphia and Reverend Doctor John B. Purcell, president of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland. On the second list, in addition to Doctor Purcell, were Fathers Dubuisson and McSherry, both of the Society of Jesus, the last named being superior of the Maryland province. Father Roothaan's protest against the appointment of any of the three Jesuits was heard by the Holy See, the choice of which fell on Doctor Purcell. He was consecrated in Baltimore by Archbishop Whitfield, and installed in his see of Cincinnati the following November by the venerable Bishop Flaget, who had consecrated his predecessor.¹²

By Bishop Purcell, former seminary professor and president, both seminary and college were felt at once to be supreme factors in the prosperity of his diocese. He lectured on theology to the seminarians and assumed immediate direction of the Athenaeum as president. That institution in its early years met with gratifying success. A noteworthy feature about it was the large proportion of non-Catholic students in attendance. In December, 1832, very few of the sixty students registered were of the Faith. How the college was regarded by the non-Catholic public may be gathered from an estimate of it that appeared in a contemporary survey of education in Cincinnati:

¹⁰ O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, 421. Cf. *supra*, Chap. X, § 4. Archbishop Whitfield on receiving Bishop Fenwick's request for the appointment of Father Kenney as his coadjutor conferred with Father Mulledy, rector of Georgetown College, who gave the information that Kenney as a professed member of the Society of Jesus could not accept the appointment unless commanded to do so by the Holy See. Besides, Kenney (according to Whitefield) had already declined the coadjutorship of Dublin. Whitfield to Rosati, December 12, 1832. (C).

¹¹ Fenwick to Rosati, August 23, 1832. (C).

¹² "Hughes and he [Purcell] with Kenney were in the first list. Another was sent out with the names of Dubuisson (marked as the very last choice) and McSherry. The General of the Jesuits objected to his three members and the Cardinals chose Purcell, believing him to be the one most likely to serve you and not willing just now to take Hughes from Philadelphia." Letter of Bishop England in Mary Agnes McCann, *Archbishop Purcell and the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (Washington, 1918), p. 13.

A good school [the Athenaeum] was organized with a sufficient number of teachers to attend closely to all the pupils, both during their hours of study and recreation. This feature, in which most of our prominent seminaries are defective, gave the school a reputation which induced a number of Protestants to prefer it to any of our other schools for the education of their sons. It had then become (as it has since continued in the West) an established rule, that teachers should not be allowed to punish pupils for any fault. The consequence was that such a degree of lawlessness prevailed in our schools as to deprive them of much of their usefulness. The arrangement of subordinate teachers in numbers sufficient to keep every pupil constantly in view served as a substitute for the old-fashioned discipline by the rod and ferule, and caused the Athenaeum to become a popular and flourishing school.¹³

The prospectus of the school for 1837 included in its list of references such well-known names as those of General William Henry Harrison, future president of the United States, Bellamy Storer, and Nicholas Longworth.

In the late thirties the Athenaeum declined from its early prosperity and even suspended classes at the close of the session 1838-1839. With cries for ministerial help reaching him from every quarter of his diocese, it became increasingly difficult for Bishop Purcell to maintain at the college a corps of clergymen with the requisite training and leisure to carry on the work of education. He determined therefore to offer the institution to the Society of Jesus. On the occasion of a visit to Stonyhurst in England in the summer of 1838 the prelate made overtures to this effect to the English Jesuits, who pleaded lack of the necessary professors for extending their educational labors to America.¹⁴ Later, at Rome, he took up the matter directly with Father Roothaan, the latter writing in December, 1839, to Father Verhaegen: "[Bishop] Purcell petitions the Society to take over his college. Bishop Reze [of Detroit] makes a similar request. What does your Reverence think? and which of the two colleges do you prefer? The harvest is great."¹⁵ Verhaegen's answer is dated March 12, 1840: "I realize that our Society will do much good in Cincinnati college as also in the college begun by Bishop Reze in Detroit; but your Paternity knows that we cannot provide both colleges with professors. If your Paternity were to send four competent men, we could add to them four younger men and some coadjutor-brothers. This number would suffice for the two

¹³ John P. Foote, *Schools of Cincinnati and its Vicinity* (Cincinnati, 1855).

¹⁴ ——— ad Roothaan, August 6, 1838. (AA). Bishop Purcell was at this time considering a property of his in Brown County as a site for the proposed college.

¹⁵ Roothaan ad Verhaegen, December 26, 1839. (AA).

colleges together, at least for a beginning. And if both colleges cannot be accepted by the Society, acceptance should be made of one of the two." ¹⁶ Some two months later came Father Roothaan's decision for Cincinnati. "As to the Rocky Mountain Missions and the colleges of Cincinnati and Detroit, I hope to be able to send this year not indeed as many trained men as your Reverence desires, but at any rate some, say, two or three. Cincinnati holds out some promise, not so Detroit. Cincinnati is consequently to be preferred." ¹⁷

Cincinnati was in truth an inviting field for Catholic education as Father William Stack Murphy, writing from St. Mary's College, Kentucky, in October, 1840, sought to impress upon the General:

Father Chazelle as well as Father McElroy, who is coming to see us in the month of April, think that the location [of the Athenaeum] is not suited for a boarding-school; but I am told there is question of moving the institution later into the country. . . . A fine field, a great field is open to their zeal in Cincinnati, the "Queen City," with a population of 60,000 souls, which is steadily increasing, and in Ohio, the *chef-d'oeuvre* of American colonization, without slaves and without assassins, containing within its limits the elite of the German and Irish immigrants and almost now getting the advantage over the old states. Alongside so formidable a neighbor our Kentucky keeps up only by the abundance and variety of its products, its more favorable climate and position and its connections with the South. ¹⁸

In the summer of 1840 Father Verhaegen entered into negotiations with Bishop Purcell for the transfer of his college:

A few months ago I received a letter from our very Rev. Father General inquiring of me whether it would be possible for our Vice-province to send some members to Cincinnati to take charge of the college, which you, Right Reverend Sir, had offered to his Paternity. In my answer to said letter I stated, that, left to ourselves, we could not embark on the undertaking, which would necessarily require the exertions of some of our most competent and efficient professors to ensure success; but that if his Paternity would send me some Fathers from Europe, I thought that the requisite arrangements could be made. In his last letter Fr. General promises me two or three members, and after intimating to me that he made something like a promise to you (*Illmus & Rmus Epus Cincinnatiensis aliquam promissionem accepit*), he recommended this enterprise to me. You conceive, Right Reverend Sir, that before the arrival of the promised assistance we cannot comply with the desire which you have so kindly manifested to Fr. General; and I deem it necessary that I should be thoroughly acquainted with your views on the subject before I take any step. If, therefore, nothing has oc-

¹⁶ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, March 12, 1840. (AA).

¹⁷ Roothaan ad Verhaegen, May 16, 1840. (AA).

¹⁸ Murphy à Roothaan, October 10, 1840. (AA).

curred to change your mind in relation to this important affair, please to inform me of it, and during the ensuing vacation one of our FF [Fathers] will pay you a visit and learn from you in person everything we ought to know in regard to the affair in question.¹⁹

There could be no doubt of the cordiality of the response returned to Verhaegen's letter by the Bishop of Cincinnati:

Cincinnati, 17 August, 1840.

Your letter of the 10th inst. has just reached me and I lose no time in telling you of the joy which it has afforded me. There is no mistake *about* or *within* the matter—Ohio with a population of 160 or 170,000 souls and Cincinnati with 45,000, double what it had ten years ago, are worthy of an University conducted by the Society of Jesus, which I have ever revered and loved with devotedness and sincerity. I need not tell you of the place which this state occupies in the map of the United States and its immense resources of every description. It could furnish *three hundred pupils* and still find a plenty to spare for Kentucky, if wanted, and for Missouri, if it did not laugh at the idea of wanting buckeye patronage, when its numerous youth are not capable of being accommodated at home. But this is all neither here nor there. Then to the point.

I propose then, V. Revd. and Dear Friend, *to give you up forever*, on condition that they should *ever* be held sacred for church and school, the College, Seminary and Church, with the real estate on which these buildings, which I now occupy, are located—that you may have there a college and a parish church to be served by your Society in perpetuity. This property is about two-hundred feet square to the best of my knowledge without including an engine house which I have rented for my (part) support. The College is in good repair, at present, having been newly shingled (*on tin*, its former covering) since I have been here. In it is a new cabinet of Natural Philosophy, which I have imported from France, for two thousand dollars, and which should be yours.

The Pews of the Church (Cathedral) now rent for, I think, 2500 dollars. And we are in treaty for a lot, on which we propose to commence a new Cathedral. Your acceptance, right off, of the present one, would be the very thing we want to push ahead this *essential* project for a new Church. For God's sake do not throw difficulties in the way and say wait, wait; for if you think fit to employ them, I can employ under your direction, as Teachers in the College, in Cincinnati, *twelve* seminarians—and even one or two French priests, whom I expect from over the water, this month or next, to remain with you until you could dispense with their services, or until they should know English enough to be useful in the Missions. The school would be well patronized here after the first clamor of the heretics would be put back—down their own throats.

¹⁹ Verhaegen to Purcell, August 10, 1840. Archives of Mount St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

On my part, permit me to assure you, again and again, that you would meet with the most cordial cooperation. I desire only the glory of God by the right education of youth, the confusion of heresy and the conversion of heretics and sinners. I will love you and your faithful brethren, as I would my own soul—and I hope, though I am conscious that I am far, very far from possessing the wisdom or a tithe of the amiableness of the prelate by whom you are now cherished, that with me too, as long or as short as God prolongs my life, you shall be happy.

In addition to, or instead of the foregoing, just as you please, I would give you 500 acres of land in Brown County, forty miles from Cincinnati, with a first-rate McAdamized road, 22 miles of which are completed, passing by the door of the small brick College, already built thereon. I should think a college in the country indispensable—or instead of this in Brown County, you can have sixteen hundred acres or 2000, as you prefer, in Gallia County, 12 miles from the Ohio river and 18 from Gallipolis, which property has been deeded to me for a college by a wealthy and enlightened Irish Catholic. I have visited his residence lately. He has 6000 acres in one body there. All I would ask is the support of five or six seminarians annually, or in equivalent. But of this, no more now.

Bishop Purcell concluded his letter with an urgent invitation to Father Verhaegen or a representative of his to visit Cincinnati and confer with him in person on the offer made. He would regard the arrival of the Jesuits in his episcopal city as "an infallible pledge of his own and his diocese's acceptance with heaven."²⁰

Father Verhaegen was prompt in bringing Bishop Purcell's offer to the notice of his consultors. At a meeting of the board, August 31, it was unanimously agreed that the offer be accepted. Only on the question whether control of the Athenaeum should be assumed at once or be postponed to a later date was there a difference of opinion. Verhaegen and Smedts were for taking over the institution without delay, even though only a single father could be spared for the impending session. Elet and Van de Velde, on the other hand, were of the opinion that the opening of classes under Jesuit auspices should be delayed a year so as to afford time for communication with the Father General and through his intervention obtain some fathers from other Jesuit provinces either to man the Athenaeum or else be substituted at St. Louis University for such professors as should be transferred to Cin-

²⁰ Purcell to Verhaegen, August 17, 1840. (A). Bishop Purcell was anxious to have a Jesuit college as a defence against the virulent current anti-Catholic propaganda motivated by fear that Rome was trying to secure control of the Mississippi Valley. Conspicuous as a mouthpiece of this propaganda was the Reverend Lyman Beecher, president of Lane Theological Seminary, at Cincinnati. Cf. Ray T. Billington, "Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Missionary Movement, 1800-1860," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 22: 361-384 (1935).

cinnati. Verhaegen's view prevailed and it was resolved accordingly to conduct the Athenaeum as a college of the Society of Jesus during the approaching session 1840-1841. The choice of the superior and his consultants for rector of the college, which was to be named for St. Xavier, patron-saint of the Athenaeum, fell upon Father Elet, at the moment vice-rector of St. Louis University. The day following the discussion of Bishop Purcell's offer, Verhaegen, in company with Elet, left St. Louis for Cincinnati to confer with the Bishop on the terms of the transfer.

Though decision had thus been reached to extend the labors of the vice-province to the inviting field of Cincinnati, it was not done without misgivings on the part of most of Father Verhaegen's advisers, who had previously communicated their sentiments on the subject to the Father General. "Every now and then," wrote Elet, "there is talk of opening a new college in Cincinnati. They also speak of starting a residence in New Orleans. In both places a most extensive field lies open with promise of the most abundant fruit. But the workers are wanting and will continue to be wanting unless serious thought be given to a Seminary for Ours completely separated from the college of St. Louis."²¹ "I do not see," said Van de Velde, "how the college is to be begun. Certainly no one can be sent from the University. All who might be suited are quite necessary here. . . . So, unless your Paternity provides from other sources, it would be a risky thing to begin the college of Cincinnati. It is better that the thing be not done at all than that it be done badly and turn out badly."²² Within a few days of the dispatch of these letters Verhaegen with his advisers succeeded in solving as best they could the problem of a staff and nothing remained but to embark on the venture.

On September 6, 1840, formal announcement to the public of the transfer of the Athenaeum to the Society of Jesus was made by Bishop Purcell. A notice of the event appeared in the *Catholic Telegraph*, edited at this period by the Bishop's brother, Rev. Edward Purcell:

Last Sunday, the Bishop had the pleasure of announcing to the Cathedral congregation, after the benediction at High Mass, that Very Rev. Father Verhaegen, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Missouri and Louisiana, and Vicar General of the diocese of St. Louis, and Rev. Father Elet, late President of the University of St. Louis, had just arrived in the city; the announcement thrilled through the heart of many a parent, for this auspicious event had been long fervently prayed for and most anxiously expected. After Vespers, the Rev. Provincial addressed the congregation on the words of our Divine Savior which had been so powerful in the conversion of St. Francis Xavier: "What doth it avail a man to gain the whole world and lose

²¹ Elet ad Roothaan, August 25, 1840. (AA).

²² Van de Velde ad Roothaan, August 22, 1840. (AA).

his own soul." His development of the highly appropriate text was impressive and his remarks were listened to with deep interest by a large and much edified congregation.

From this time, we trust in God, the Athenaeum will be worthy of its motto: "Sacred to religion and to arts." The building is being fitted up, extensive improvements are going on in it and around it, and as soon as they are completed, the schools will commence on a scale not hitherto reached by the institution. To the many inquiries of parents and guardians, we would say that the classes will be reorganized in the most efficient manner by the 1st of November. A select number of boarders, about twenty-five or thirty, can be accommodated.²³

The Athenaeum having thus been formally accepted by the Society of Jesus, Fathers Verhaegen and Elet returned to St. Louis, whence the former addressed a communication to Bishop Purcell:

In a few days some of the members appointed to commence the glorious work will leave for the "Queen of the West"! The amiable and zealous Father Gleizal will be their leader. What a motion there is at present in our Province! No wonder; to get competent men, shifting is unavoidable.

Father Elet has already forwarded to you the *Prospectus* and today I comply with my promise by sending you a sample of the deed which prudence requires to be executed. As I am not acquainted with the Statutes of Ohio, I do not know whether there may not be something illegal in the form. I rely on you, right reverend Sir, for everything that will be required for the validity of the instrument.²⁴

In a letter written shortly after his return to St. Louis, Verhaegen acquainted the Father General with the step he had taken:

I visited the Right Reverend Bishop of Cincinnati, who received me and Father Elet, my companion, with every token of love and benevolence. All arrangements regarding his college have been made. He has ceded to the Society in perpetuity all the buildings, which were erected for a boarding school and diocesan seminary, and has given along with them a rather large and handsome church. The college will be opened at the beginning of November under the title of St. Francis Xavier. After hearing my consultors I appointed Father Elet vice-rector of the new institution. Of course I will give him some companions—Fathers Pin and Gleizal and Messrs. Van der Eycken and Duerinck and Brothers De Meyer, Schlienger and Dugan. Since, however, there is not a sufficient number of professors, the Bishop will lend a hand by allowing certain of the seminarians to assist Ours in teaching as long as will be necessary.²⁵

²³ *Catholic Telegraph*, September 12, 1840.

²⁴ Verhaegen to Purcell, September 19, 1840. Archives of Mount-St.-Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

²⁵ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, September 24, 1840. (AA).

The first contingent of Jesuits assigned to Cincinnati left St. Louis on September 30. It consisted of Father Gleizal, the scholastic, John Baptist Duerinck, and two coadjutor-brother novices from the novitiate, Sebastian Schlienger and John Dugan. They were followed on October 18 by Father Elet accompanied by the scholastic, Maurice Van den Eycken, and Brother Peter de Meyer. The seven Jesuits named together with Father Aloysius Pin, who arrived later, constituted the Jesuit community of St. Xavier College during the session 1840-1841.²⁶

It was not until the following June that Bishop Purcell, writing from Columbus, Ohio, expressed his thanks to Father Roothaan for having taken over the college, circumstances having prevented him from making earlier acknowledgment:

I thank your Paternity most cordially for having remembered the word given to his servant in which you held out hope to him that the Fathers of the venerable Society over which you preside so worthily and successfully would take in hand as soon as possible the management of our college of Cincinnati. That this goodly pledge was redeemed several months ago is an occasion of joy shared with me not only by all the faithful of this city, but also by not a few non-Catholics, who realize that the sceptre of education of school-going youth can nowhere be entrusted to or held by more skillful hands, the experience of three centuries to witness.

I would indeed have conveyed much more promptly to your Paternity my sentiments of gratitude for the transfer of ownership had the transfer been ratified by the Supreme Pontiff. (It had already been effected before a civil court on a presumption based on a permission previously granted when I was in Rome.) But now that I have lately received express authorization to this effect from the Most Reverend Archbishop Joseph Cadolini, the indefatigable Secretary of the Propaganda, I suffer no delay to intervene but pour out at once before your Paternity with all possible reverence the deepest sentiments of my heart.

Your reverend and beloved son, Father Elet, will make known to you with what success God has blessed the beginnings made by him in favor of this city of Cincinnati, nor will he fail to bring to the notice of your Paternity what cooperators he stands in need of in order that in Mathematics and Physics as in the other sciences your college of St. Francis may not only equal but even surpass on the admission of everybody the alas! flourishing colleges conducted under the auspices of heretics.

There is still great need of one or more Fathers who know German, as there are almost 20,000 Germans in the city of Cincinnati, of whom only a third belong to heretical sects, while all the others attend our churches with great edification. No one knows better than your Paternity that there are hardly any flourishing seminaries in Germany—as a consequence many

²⁶ *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*. (D).

have flocked from that country to these parts bringing with them the name but not the spirit of priests and have done irreparable harm to our religion. I pray your Paternity for the love of God to make every effort within your power to remedy this evil situation.

When I proposed to make a donation of the land and buildings to the Society, I thought I should not go beyond the bounds of moderation if I asked that five or six of the seminarians who were to teach at least three hours every day in the college be fed and clothed by your Fathers. But after Very Reverend Father Verhaegen set before me that this could not be done and that the Society had never accepted the gift with a perpetual burden, I turned over the property to them without any burden whatsoever of this kind. In return for this good faith of mine I certainly ask for nothing except that God be honored through our Lord Jesus Christ to the great gain of souls and particularly those of boys.

May your Paternity excuse this letter which I indite in a hotel while on a diocesan visitation. I have no secretary and I merely put down with unlearned pen the thoughts which occur to me spontaneously, submitting them to your kindly eyes with the highest esteem of soul and the deepest affection of my heart.²⁷

²⁷ Purcell ad Roothaan, June 16, 1841. (AA). A letter of subsequent date, September 2, 1841, also in Latin, was addressed by Bishop Purcell to Father Roothaan. (AA). "Taking advantage of the occasion offered by [the visit of] your beloved son, Reverend Father Van de Velde, I thank your Reverence from the bottom of my heart as I have previously done through our very dear alumnus, James F. Wood of the College of the Propaganda, for having been mindful of his promise to come to the aid of his servant or rather of the holy religion of the Son of God [by sending] the Fathers of the dear Society of Jesus, over which he presides with so much praise and merit.

By leave of our most Blessed Father, Gregory XVI [March 10, 1839] I have given them in legal form and in perpetuity land, houses and church; all with a view to promote those holy designs to which they give themselves up with the greatest devotedness [ms. ?] everywhere on earth.

May your Reverence deign to be not unmindful of our needs, for the enemies of the Holy Name of Jesus Christ are making every effort to endow schools and colleges in which *per fas et nefas* to bring the Catholic cause to ruin. But with God, the most Blessed Mary and the dear Society straining every effort in opposition, nothing whatever will they be able to effect. Your Reverence's most obedient servant and friend in the Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, J. B. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati."

The warranty deed of transfer, dated March 31, 1841, conveyed for a consideration of one dollar the Sycamore Street property, one hundred and ninety-three feet in frontage, to John A. Elet, Peter J. Verhaegen and James Van de Velde, "to have and to hold to the said Elet, Verhaegen and Van de Velde, the survivors forever—in trust to set apart a portion for a church or a chapel for the permanent accommodation of the Society of the Roman Catholic Church in said city—the residue thereof to appropriate for the permanent support and promotion of education on the premises, in default thereof, to the use of the said J. B. Purcell." St. Xavier College Archives.

M. D. G. P. B. 12716

Columbibus Ohio 16^a Junii 1841

Reverendissime Reverende Pater

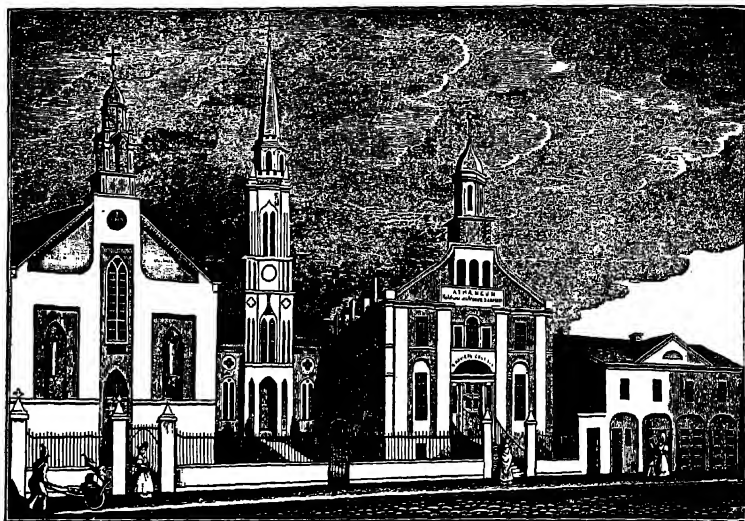
Gratias agimus propter modo Paternitate Iuxta exequi in mensura
fueri sub tua ditione in quo multo. Hic & dote fides Reverende
Circumstantia tunc dignitate. & utitur proas. & in illis
in Notis Circumstantiis quantitas. Susceptores. Hoc tunc in mensura
propter tunc per a pluribus. Meritis adimpletum. Hic
21. Congruent tunc utis. Notis fides. Hic & dote fides. Hic
Hic qui prohi. Notis. Susceptores. Hic & dote fides. Hic
Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura.
Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura.

Multa quidem Ceteris gratia. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura.
Paternitate. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura.
Circumstantia. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura. Hic in mensura.
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First page of Latin letter by Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, June 16, 1841, thanking Father Roothaan for taking over the Athenaeum (St. Xavier College). General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome.



St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, in the forties. Left to right: St. Xavier Church, episcopal seminary, college. From St. Xavier College catalogue.



Purcell Mansion. St. Xavier College Preparatory School. From St. Xavier College catalogue.

The taking over of Purcell's college by Jesuits from St. Louis came as a surprise to their brethren of the Mission of Kentucky. Father William Stack Murphy, superior of the mission, hastened to convey the news to his provincial, Father Guidée of Paris. The Kentucky Jesuits were at the moment about to open a school in Louisville.

"A centrally located town of 30,000 inhabitants and one always crowded with strangers, a great river which carries 300 steamboats, the assured cooperation of the principal citizens, the largest possible field thrown open to the ministry of the Society, and many other considerations seem to impose on us the obligation of doing everything we can on behalf of this establishment [Louisville]. But now of a sudden and without our being given the least intimation of it, we learn from the papers that our Fathers of Missouri have just accepted in Cincinnati (called the Queen City) . . . the bishop's college, which we refused because we had in view the one in Louisville. This college is going to open November 1 next. Cincinnati being only twelve hours from Louisville, a trip one can make at any moment thanks to 300 steamboats, would our two establishments be perhaps too close together?" Moreover, adds Murphy, the route from Kentucky to Canada, where the General wished the French Jesuits to make a start, would be intercepted, as it would be necessary to pass through Cincinnati. Writing to Father Roothaan some three weeks later Murphy suggests to him the same difficulty; but he ends on a generous note: "Our Missouri Fathers are opening a college in Cincinnati, November 1 . . . we fear it may hurt Louisville much and St. Mary's not a little. . . . Nevertheless, *soror nostra es, crescas*."²⁸

To Father Guidée, who had conceived a program of northward expansion for his little Kentucky mission, the presence of the Missourians in Cincinnati meant a summary frustration of his plans. "Yes, Reverend Father," he represented to the General, November 10, 1840, "we believe with you that the work begun in Kentucky by the Province of France should extend afar and spread its blessings to the neighboring states. We further believe that we are called to march in the footprints of our Fathers for the spread of the light of the Gospel among the Indian tribes who people North America and that the moment is not so far off when we can begin to realize so fair a destiny. The country we live in is immense and offers a field spacious enough to satisfy the devouring zeal of several Provinces of the Society of Jesus. Providence, it seems, has so far made a sort of natural division of the country between the three Provinces which have workers engaged here. The western states, it appears to me, have devolved upon the Belgian Fathers.

²⁸ Murphy à Roothaan, September 22, 1840. (AA).

The East belongs to the American Jesuits and the central portion of the country to those of France. They are far away enough from one another not to cause each other mutual harm and can extend and spread out without confusion.”²⁹ A more specific formulation of Guidée’s scheme of territorial division was presented to the General by another French Jesuit: “Let Missouri be given all the country beyond the Mississippi (Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri), together with the whole Indian territory on the far side of the Rocky Mountains . . . and let us be given Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, the lakes, which brings us up to Canada with a way opened to the Indian missions.” At a time when territorial lines were not sharply drawn between the various Jesuit groups at work in the United States, the aspirations of Father Guidée and his associates for a field of expansion from Kentucky north to Canada were legitimate enough. But in view of the *fait accompli* of the occupation of Cincinnati by the Jesuits of Missouri with the sanction of the Father General himself and even at his express desire, the program of their French confrères became impracticable, a situation which they themselves were prompt to recognize.

§ 3. ST. XAVIER COLLEGE, 1840-1848

In accordance with the announcement made to the public St. Xavier College was opened November 3, 1840. By the middle of December there were in attendance seventy-six students, of whom twenty-six were studying Latin. The first occasion to be celebrated with éclat was St. Francis Xavier’s day, December 3, the patronal feast of the institution. Early Mass with Holy Communion was followed by a solemn high Mass at nine o’clock, at which the faculty and Catholic students assisted. Immediately after the Mass all assembled in the study-hall where an address was delivered by one of the lay professors, William X. Gilmartin. Washington’s Birthday, 1841, was observed by the students, in the language of a newspaper report, “with appropriate honors. Several of the most distinguished of the alumni for religious and moral worth and literary attainments were invited by the patriotic President to a utile dulce dinner, between which and the dessert, Mr. Gilmartin delivered an eloquent eulogy on the ‘Father of his Country.’ The birthday flowers were arranged with a master-hand.”³⁰

²⁹ Guidée à Roothaan, November 10, 1840. (AA).

³⁰ *Catholic Telegraph*, December 12, 1840; February 27, 1841. A prospectus of the college, apparently the one forwarded by Father Elet from St. Louis, appeared in the *Telegraph*, September 26, 1841. It was subsequently embodied in the college catalogue. “St. Xavier’s College. Hitherto known as the Athenaeum,

An effort was made during the first session to attract day-scholars to the college, especially by the introduction of a mercantile or commercial course. A notice was inserted by Father Elet in the *Telegraph*: "At the solicitation of many parents and citizens the St. Xavier College has agreed to enlarge the Day School attached to the institution. By this arrangement the College will afford to the youth of the city an excellent opportunity for acquiring a business education. The classes are so 'conducted that the scholars may follow either the regular or the Mercantile Department, or both, or apply to such branches as parents or guardians may think proper to select. . . . Day scholars in the Mercantile Department will be charged \$6.00 per quarter, and no entrance fee will be required.'"³¹ In February, 1841, a night-school was advertised in the local press. "At the request of some young gentlemen, who are desirous to learn the German Language, and who have expressed their wish to attend at night, after the hours of business, a

Sycamore Street, Cincinnati: This Literary Establishment will be opened on the first Monday of November, 1840, under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and the patronage of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati." "On entering, each boarder must be provided with a uniform to be worn upon public occasions. It consists of a blue or black frock coat, with pantaloons of the same cloth for winter and white pantaloons for summer. Parents who live at a distance are requested to appoint an agent in Cincinnati and New Orleans, who must be answerable for the payment of all expenses, and to whom the pupil may be directed on leaving the Institution. Mr. P. Huchet Kernion, No. 95 Conde Street, New Orleans, will act as regular Agent of the Xavier College for Louisiana, Mississippi, Mexico, Cuba, etc., will receive the payments and send such youths as may be recommended to his care by the parents or guardians. All letters written by the parents or others, to the students, or to the President or Agents of the Institution, must be directed free of postage, or they shall be liable to remain at the post office."

The matriculation-fee for boarders and half-boarders was ten dollars; for day-scholars or externs, five dollars. The rate for boarders, including tuition and subsistence, was one hundred and thirty dollars. With washing and mending (if done at the institution), physicians' fees and stationery, the rate amounted to one hundred and fifty-five dollars. Half-boarders, who breakfasted and dined at the college, were charged a hundred dollars per annum. They reported at the college at 6 A.M. and remained until 7:30 P.M. Tuition for day-scholars was forty dollars per annum for classical students and twenty-four for students in the mercantile course. The day-scholars "were not only permitted but required, as far as practicable," to attend the morning and evening studies at the College. As morning studies began about 6 o'clock, the proviso as to practicability was apparently a needed one. While the rate for boarders was notably low according to present-day standards, it did not include items which in the boarding-school of today are covered by the general charge, e.g., bedding, towels, napkins, knives, forks, spoons and tumblers. Students who remained at the college during the summer vacation, which ran a month and a half, were charged twenty dollars for the extension of board and lodging.

³¹ *Catholic Telegraph*, December 26, 1840.

German Class, and also a Book-Keeping Class, will be opened at the St. Xavier College, on the 1st of March next, and will be taught every evening towards candlelight. A late hour has been chosen in order to afford both to the students and to persons engaged during the day in mercantile pursuits an opportunity for frequenting these classes."³²

With the session 1841-1842 began the Philopedian Society, the oldest of the student organizations of St. Xavier's. Its object was to improve the senior students in public speaking and debate, an object it still cherishes today after the lapse of ninety-five years. The addresses delivered before it by its own members or invited guests were sometimes elaborate in character. An address by P. McGroarty on "The Influence of the Church on Society," delivered at the Washington Birthday celebration of the society, February 22, 1847, ran through three consecutive issues of the *Catholic Telegraph*. In the session 1842-1843 were organized the Philhermenian or Junior Literary Society and the Euterpean Society. There was never any lack of student organizations at St. Xavier's. In later years, besides those of the Philopedian, Euterpean and Philhermenian, occur the formidable names of the Cosmopean, Himiroletic and Phileoglossian societies.³³

As is traditional in all Jesuit colleges, a students' sodality of the Blessed Virgin was established. In response to a petition addressed to the Queen of France, consort of Louis Philippe, for the purpose of obtaining from her well-known liberality some ornament for the sodalists' chapel, a choice painting of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary from the king's private gallery reached the president of the college, Father Elet, in March, 1847. The canvas, nine by four feet, contained twenty-four figures and at the bottom of the richly gilt frame were inscribed the words "*Donné par le Roi en 1846.*" In gratitude for this splendid gift the sodalists, on May 1, 1847, received holy communion at the hands of their director, Father Elet, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of their royal benefactors.³⁴

A large proportion of the boarders at St. Xavier's were recruited from the southern states. In the last year but one of the boarding-department, 1852-1853, seventy-seven boarders were registered, of whom thirty-two were from the South or from Latin-American countries. Most of the southern students were French-speaking Creoles. The prefect of studies' diary for October 15, 1850, contains the item:

³² *Idem*, February 27, 1841.

³³ Catalogues of St. Xavier College, 1844—.

³⁴ *Catholic Telegraph*, May 6, 1847. Certain paintings in the Bardstown (Ky.) cathedral were also gifts from Louis Philippe. Cf. W. D. Pike, "A Review of 'The Curious Legend of Louis Philippe in Kentucky,'" *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 8: 195 *et seq.*

"Today F. [Father] Rector directed something to be done to restrain the Creoles from speaking French and appointed Father Wippen to establish some rule for it." More liberty in this regard appears to have been allowed the students in the first years of the college. Said the prospectus of 1840: "The English will be the ordinary language of communication in all the classes, the French excepted; but the students may speak French or English indiscriminately during the hours of recreation." In the forties, before the Irish and German immigration had set in on a large scale, the racial complexion of the student-body was distinctly Anglo-American. In the session 1841-1842 the register showed only about ten per cent of German names; in the session 1861-1862 the percentage had risen to approximately fifty-five.

A large enrollment of non-Catholic boarders had been traditional in the days of the Athenaeum and this tradition persisted under the Jesuit régime. Elet in April, 1844, reckoned the proportion of non-Catholic boarders at one-half. "If we admitted only Catholic boarders, religious instruction and exercises of piety would suffer less embarrassment." But there was compensation in the way of conversions. "The Protestant children cannot resist the influence of good example and during the last thirteen months eleven of them have been converted." The figures for some years are recorded. Accessions of non-Catholic students to the Church numbered four in 1844, thirteen in 1845, eight in 1846. The day-scholars appear to have been at all times largely, and in some years even entirely Catholic. In 1856 the hundred or so day-students registered were all, with a single exception, Catholic.

St. Xavier College had but shortly started out on its career under Jesuit management when Father Verhaegen arrived in Cincinnati to make his first official visitation of the institution. His appearance so soon after the transfer of the college was occasioned by the circumstance that Bishop Purcell wished to insist on the Jesuits pledging themselves to the support of five seminarians *in perpetuum* as a condition for his executing the deed of transfer. This condition, however, the Bishop waived on representations made by Verhaegen, as he made mention in his above-cited letter to Father Roothaan. Both the prelate and the vice-provincial then conferred with a lawyer, who was instructed to draw up a deed of transfer, the Bishop engaging himself to meet the wishes of the Jesuits on every point. In his letter reporting the affair to Father Roothaan, Verhaegen said:

The Bishop will begin this year to build his new cathedral church, on the completion of which all the buildings together with his present church will be left to our use. He is exceedingly anxious to commit his seminary to our care. He would pay an annual sum for the support of the seminarians

and since the buildings are large enough both for the scholasticate of the Vice-Province and the diocesan seminary, may your Paternity deign to let me know whether he approves of placing our scholasticate there as soon as it can be done and of admitting the seminarians to the classes of theology.³⁵

At the time the Athenaeum was conveyed to the Society of Jesus the diocesan seminary of St. Francis Xavier still occupied the building between the Athenaeum and the cathedral on Sycamore Street. It was apparently Purcell's expectation at this period that the seminary would remain in this location, for, as has been seen, he offered to Verhaegen the services of his seminarians as teachers in the college. But within a year or two of the transfer of the college, the seminary was removed to the Bishop's farm in Brown County, Ohio, where it was presided over by Rev. Joseph J. O'Mealy. In 1842 the direction of it was confided to the Lazarist fathers, who remained in charge until 1845 when it was again removed to its original location on Sycamore Street in Cincinnati. In compliance with Bishop Purcell's offer, the services of his seminarians, first of two and later of four or five, were utilized to fill out the rather meagre teaching-staff of St. Xavier College. The *Catholic Almanac* for the years 1843, 1844, 1845, states that besides the twelve seminarians in Brown County, "there are four or five Seminarians who teach in St. Xavier College under the direction of the Rev. Father De Theux of the Society of Jesus." In August, 1845, Purcell petitioned that a Jesuit father be named superior of his seminary. Van de Velde with his advisers were of the opinion that such appointment should not be made without the express permission of the Father General; but they agreed that Father Leonard Nota, who had assisted in the direction of the novices at Florissant, should teach theology to Bishop Purcell's seminarians and in general direct them in their studies. Father De Theux having been transferred to St. Charles, Missouri, in August, 1845, his place in Cincinnati was taken by Father Nota. In October the Bishop again returned to the question of a superior for his seminary and requested that Nota be named to the office. Van de Velde and his advisers demurred, but, finally, in March, 1846, yielded to the Bishop's repeated requests.³⁶ For the three years 1846, 1847, 1848, the *Catholic Almanac* carried this notice: "The Diocesan Seminary is under the charge of the Reverend Leonard Nota, S.J., who also teaches theology. The Seminarians, ten in number, study in the scholasticate attached to the St. Xavier College, Cincinnati." In 1848 the

³⁵ Verhaegen ad Roothaan, March 14, 1841. (AA).

³⁶ *Liber Consultationum*, March 2, 1843. (A). According to this source the scholastics Florentine Boudreaux and Dennis Kenny were to be sent to Cincinnati to take the place of the seminarians. Cf. also Lamotte, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

seminary was again in the hands of the diocesan clergy, the seminarians residing and studying in the Bishop's new house on Eighth Street "until the new Seminary on a hill overlooking the city" should be completed.³⁷

Father Elet, St. Xavier's first Jesuit rector, held office until his departure in the autumn of 1847 to represent the vice-province of Missouri in a congregation of procurators at Rome. He had been elected to this charge, with Father De Smet as substitute, at a quasi-provincial congregation held in St. Louis on August 3, 1847. On the day following the congregation there was held a provincial consultation in which Father John Blox, a Belgian, was named vice-rector of St. Xavier College to replace Elet during his absence from the country. Father Dennis Kenny was to succeed Blox in the pastorate of St. Xavier Church, Cincinnati, a post the latter had filled since coming to the West in 1845 from his province of Maryland. These appointments were rescinded in another consultation held on August 5, Father Carrell being displaced from the rectorship of St. Louis University and Blox substituted in his place as vice-rector. Father Druyts was assigned the vice-rectorship of St. Xavier's, Cincinnati, and Carrell the pastorate of the Jesuit church in the same city. Even this series of changes was not the one eventually carried out, as Bishop Purcell appears to have declared his displeasure at the proposed removal of Blox from Cincinnati. Accordingly, Van de Velde, the vice-provincial, decided in a consultation held on August 19 to instruct Blox to return from St. Louis, whither it seems he had actually gone in answer to a previous summons, to Cincinnati and there assume the duties of vice-rector of the college. Druyts was at the same time installed vice-rector of St. Louis University.

Two occurrences of note marked Father Blox's short tenure of office in Cincinnati, the opening of a preparatory school for the college, and the establishment of the so-called "free schools" of St. Xavier's parish.

³⁷ A claim having been made that St. Xavier College was under obligation to board a certain number of seminarians gratis, Father Elet wrote to Bishop Purcell (c. 1847): "The supposed obligation of boarding gratis a certain number of seminarians, Fr. Verhaegen proved to yr. Lordship, from your own letter [August 17, 1840, *supra*] containing the conditions to be fulfilled on the part of the Society on accepting this college and church, never to have been imposed: yet it has been complied with from the 2nd year and more so at present than ever. Probo.

3 students whose board and tuition are gratis	\$450.00
2 (Noguez and Brownson) at half price	150.00
6 day-scholars, tuition gratis	184.00

Add to this the low terms on which I admitted the seminarians, \$80 for a whole year's board, \$20 for light, fuel, room, washing, mending, and yr. Lordship must be convinced that we do contribute our mite towards the support of your diocese." Archives of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

In 1845 Bishop Purcell conveyed to St. Xavier College for nine thousand dollars a tract of land, seven and a quarter acres in extent, which Bishop Fenwick had acquired years before as a site for his seminary. It was located a few miles east of the college in the district then and since known as Walnut Hills. The *Annual Letters* grow eloquent in describing the natural beauties of the property as it rose two hundred feet above the waters of the Ohio, affording an entrancing panoramic view of the surrounding country. The place had been utilized for a period of years for farm purposes only when it was determined to make it the home of the preparatory department of the college, as the need of separating the smaller boys from the older ones had long been felt. An announcement to this effect appeared in the *Telegraph* for September 2, 1847. "The College Country Seat, Purcell Mansion, situated on Walnut Hills, has been fitted up for a Boys' Boarding School, in which youths from 8 to 13 years of age will be admitted. The buildings are large and commodious and the riverside of the premises commands the finest scene in the vicinity of Cincinnati. Parents desirous to send their sons to this preparatory school should make early application, as the number will be limited; it will be conducted by three gentlemen of the faculty." Another notice was carried in the *Catholic Almanac* for 1849. "St. Xavier Preparatory School, Purcell Mansion, Walnut Hills, two and a half miles from Cincinnati, Ohio. This institution, intended solely for small boys, is situated on one of the most elevated heights, in the vicinity of the city; commanding, from its grounds, a panoramic view of the Ohio River, Fulton, Newport and Covington, with other beautiful portions of Kentucky and Ohio. The mansion itself is a spacious and handsome building, in the midst of a fine tract of land, well laid out and divided into garden, vineyard, pasture, grove and most ample play grounds for the exercise and amusement of the children. The diet is good, wholesome and abundant, calculated to promote health, which is an object of constant solicitude. The classes and hours of study are so arranged as to afford the pupils more time for healthful exercise than can be allowed in colleges. The Matron, who has charge of the wardrobe and laundry establishment, attends, in a particular manner, to the neatness and cleanliness of the children." The charge for board and lodging, apart from extras, was one hundred and thirty dollars a year. Pupils who spent their vacation at the Mansion paid an additional charge of twenty dollars. This fitting school for St. Xavier College was maintained for only two years. Father Herman Aelen was president the first session, 1847-1848, and Father George Carrell, the second and last session, 1848-1849.³⁸

³⁸ The so-called mansion, erected shortly before the Jesuits acquired the property, was appraised at about four thousand dollars. The mansion property, about

The boys' division of St. Xavier's parish school was opened in 1848. In July, 1847, a lot sixty by one hundred feet in depth on the west side of Sycamore just north of Seventh Street, was purchased by the college authorities at a cost of a hundred dollars a foot. On July 25, pursuant to notice, a meeting of the St. Xavier congregation was held in the college hall to deliberate on ways and means to promote "the establishment of a Free School in the eastern part of the city for the education of the Catholic youth to be under the direction and control of the pastors and gentlemen connected with the church and college of St. Xavier."³⁹ Though the attendance was small, the sum of six hundred dollars was subscribed towards discharging the debt incurred by the purchase of the school-lot. The meeting organized itself into The Catholic Free School Society, the conditions for membership being a small initiation fee and a monthly contribution. Father Blox, rector of the college, was elected president, Father Duerinck, treasurer, and James M. Moreland, secretary. The efforts of the congregation to gather funds for the new school-house met with success. A substantial building was begun and finished in time for occupancy at the beginning of the session 1848-1849. Father Angelo Maesseele was the first director of the free school, assisted by Mr. Francis Van Agtmael, a Jesuit scholastic, and four tutors. A contemporary advertisement notes: "St. Xavier School. The boys' school-house is crowded with pupils!"⁴⁰ According to the *Annual Letters* the school opened with an attendance of four hundred, "no slight attendance," the chronicler observes, "for even the most populous cities of Europe, much more so for this wilderness."⁴¹

The girls' section of the parish school, conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, had been started as early as 1846. A sort of Sunday school was held in the sisters' chapel on Sundays from 2 to 4 P.M., at which as many as four or five hundred girls were present. Many of the more mature of these were taught to read and write.⁴²

The opening of St. Xavier's parochial school was another step forward in the progress of Catholic education in Cincinnati. Since the day, sixteen years before, on which Bishop Fenwick took up his residence in Cincinnati where there was neither Catholic church nor school,

seven and a quarter acres, was sold April 30, 1873, for \$89,229.03, or nearly thirteen thousand dollars an acre.

³⁹ *Catholic Telegraph*, July 29, 1849.

⁴⁰ *Catholic Almanac*, 1849, p. 153.

⁴¹ The school-house had a frontage of fifty feet on Sycamore Street, was sixty feet in depth and fifty feet high. The top-floor served as chapel for the children. *Litterae Annuae*, 1842-1849. (A).

⁴² *Catholic Almanac*, 1849, p. 141.

Catholicism had advanced in the city by leaps and bounds. In 1822 the Catholics were only about fifty; in 1848 they numbered thirty-five thousand. Their churches were eleven in number, their parochial schools nine, with an attendance of 2,607 children. The Catholic school-children of Cincinnati are pictured pleasantly in a contemporary account of the St. Aloysius Day (June 21) celebration of 1847. Father John McElroy, a Jesuit of the Maryland province, just then a transient in the city on his return from Mexico where he had served as chaplain in the American army during the Mexican war, is the missionary referred to in the account.

Feast of St. Aloysius—This delightful feast was celebrated by our Catholic youth with unusual solemnity. In the morning the Bishop sang High Mass, in the St. Xavier Church, attended by Rev. Father McElroy as assistant Priest, and Rev. Messrs. Allen, S.J., and P. C. Delacroix as Deacon and Subdeacon. The congregation consisted almost exclusively of the youths of the various Catholic congregations. They were addressed by the zealous missionary in his peculiarly impressive and efficient manner. After the High Mass, between sixty and seventy were confirmed, several of whom were converts, two whereof had been baptized the same morning by the Bishop. The College Choir, aided by several professional amateurs—a rich, effective orchestra—added much to the solemnity.

At 4 P.M. the pupils of the Catholic Schools, the girls alone extending nearly the entire way, walked in procession two by two, from the St. Xavier Church to the Cathedral, which was filled in every available space, pews, aisles, nooks, corners, window seats, altar steps, by the children alone, with only a few exceptions of persons of mature years who would, in spite of anything, feast their eyes on the most beautiful sight that was ever seen in Cincinnati.

The College and Cathedral choir united to sing Vespers. One of the Jesuit scholastics delivered the panegyric of the Saint. The discourse had all the characteristics of the composition of fervid, pious youth.

Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given by Rev. Father Elet—after which the German schools sang with exceeding sweetness and harmony the “Grosser Got[t]!” and the Bishop closed the interesting ceremony by a few words and his blessing. Then the thousands of young guests—the boys with a cheer—attacked the cakes and lemonade in the basement and on the green-sward around the Cathedral. We cannot begin to describe the happy scene. It should have been witnessed. We are sure it will not be forgotten—and would only say to the few, dear, modest, retiring children who were crowded out, that we shall have more experience, and hope to keep better order the next time. Three thousand happy children are not easily controlled even if one thought it worth while, on such a holiday, to try to control them.⁴³

⁴³ *Catholic Telegraph*, June 24, 1847.

The *Annual Letters* for 1848 record a lack of vigilance in the admission of students with the result that while the registration ran high, scholarship and discipline lagged behind. In July of that year the question of superseding Father Blox in the rectorship having come before Father Elet and his consultors, a resolution was taken to arrange for the return of Blox to his own province of Maryland and to promote the scholastic, John De Blicek, to the priesthood in the impending vacations, with a view to appointing him rector of the college. De Blicek, a young Belgian of twenty-seven, was at the moment rounding out the second year of his theological studies in St. Louis University. Raised to the priesthood, he became rector of St. Xavier College on February 17, 1849. In the interim Father Blox, who had gone East on some matter of business, was notified by the vice-provincial of De Blicek's appointment and did not return to Cincinnati.⁴⁴

The temperance crusade preached by Father Matthew was at its height in the early forties. Good results in ample measure followed in its wake; but the position taken by some of the crusaders appears to have been extreme and out of line with the traditional Catholic viewpoint. Father Murphy wrote from St. Mary's College, Kentucky, in 1843 that Catholics were beginning to contend that the wine used by our Lord at the Last Supper was of the unfermented kind and that as a consequence grape-juice should be substituted for alcoholic wine in the celebration of Mass. A lecture delivered in Cincinnati in 1841 by the Kentucky Jesuit, Father John Larkin, met with the disapproval of Bishop Purcell, himself an enthusiastic advocate of total abstinence. Larkin's stand, however, was the one taken subsequently by the bishops of the country in the pastoral issued by them after the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore. It was declared therein that the temperance pledge then being widely taken throughout the country was to be re-

⁴⁴John Blox was born in Belgium January (June?) 17, 1810, became a Jesuit at White Marsh, Md., November 5, 1832, and died in Philadelphia, November 27, 1860.

"This is Thursday morning; all our boys have gone to the hills to play ball, the yard is as quiet as the garden of a Capucin convent and I have a few moments to spare which I intend to spend in scribbling to you a few of my incoherent thoughts. . . . We here proceed, in accordance with the holy admonition of St. Ignatius, in 'holy simplicity.' Isn't that a good manner too? The number of our students remains pretty much in statu quo neither increasing or diminishing to any considerable extent. When one leaves another one generally takes his place and vice versa. Our Sodality is doing very well, its members are all exemplary in their application and behavior; and I am happy to be able to state that in general our students are not backward in the preparation of their religious duties; there was only one real struggle and it required only one admonition from me to make him comply with the rule of monthly confession." De Blicek to Druyts, November 16, 1848. (A).

garded as a pious resolution rather than as a promise binding under sin and that "the moderate use of wine or of any other liquor is of itself lawful."⁴⁵ "The Temperance Societies are considerably on the decline," Father Murphy noted in 1843. "As to Catholics, the declaration of the Bishops assembled in synod in May has formally corrected and enlightened the enthusiasts. It expresses the sentiments already known of the Bishops of St. Louis and Kentucky. I presume Bishop Purcell will no longer blame Father Larkin for having preached two years ago at Cincinnati the doctrine which he has just sanctioned himself at Baltimore."⁴⁶

Though Bishop Purcell and the Jesuits of Cincinnati had not seen eye to eye on the methods to be employed in furthering the cause of temperance, however much this was an object of deep solicitude to both, relations between them continued to be friendly. Subsequently, however, according to a letter addressed to the Bishop by Father Elet about 1845, the prelate for reasons that are nowhere disclosed appears to have undergone a temporary estrangement from the Society.⁴⁷ The estrangement, however, was not of long duration. Within two years or so of the date of Elet's letter, the same father was writing to the General: "Right Reverend Bishop Purcell shows himself every day

⁴⁵ *National Pastors of the Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 156.

⁴⁶ Murphy à Roothaan, July 10, 1843. (AA).

⁴⁷ "Last vacations were spent by Ours at the mansion exclusively for want of means; and our living as such as becomes poor religious; wine at present but twice a week about the end of dinner. Yr. Lordship has given us the use of a house etc. but on the condition of working in it for the good of your flock from morning early until late at night; and I ask confidently did we not comply with it? We thank yr. Lordship for having opened a field to us, and we ask but one more favour, to be permitted to work it in peace. I am grieved beyond expression at the unfortunate change that has taken place in yr. Lordship's mind with regard to us; but then we are no better than our forefathers. It is indeed not so much the thing in itself in the present case as the person that causes me pain. God is my witness that during the 5 years that I have spent in your diocese, I have studied to please yr. Lordship, not *from political views*, but from a thorough devotedness to yr. person and a desire of promoting the M[ajor] D[ei] G[loria]" Elet to Purcell, c. 1845. Archives of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

At the commencement exercises of July 11, 1844, St. Xavier College conferred the degree of master of arts on a member of its staff, the layman John B. Stallo, professor of the German language and literature. This gave umbrage to Bishop Purcell as Stallo had some time previously rashly intimated in a public print that the prelate had diverted to the building of his cathedral money sent from Europe for the German parishes. In November, 1848, when Archbishop Purcell brought suit in a civil court to recover church property unlawfully retained by the pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Cincinnati, Stallo appeared as counsel for the defendant. He later achieved some distinction as a writer on scientific subjects, but appears to have severed his connection with the Church.

more and more benevolent in our regard. I wonder why after his splendid gift to us of this college and the church annexed to it he has not been enrolled among [our] prominent benefactors by a diploma of affiliation.”⁴⁸ This matter Elet appears to have taken up in person with Roothaan on his visit to Rome in 1847. A document signed by the latter March 16, 1848, declared Bishop Purcell founder of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, and as such entitled to the Masses and other spiritual suffrages guaranteed by the Jesuit Constitutions to distinguished benefactors of the Society. “By this document,” wrote Van de Velde, the vice-provincial, in transmitting it to Bishop Purcell, “your [Lordship] becomes a participant in all the prayers, good works and merits of all the members of our Society—in *perpetuum*, during life and after death.”⁴⁹ At a much later period the impression seemed to prevail that Bishop Purcell was again out of sympathy with the Jesuits; but this impression, so thought Father Coosemans, the saintly first provincial of Missouri, was without foundation. In a visit paid by Coosemans to Purcell in 1863 the latter assured the provincial of his good will towards the Society. “He answered with great kindness that he was very well satisfied with all our Fathers, that he thanked the Lord for the zeal that animates them and the good they do in his diocese.”⁵⁰

§ 4. PAROCHIAL MINISTRY

In Cincinnati as elsewhere the work of the Society of Jesus was not restricted to the education of youth. Both in their own parish of St. Francis Xavier and in other parishes of the city and its vicinity the fathers found in the exercise of the sacred ministry ample opportunities for advancing the Catholic life of the community. What they had accomplished in their own quarter of the city within six years of their arrival was made a matter of editorial comment in the local Catholic paper:

It is extremely gratifying to witness the great increase of piety in that quarter of the city where the church of St. Francis Xavier is situated. Two years ago there was only a small chapel in that part of town, and now the spacious accommodations of the Church of the Jesuit Fathers are scarce sufficient for the numerous congregation that attends it. The rapid increase of this congregation is a subject of frequent remark by our people, and its character is no less gratifying than its numbers. The instructions given at this church on Sundays at Vespers attract a great many Protestants, who

⁴⁸ Elet à Roothaan, February 28, 1847. (AA).

⁴⁹ Van de Velde to Purcell, June 2, 1848. Archives of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio. McCann, *Archbishop Purcell and the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (Washington), 53.

⁵⁰ Coosemans à Beckx, November 18, 1863. (AA).

listen with marked attention to the familiar, yet impressive exposition of the Catholic faith and morals which is usually delivered by the President of the University. The good done is witnessed, not only in the number of conversions that have taken and are taking place in our city, but also in the great improvement in the general tone of piety, in the striking reformation that has occurred in many families and individuals, and especially in the edifying behavior of the male portion of the congregation.⁵¹

In September, 1845, Bishop Purcell ceased to reside at the seminary building on Sycamore Street as the new episcopal residence adjoining St. Peter's Cathedral on Plum Street was ready for occupancy. The following year the old cathedral, now St. Xavier's Church, was lengthened out forty feet to meet the needs of the growing congregation. In 1848, the rector of St. Xavier's, Father Elet, on returning from Rome, brought with him a number of fine paintings together with candelabra, chandeliers and altar furniture for the embellishment of the church. These were in part purchased and in part bestowed as gifts by the Father General. Conspicuous among the treasures was the body of St. Adeodatus, a martyr of the early church, which Elet had procured from the catacombs with the permission of the Roman authorities.

St. Xavier's parish consisted largely of Irish immigrant families, poor in material things however rich they were in the inheritance of the Faith. Father Carrell had but a brief experience with his parishioners as head pastor of St. Xavier's when he wrote, October 4, 1847, to Father Druyts, rector of St. Louis University: "If you stand in need of exercise, you can petition to be one of the pastors of St. Xavier's, Cincinnati, at the end of your presidential career. You will not have reason to complain of a sedentary life. There is no end to our parish—it embraces the length and breadth and depth and height of the city. I am sure I have been to its double extent and I have been, too, I think, in the deepest cellars as well as the highest attics. I am sure Father Damen has not seen poorer or more wretched abodes—poverty and intemperance prevail here to a frightful extent."

The meagre supply of diocesan priests at his disposal led Bishop Purcell to ask the Jesuits to take in charge some of the parishes in Cincinnati and its vicinity. In February, 1841, at the joint request of Bishops Purcell and Flagnet they agreed to serve St. Mary's Church, Covington, Ky. Mass was to be said there at least on the last Sunday of every month and catechism classes were to be held on all Sundays throughout the year.⁵² On June 15, 1845, Father Elet dedicated to divine service the new church of Corpus Christi in Newport, Ky. An

⁵¹ *Catholic Telegraph* (c. 1846).

⁵² *Idem*, February, 1841.

English sermon was preached by him on the occasion and a German one by Father A. Tusch of St. Mary's Church, Cincinnati. The church, not altogether finished at this time, was of brick and measured fifty-five feet in length, thirty-three in width, and twenty-four from floor to ceiling. The lot on which the church stood was a gift from two Protestant gentlemen, Messrs. Goodman and Gould. The congregation numbered about two hundred souls and was steadily increasing. A number of stations were attached to the mission.⁵³ From 1848 to 1851 Father Joseph Patschowski, S.J., was resident pastor of Corpus Christi Church, while Brother William Barrett and later Brother Michael Schmidt taught in the parish school. A novena in honor of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, held in this church during the cholera epidemic of 1849, had as its happy sequel that the entire parish, one member excepted, escaped infection.⁵⁴

Eight miles from Cincinnati, in Green Township, was located the Church of St. James. The locality, then known as Brownsgrrove, has since taken the name of White Oak. The congregation, which was German, had for resident pastor from 1848 to 1851, Father Joseph Weber, S.J., who was aided in the domestic concerns of the residence by Brother Bartholomew Plank.⁵⁵

In the summer of 1847 the pastors of St. Mary's Church, Cincinnati, Fathers Ferneding and Hammer, petitioned the Jesuits to take in hand the direction of their parish school. Father Patschowski of St. Joseph's Church, St. Louis, was assigned by his superior to this duty. St. Mary's school numbered at this time five hundred and eighty children. The boys were taught by three lay teachers under Patschowski's direction, the girls by the Sisters of Notre Dame.⁵⁶ The father's brief connection with St. Mary's contributed in no small measure to the making of the parish. His duties evidently involved more than the direction of the parochial school. He infused new life into the Altar Society, organized a choir which soon became known as the best trained in Cincinnati, and established a sodality of the Blessed Virgin, which counted a surprisingly large number of members on its rolls. But his health broke under the strain of his zealous labors and for a while no hope was entertained of his recovery. A novena in honor of Blessed Peter Claver conducted at the college in his behalf and the fervent

⁵³ *Idem*, June 26, 1845. According to the *Catholic Almanac*, 1849, the towns of Newport and Covington in Kentucky directly across the Ohio River from Cincinnati, together with the adjacent territory to a distance of three miles, were attached to the diocese of Cincinnati.

⁵⁴ *Litterae Annuae*, 1842-1849. (A).

⁵⁵ *Catholic Almanac*, 1851.

⁵⁶ *Liber Consultationum*, August 4, 1847. (A). *Catholic Almanac*, 1848.

prayers of the parishioners of St. Mary's were answered by his restoration to health.⁵⁷

Father Patschowski remained but a year at St. Mary's, being succeeded in 1848 by Father F. X. Wippert, S.J., who, however, appears not to have directed the school, but to have been employed in ministerial duties only as assistant to Father Ferneding, the pastor.

The German parish of St. Philomena, lying to the southeast of St. Xavier's was served for a while by the Jesuit, Father Francis Xavier Weninger. From 1848, in which year St. Philomena's Church was finished, up to 1852, Father Weninger, when not employed in giving missions, regularly assisted the pastor, the Rev. B. Hengehold, in preaching and hearing confessions. Though he ordinarily lodged at St. Xavier College, during the cholera epidemic of 1849 he took up his residence at St. Philomena's to assist the pastor in sick calls. While thus engaged he had the unpleasant experience of being attacked on one occasion by an anti-Catholic mob, who, recognizing him for a Catholic priest, pursued him with cries of "down with the priest" and forced him to take shelter in a "coffee-house" on Broadway.⁵⁸

§ 4. ST. XAVIER COLLEGE, 1849-1867

Each summer of Father De Blicke's administration was marked by a recurrence of the Asiatic cholera and at each recurrence a Jesuit was one of the victims claimed by the dread disease. Father Angelo Maesseele, a Belgian, had filled various posts in the college, among them, those of minister, procurator, professor of physics, mathematics and rhetoric. While he was prefect of the church in his last year of life, his zeal for souls found an additional outlet in attendance on the patients in the city-hospital and the pest-house, in which latter place he contracted a serious contagious disease. He had not quite recovered from its effects when the cholera, then spreading its ravages over the country, reached

⁵⁷ *Litterae Annuae*, 1842-1849. (A).

⁵⁸ Weninger, *Erinnerungen*, p. 49. The register of the Missouri vice-province for 1850 lists Father F. X. Wippert as pastor of St. Philomena's. In October, 1845, Bishop Purcell asked the vice-provincial to allow Fathers Emig and Verheyden to take charge of a German church recently built in Cincinnati. The fathers sometimes made extended trips outside of Cincinnati. Thus Emig at Purcell's request made visits in 1844 to Dayton, Hamilton and Sandusky City. Elett to Purcell, July 8, 1844. Archives of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio.

Two churches were subsequently bought by the Jesuits: St. Thomas's, on the west side of Sycamore Street between Fifth and Sixth, in 1860, and St. Anne's on New Street in 1873. The latter church was used by the Catholic Negroes of the city. St. Thomas's was built in 1832 for the Campbellites and was the scene of a notable discussion between Alexander Campbell, founder of the sect, and Bishop Purcell.

Cincinnati. In his weakened condition he began to bring the aids of the ministry to the plague-stricken, only to succumb himself to the disease, July 11, 1849. He was in his thirty-eighth year. To a coadjutor-brother who asked him in his last moments whether he needed anything, he repeated the words of St. Paul, "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ." Bishop Purcell preached the panegyric of the dead priest, to whom he did not hesitate to apply the glorious title of a martyr of charity.⁵⁹

While the cholera was epidemic in the city, every effort was made to preserve the student-body from infection. The students, on their part, did not overlook the supreme preservative of prayer. They bound themselves by vow to adorn the statue of Our Lady and the Holy Child with two golden crowns, if every one of their number should be left unharmed by the plague. A single student, after returning to his home, was stricken and died. Though it was felt that in view of the circumstances the vow had lost its binding force, gratitude for the signal protection vouchsafed the college led to its fulfillment and crowns were placed on the figures of Our Lady and the Child. A further incident connected with the cholera of 1849 was the sudden cure of a dying child in the parish by the application of St. Ignatius water.

Father Christopher Genelli, of the province of Austria, had come to America with Father Weninger in 1848. He spent two years in the West, being stationed at St. Joseph's residence in St. Louis where he employed his leisure moments in writing a scholarly life of St. Ignatius Loyola, which remains to this day one of the standard biographies of the founder of the Jesuits. During his stay in St. Louis his health was poor and this circumstance induced his Austrian superior to recall him to Europe. He had arrived at Cincinnati on his journey home, when he fell ill with what seemed to be only a passing ailment; but the sickness quickly aggravated and, developing into cholera, terminated in death August 12, 1850, only two days after his arrival in Cincinnati.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Historia Domus* (Cincinnati), 1849. (A). The city hospital has been served by the Jesuits for ninety years and more. Father Coosemans informed the General (September 20, 1862) that Father Levisse's activity in this particular ministry was "almost incredible." He was doing more than his predecessor, Father Roelof, recently deceased, who "was a holy man and certainly did not spare himself." "Father Maessele told me last night that he had witnessed at the hospital during the course of that day, two cases of cholera, both of which proved fatal. Both patients were brought in Protestants and died Catholics; they were not inhabitants of Cincinnati. All our people are well and hearty with the exception of Mr. Johnston, whose breast is ever very delicate." De Blicke to Druyts, December 27, 1848. (A).

⁶⁰ *Idem*, 1850.

A year later died Julius Johnston, a scholastic of unusual promise, whose unexpected death in the prime of life spread gloom throughout the vice-province. At St. Xavier College, where his services seemed to be indispensable, it was felt to be nothing short of a calamity. He was a Virginian by birth and a Protestant before his reception into the Church in St. Louis, where he married and took up the practice of law. His wife having died, he resolved to enter the priesthood and to this end, after making provision for the maintenance and education of his two daughters, Virginia and Martha, became a Jesuit novice at Florissant, August 14, 1846. Noviceship still unfinished, he took up the duties of instructor at St. Louis University, which position he filled for a year. He was then assigned to St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, where he was professor of philosophy and rhetoric, at the same time getting up privately the divinity studies preparatory to ordination. In his last year at St. Xavier's he discharged the duties of prefect of studies, an unusual appointment for a Jesuit not in priestly orders and one which did not pass without a qualified protest from the General, Father Roothaan. Yet that Mr. Johnston filled the post with efficiency there is a great deal in the records of the day to indicate. A diary which he kept while prefect of studies is a revealing document with its occasional lapses from the record of routine business into the personal and intimate. Pensive reflections on the glories of the autumn scenery on which he feasted his eyes one day at the Purcell Mansion in Walnut Hills fill out a passage in the diary:

October 7, 1850. Commenced today keeping the boys in studies for penance and at 11 o'clock went out with them to the Mansion. Observed that the prefects were not vigilant enough there. Dined and returned at 2 P.M. Took notice of the great beauty of the woods and their various coloured hues, reminding me of the mountains of Virginia and stirring my soul with great recollections. What a subject for poetry! What thoughts! What feelings! What a union of the Beautiful and the Sublime. Beauty in the gorgeous dyes that cover the trees, sublimity in the deep suggestions of the Future and the Infinite. Who has ever analyzed the effect of the autumn scenery? Many breasts have caught the feeling, but where is the pen that has expressed it? ⁶¹

On June 8, 1851, Mr. Johnston made his final entry in the diary. "Preached in the church in the evening in place of Father Rector, who was sick. Began a novena in honor of St. F[rancis] Regis to obtain the true spirit of the Society, profound humility and religious vocation for my daughters, Virginia and Martha." On the following day he went out somewhat unwell to the Mansion with the boarders, returned at

⁶¹ *Diary of the Prefect of Studies*, St. Xavier College Archives.

six in the evening and was at once taken down with cholera. He immediately asked for the last sacraments, which were administered to him by Father Wippenn. His deep spirituality came fully to the surface in the face of death. Before taking medicine he crossed himself devoutly, made a public confession of his sins, and calling the rector, Father De Blieck, begged pardon for his faults, at the same time commending to him his daughters in St. Louis. As the end came near he kissed his crucifix repeatedly. Death came at half-past ten o'clock on the morning of June 10 and the funeral services took place at four in the afternoon of the same day, after which the remains were immediately brought to the villa for interment. Julius Johnston had lived to his forty-first year.⁶²

The pain which the news of this sudden taking-off was to bring to the vice-province is reflected in the words of Father Gleizal, who was making a visitation of the houses east of the Mississippi as deputy for the vice-provincial, Father Elet, then in a dying condition at Florissant. Gleizal had already arrived at St. Joseph College, Bardstown, and was about to begin the visitation of that house when he received a telegram entreating him to come immediately to Cincinnati. From Louisville on his way to Cincinnati he wrote to St. Louis: "It is now after midnight, on my way to Cincinnati where I am called by the following despatch by telegraph, 'Julius Johnston is expiring, come immediately, you are absolutely wanted. F. De Blieck.' This despatch received at 3½ o'clock P.M. and at 4¼ I was off from St. Joseph's for Louisville in a private conveyance. This morning I hope to leave this place and reach Cincinnati tomorrow. This unforeseen call from Father De Blieck upsets all my arrangements. . . . Now I go to bed but harassed by the thought that poor Johnston will be no more when I reach Cincinnati. If he be gone, what a loss! but I tremble lest this stroke be only the *initium dolorum*. The cross is on our shoulders—we must bear it. Happy if we knew how to carry it." It does not appear that Father Gleizal reached Cincinnati before the scholastic's death.⁶³

All the virtues which the Society of Jesus would see in its scholastic members were found in Julius Johnston, in particular, a love of prayer and self-denial. Not content with the period of time allotted by the rule to meditation on divine things, he often spent hours at night in this holy practice. So earnest a cultivation of the virtues of the interior life could not fail to be reflected in his outward manner, which endeared him to the student-body he was called upon to direct; one of the reasons left on record as accounting for the diminished registration

⁶² *Idem*.

⁶³ Gleizal to Druyts, June 10, 1851. (A).

with which the college opened in the session following his death is the circumstance that his winning personality with its power to impress the students was no longer on the scene. One particular title to grateful remembrance of Mr. Johnston must be noted. He prepared an English translation or paraphrase, neatly worded, of the Little Office of Our Lady, the same version which generations of Jesuit students have piously recited at their sodality meetings down to our own day.

One other death from cholera among the Jesuits of Cincinnati is recorded. Brother William Hayes contracted the disease July 14, 1852, and passed away the following day.

In the month following the death of Julius Johnston Father De Blicke was relieved of his duties as rector. In philosophy, which he taught to the scholastics in Cincinnati in the leisure moments they could spare from their duties as instructors, he showed himself a keen and independent thinker, carrying indeed his aggressive handling of philosophical problems to a limit that became the occasion of anxiety to the officials of the vice-province. In March, 1851, Father Elet discussed with his consultors the action to be taken in view of complaints that De Blicke, in the lectures delivered by him to the scholastics, was holding to certain propositions which seemed to savor of the system known as ontologism and which had been put forward some time previously by Father Martin of Louvain. It was felt by the consultors, one excepted, that no step beyond a prudent admonition to Father De Blicke to be more cautious in the future was necessary under the circumstances; but Gleizal was of the opinion that De Blicke should be required to discontinue his teaching of philosophy owing to the danger of perversion in their philosophical training to which the scholastics might be exposed on his account. It does not appear, however, that De Blicke's removal from the office of rector was motivated by his tendency to unconventional doctrines in philosophy. As a matter of fact, he had never completed the customary theological studies of the Society and, on ceasing to be rector of St. Xavier College, became a student of theology at Georgetown College. That he had not lost the confidence of his superiors as a professor of philosophy is borne out by the fact that he was in later years steadily employed in that capacity in Bardstown College and other institutions of the vice-province. At the same time it is evident on his own admission that certain views in philosophy held by him at one time were not in keeping with the system subsequently authorized by the Father General of the Society, as De Blicke's correspondence with Dr. Orestes Brownson clearly indicates.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ "In Father De Blicke he [Brownson] found almost for the first time a professor of philosophy who saw clearly that for the last two centuries no philoso-

On June 29, 1851, Father De Blieck was succeeded as rector of St. Xavier College by Father George Carrell. From the rectorship of St. Louis University, which he held during four years, Carrell had been called in 1847 to the pastorate of St. Xavier's Church, Cincinnati. He was subsequently in charge for a year of the preparatory school at Purcell Mansion, passing thence to Chillicothe, Ohio, to become pastor of a parish in that town temporarily administered by the vice-province. During Carrell's incumbency as rector two additional dormitories for the students were erected and a new museum and chemical laboratory installed. The college, together with a diminishing registration owing in measure, so the *Annual Letters* declare, to the loss of Julius Johnston, had also to bear with certain manifestations of ill-will on the part of anti-Catholic elements of the city. The Know-Nothing movement was in full swing and in December, 1853, shortly after Father Carrell's resignation from the rectorship to receive episcopal consecration as first Bishop of Covington, Cincinnati witnessed a disgraceful attack by an infuriated anti-Catholic mob on the Pope's official envoy to the United States.

Under Father Carrell St. Xavier College met with financial difficulties which he was not prepared to cope with. Already, in April, 1853, when there were intimations of his impending appointment to an episcopal see, the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, and his consultors were of the opinion that, whether he were made bishop or not, he should be given a successor as rector in Cincinnati. On leaving the ranks of the Society of Jesus for a place in the hierarchy, though he still retained, it would appear, his membership in the Society, Father Carrell was assigned a successor in Cincinnati in the person of Father Isidore Boudreaux, who assumed his new duties in December, 1853, being at the time only in his thirty-sixth year. He was a man of known fidelity

phy properly so-called had been taught in colleges or universities and both agreed that this failure was due to lack of free, independent thinkers." Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Latter Life: From 1856 to 1876* (Detroit, 1900), p. 139. De Blieck at Brownson's request began to compile a text-book of philosophy but gave over the attempt when he found himself at variance in certain matters with the system prescribed by the Father General for Jesuit schools. "Cheered on by your words of encouragement, I had well-nigh finished my plan, which I flattered myself would have met with your approbation, when I received a letter from headquarters proscribing so many propositions to which I firmly cling that I had to give up all idea of the kind. Bowing, with implicit obedience to my superiors, as a religious, I cannot but think as a man that Italians, at least some of them, are far behind in true philosophy." De Blieck to Brownson, Bardstown, April 11, 1859, in H. F. Brownson, *op. cit.*, p. 141. In Father De Blieck's time the neo-scholastic movement in philosophy, to which the Jesuits are sincerely committed, had not reached its later development and departures from sound philosophical teaching were found on occasion in Catholic academic circles.

in the observance of the Jesuit rule and an adept in the art of engaging the sympathies and winning the confidence of others. On the other hand fears had been entertained as to his capacity for affairs and the numerous administrative details that fall to the lot of a college president. It was not without some reluctance that Father Murphy's advisers were brought to indorse Boudreaux's nomination for the post, which the vice-provincial on his part strongly recommended. One of the advisers, when the appointment was first proposed, declined to sanction it, while Fathers De Smet and O'Loughlin did so with the reservation that some strong-handed associate be supplied to Father Boudreaux to insure to his administration the needed measure of vigor and efficiency.

Father Boudreaux's term of office was marked by the high-water mark of the wave of religious bigotry which swept over the country in the early fifties. An election for mayor held in Cincinnati in 1854 precipitated a crisis which did not pass without sacrifice of human lives. The Irish and German Catholic immigrants were marked out as special objects of persecution on the part of the bigots. Attempts were made to prevent the Irish from voting; and, on the other hand, the cry was raised that in the German quarters of the city native-born Americans were being forcibly kept from the polls. In one instance fighting between German residents and the followers of the so-called American party ensued and the ballot-box with its contents was burned. The mob, on drawing off from the scene, passed along Sycamore Street in front of St. Xavier's where no manifestation of violence was made except the hurling of a two-pound stone through the window of the rector's apartment. Happily, that official happened to be absent from the city at the time and the incident passed off without physical harm to anybody. The German Turners, who in the preceding year had been a party, so it was alleged, to the disturbances fomented against Archbishop Bedini, joined hands in this election with the Catholics, the result being that the Know-Nothing candidate for mayor was defeated.⁶⁵

By the end of the first decade of Jesuit control the financial condition of the college, never really prosperous, was such as to cause alarm. In 1848 boys under thirteen were not registered at the city institution but only at the Mansion, an arrangement that gave rise to complaint as some of the younger students found themselves thus separated from their older brothers. But the separation of junior and senior students, impracticable on Sycamore Street owing to the cramped quarters, was always deemed advisable by the college authorities. Further, the separation of boarders and day-scholars was also urged in the interests of

⁶⁵ *Historia Domus* (House History, St. Xavier College), 1854. St. Xavier College Archives.

discipline and morals among the boarders, who, so it was said, were in a way affected adversely by association with the allegedly more wayward city students. Bishop Purcell himself urged a separate building for the boarders and even offered property for the purpose, which, however, was not accepted as being too remotely situated from the city. With the closing in the summer of 1849 of Purcell Mansion, the younger students returned to St. Xavier's. Father Murphy, making the visitation of the college in 1852, found the outlook for it far from promising. The faculty, its younger members especially, were discouraged.

The day-college and the boarding-school are going down right before one's eyes. This institution has never been flourishing in the true sense of the word. During its first years it enjoyed a factitious prosperity produced by means that were artificial, and, so to speak, blustering. This could not last. To begin with, a boarding-school is entirely out of place there; the premises anything but suitable, sombre-looking dormitories under the roof, poorly lighted and sunken class-rooms. Our poor scholastics find themselves imprisoned as it were with some sixty pupils.

The rector at this juncture, Father George Carrell, was not a man to cope with the difficult situation. Father Murphy noted his embarrassment and depression. "He is not of that class of people who like Father Larkin know how to put a good face on bad fortune. . . . He has more or less a resigned air and makes no effort to fortify and encourage his community. For the rest he is exact, regular, restrained, well-thought of by everybody, paternal towards those under him, but full of firmness."⁶⁶

The question whether or not to continue the boarding-school now became acute. Father Roothaan gave permission to close it but directed that the step be not taken unless with the approval of the Bishop. As a matter of fact the latter himself desired that the thing be done. Accordingly, in October, 1853, Father Murphy with the concurrence of his consultors decided to close the boarding-school and conduct in its place a day-college only or, as an alternative step, to abandon college and church altogether and withdraw from the city. Finally, in January, 1854, the determination was taken to suppress the boarding-school with the close of the current session in August, "the church and day-school to be continued as before." In the last year of the boarding-school the boarders numbered fifty-seven, and the day-scholars seventy. How small was the income from student-money is indicated by the figures for the same year, the amount being \$13,593 from the boarders and \$1,584 from the day-scholars.

⁶⁶ Murphy à Roothaan, February 15, 1852. (AA).

The entire situation at St. Xavier's as it appeared to him in January, 1854, was set forth by Father Joseph Keller in a detailed communication to the General urging the immediate suppression not only of the boarding-school but of the entire institution. This young priest, who was later to render distinguished service to the Society of Jesus both in the United States and Europe, was now discharging the duties of prefect of studies in Cincinnati. The main reason which he urged in favor of discontinuing the college was that such a step would relieve the strain on the personnel of the vice-province and allow a number of the faculty members of St. Xavier's to proceed in due course with their studies in divinity. "I reproach no one, I blame no one, for it is evident that practically all are working to their full capacity. But I regret keenly that things in our vice-province have come to such a pass that the name Jesuit in this part of the country has become little more than a name. Certainly the situation should be otherwise and could be if our men were not tied down by so many occupations." Father Keller then enumerated the objections that might be raised to the continuance of the boarding-school. A faculty of fourteen teachers were engaged with only fifty-four boarders and seventy day-scholars. The buildings were inadequate, the class-rooms, in particular, being too small, almost subterranean in position and ill-lighted, especially in winter, as the procurator was without means to purchase lamps. The income from the students scarcely sufficed to keep the buildings in repair and in general meet the running expenses of the institution. With the college closed, certain of the professors could begin or finish their studies and thus render themselves more efficient later on. Moreover, additions could be made to the teaching-staff of the two other colleges of the vice-province, which would thereby gain in prestige.⁶⁷

The boarders' department of St. Xavier College was discontinued in 1854. "We have dissolved the boarding-school here," De Smet informed a correspondent July 25, 1854, "in order to spare men and money." Many of the students no longer able to register at Cincinnati, were received in the Jesuit boarding-schools at St. Louis and Bardstown. But in these schools the color-line was strictly drawn with the result that some of the erstwhile Cincinnati boarders who showed a slight strain of Negro blood were unable to gain entrance into them. "Cincinnati," so Murphy explained to the General, "being in a State where slavery does not exist and where the blacks are better received, a number of Louisianians sent thither their children of mixed blood. Bardstown and St. Louis could not receive them without offense. More-

⁶⁷ Keller ad Beckx, January, 1854. (AA).

over, all the white pupils would leave at once. Black or mixed blood does not find liberty and equality except in Canada and Spanish America."

The suspension of the boarding-school did not by any means relieve the financial situation at St. Xavier's. It still continued to be a source of serious concern to superiors, so much so that the view began to be taken that the day-college also should be suspended. One voice was steadily raised all these years against the abandonment by the Jesuits of their Cincinnati field of labor and that was the voice of Father De Smet. In his letters to the Father General he expressed himself repeatedly and with unmistakable earnestness against giving up this field. Thus in a letter written at what seemed a critical moment in the history of the college:

The financial state of the college [St. Xavier's] gives us a great deal of concern. The debt amounts to 25,068 dollars. This money was raised chiefly from petty depositors or creditors, most of them workmen who can come any day to call for their deposits. Should any rumors of a disquieting nature be started against us, say, of an attack on the college by the anti-Catholic party or something similar, a great many of these petty creditors would come and call for their deposits and the Procurator would find himself unable to meet the calls. As a consequence, a great clamor would be raised at once against the Society. The debt was contracted (1) in order to enlarge the church, \$8000, approximately; (2) to buy a site etc. on which to build a free school, \$13,000, approximately; (3) to buy another piece of property and build an addition to the college, \$6000.; (4) to buy a villa, \$9000. The real-estate would suffice to cover the debt in full. To put an end to all disquiet we ought to take a loan on the real-estate and place ourselves under shelter of one or two good Catholic creditors.

It is obvious that the Society does an immense amount of good in this great town. The Catholics, in general, have the greatest respect for our Fathers; still they hold us just a little in check, a check, however, which often proves a salutary one, as it makes for prudence combined with zeal—after all, our enemies will pass away. It would be a veritable calamity, to my mind, were we to abandon this place which our Fathers have bedewed with their sweat for many years and with good result. About 600 children are receiving their Christian education. The parish of St. Francis Xavier counts a great many souls and is distinguished among the other parishes of the city for its piety and frequent reception of the sacraments. I enter into all these details, my very Reverend Father, because I sometimes hear the desire expressed that this entire establishment be suppressed. This would be a great misfortune and I respectfully witness to your Paternity my sentiments concerning it.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ De Smet à Roothaan, January, 1855. (A).

At about the same time that De Smet was thus protesting to the General against the proposed cessation of Jesuit activities in the metropolis of Ohio, he was advising the rector of St. Xavier's, Father Isidore Boudreaux, that, if no other course were open to him, he might mortgage the college property and the Purcell Mansion.⁶⁹ In October, 1855, he noted in writing to Father Duerinck of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission, a one-time professor at St. Xavier's and still deeply interested in the affairs of the institution, that "since the bank failures in Cincinnati and the breaking-up of the boarding-college, St. Xavier's, instead of assisting or contributing towards the support of the Novitiate etc., has largely drawn on us to help it out of its difficulties. Much good is done in Cincinnati and the day college promises very fair—the number of students is increasing fast. You will also hear with pleasure that the Archbishop and even his Very Rd. Brother are at present very favorably disposed towards us."⁷⁰

On September 12, 1856, Father Maurice Oakley (Van den Eycken) became rector of St. Xavier College in succession to Father Boudreaux, who was appointed master of novices, an office he was to hold with distinction for a quarter of a century. Oakley began his administration with a determined effort to improve the financial status of the college and secure it a more favorable position in public regard. Having made some much needed repairs in the college buildings, he set himself to the task of erecting a new church. The wrecking in 1858 of the old edifice, which dated from Bishop Fenwick's time, was marked by disaster. As a wall was being undermined previous to dismantling, the great mass suddenly collapsed, burying thirteen of the workmen beneath the ruins. News of the tragedy soon spread through the city and presently a crowd of ten thousand, in no friendly mood and disposed to blame the authorities of the college for the catastrophe, gathered on the scene. City officials took the situation promptly in hand. A cordon of police was thrown around the college buildings, while an officer of the law relieved the brother-porter at the college-door to forestall any attempt that might be made by malevolent individuals to force an entrance into the building. The measures thus taken to protect the college, all of them under the personal supervision of the mayor himself, proved effective and the occasion went by without untoward incident.⁷¹

Whatever hopes Father Oakley may have entertained at his entrance into office of bettering the prospects of St. Xavier, it needed only a few months' experience to make him anything but sanguine over the

⁶⁹ De Smet à I. Boudreaux, January 11, 1855. (A).

⁷⁰ De Smet to Duerinck, October, 1855. (A).

⁷¹ *Historia Domus* (Cincinnati).

outlook for the institution. De Smet, always very much of an optimist, wrote to him:

In your previous letter to me you appeared somewhat in the blues with regard to the situation of St. Xavier College. St. Xavier's will and must flourish, and must and shall continue in spite of the petty little obstacles and prejudices raised by prejudiced minds to hinder its progress, and who would be glad should the Society have the weakness to give it up—they are mightily mistaken in this last idea. What you should do is this—the more zealously and courageously we should show them the contrary and redouble our courage and attention to further the progress of the students—parents and guardians of children will assuredly appreciate our endeavors and send us their children in spite of all opposition. St. Xavier's church meanwhile stands upright and the fruits of religion pouring out of it are immense. Before you were in St. Xavier's doubts were frequently raised among Ours in the college as to the probable closing of the schools. I do not know for certain whether the thought was ever seriously entertained by Superiors at that time. Certain it is that the uncertain state of things then prejudiced the college very much and should now be avoided and put down.⁷²

A year later than the date of the foregoing letter Father Oakley was still persisting in his unhopeful view of the situation in Cincinnati as De Smet informed the General:

A great deal of good continues to be done there [in Cincinnati] especially in the church, which is well attended, and in the free school, which contains a large number of scholars. The college has only 90 pupils. This number is small for a big city. According to what is said the Rector allows himself to be too easily discouraged and sometimes manifests a desire that this house be given up. This would be a great misfortune for the city and a very sad occurrence for the Society. Rev. Father Provincial refuses to listen to any such proposals.⁷³

All this time the suspension of the college continued to find advocates here and there, among them, Father Isidore Boudreaux, who in 1859 was advising that the measure be taken but on condition that the church and parish schools be retained. Father Beckx himself, moreover, had come around to virtually the same solution of the problem. The

⁷² De Smet to Oakley, January 14, 1857. (A).

⁷³ De Smet à Beckx, June 1, 1858. (A). "I also am of the opinion that the city of Cincinnati is of the number of those which offer a greater and more fertile field for our ministry, on which account we ought not easily to relinquish it. If I wrote about closing the College, I wrote merely that a suggestion had come to me from the Vice-Province that in view of the very great lack of personnel the day-school be temporarily suppressed, the residence and parish free school being kept up; but I gave no orders that this be done." Beckx ad Oakley, December 3, 1859. (AA).

final word was to be spoken by the Visitor, Father Sopranis, who was shortly expected in the country. Meantime the vice-provincial, Father Druyts, was of the opinion that the college could not be suppressed without the approval of Archbishop Purcell. "Once the new church is built, there is no city in the Vice-Province where our Fathers will accomplish more good."⁷⁴ Sopranis's opinion, based on a careful study of the problem, was given unreservedly in favor of continuing the college. No thought of suppressing it could be entertained under the circumstances, both because of the new church then in process of erection, and "because the college *in se* has good prospects before it."⁷⁵ Moreover, the students, while not numerous, were being commended highly for "their talent, diligence and piety." Finally, work in the ministry was extensive and productive of much good. The spiritual harvest gathered in through the medium of the church was indeed always emphasized by Jesuit observers in commenting on the situation in Cincinnati. This feature it was which more than anything else prevailed upon the superiors to retain possession of the Cincinnati field. Even Father Keller, who urged the immediate closing of the college, was loud in his praises of the spiritual results achieved through the agency of the church. The confessors were not numerous enough to dispose of the long queues of penitents, many of whom had to be sent away unheard.⁷⁶

On July 16, 1861, Father Oakley was succeeded in the rectorship of St. Xavier's by the Alsatian, Father John Schultz, who had previously been guiding the destinies, as superior, of the Potawatomi Mission of St. Mary's in Kansas. "Very seldom has it befallen any of Ours who has spent ten years among the rude, uncivilized Indians," he observed to the General, "to be called thence suddenly and set over a college in a very populous city. But how precious a thing is the virtue of obedience, I realized on this occasion." What Schultz hinted at is disclosed by Father Coosemans, who observed in a letter to the General that the new rector of St. Xavier made a great sacrifice in accepting the post, for his whole heart was in the ministry. Conditions in church and college were gratifying as portrayed by Schultz in his first report to Beckx. There were five fathers regularly engaged in parish duties. The eight confessors in attendance on Saturdays and Sundays scarcely sufficed for the throng of penitents, many of them from distant localities, who flocked to the church. In the colleges studies had been reorganized and with good effect. Of the one hundred and seven students registered nearly all were studying Latin and Greek. Finally, the Archbishop,

⁷⁴ Druyts à Beckx, October 24, 1859. (AA).

⁷⁵ Sopranis ad Beckx, December 8, 1860. (AA).

⁷⁶ Keller ad Beckx, January 19, 1854. (AA).

who, it was reported, had not favored the Society some years previously, now showed the Jesuits the utmost kindness. The first Mass in the new church was said by his Grace, with many of the diocesan clergy assisting.⁷⁷

Father Schultz's incumbency as rector lasted through the Civil War period, which the college survived with no serious check on its fortunes. But the one-time Potawatomi missionary was apparently not quite at home in a college president's chair, though there was no shirking of his difficult duties. "Father Rector," reported Coosemans, the provincial, after a visitation of St. Xavier's in September, 1866, "continues to discharge the duties of his office with care, courage, perseverance and satisfaction; but it is evident that the charge weighs on him heavily despite the favorable circumstances which surround him. He has been ill several times during the year."⁷⁸ Father Schultz found a successor before the end of 1866 in Father Walter Hill, a native Kentuckian, then in his forty-fifth year. The pressing need of St. Xavier's at the moment was for more adequate quarters for faculty and students and this need Father Hill set himself to relieve, the structure which he succeeded in putting up becoming known as the Hill building. Property was acquired in 1863 at the southwest corner of Sycamore and Seventh and a massive four-story edifice of brick was erected thereon in 1867. Heavy and richly carved doors and mouldings of oak, more precious today than in a period when such elaborate woodwork was a matter of course in substantial buildings, featured the interior. Official correspondence between Jesuit superiors and the Father General is customarily carried on in Latin though up to the seventies of the past century the middlewestern Jesuits often employed French for the purpose. Father Hill, an excellent philosopher as his text-books indicate, but not an adept either in Latin or French, chose to use the vernacular when he applied to the Father General for permission to erect the building, which was his outstanding contribution to the development of St. Xavier's.

Our college has never been very successful; our buildings, class-rooms and yard are very poor, the house standing just in the northern shadow of the church, rendering gas-light necessary in the rooms for most of the day. We own two hundred feet square north of the church, one half of which is rented out. Debt about \$40,000, all of it in deposits, for most of which

⁷⁷ Schultz ad Beckx, c. 1861. (AA). Father Weninger had lent substantial aid towards financing the college. "Nor was it less gratifying to me to learn from your Reverence what considerable subsidies in money you have been able to collect for the college of Cincinnati. I thank you for this and other services for the good of the Province." Beckx ad Weninger, September 6, 1862. (AA).

⁷⁸ Coosemans à Beckx, September 22, 1866. (AA).

we pay no interest. Our possessions in and out of the city, which we own in fee-simple, valued at \$80,000 to \$100,000. Two hundred students, but no room for more. Our Fathers who have lived in this house have long seen that no extensive good can be done here unless we provide a more spacious and commodious building. Propose to erect new building on property farthest from church and remove present building, using site as part of yard or court. Confidently believe we can borrow most of money from people here interest free. Provincial also of opinion (on last visit) that we should now endeavor to provide a building that would be more extensive and more inviting to the people than the present rude one. Cost \$75 or 100,000. May I ask [you], my dear Father, to make one *Memento* at the Holy Sacrifice for my soul? I do this because I am in great need of it. May our Lord grant your Reverence peace in your days and happiness in death.⁷⁹

With the turn of the sixties St. Xavier's College entered on a period more prosperous than it had ever known before. During the three decades that had passed with the institution in Jesuit hands a measure at least of solid educational results had been achieved on behalf of the youth of Cincinnati and its vicinity, not to speak of more distant localities. Alumni of the college were to be found in the professions and in the mercantile pursuits as also in the ranks of the clergy, diocesan as well as regular.

⁷⁹ Hill to Beckx, undated, c. 1867. (AA).

CHAPTER XXXIV

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, 1833-1867

I. THE UNIVERSITY GROWS

The history of professional instruction west of the Mississippi goes back to the grant of a university charter made by the Missouri legislature, December 28, 1832, to St. Louis College, which thereby became the first institution in that part of the Union to enjoy this educational privilege. Three years later, in 1835, Father Verhaegen, first president of St. Louis University, took up with the Medical Society of St. Louis the project of opening a Medical School in connection with the University. A faculty of eminent St. Louis physicians, among them Dr. Beaumont, a practitioner of national reputation, for whom the Beaumont Medical School of St. Louis was to be named, was organized, though it was some years before the school itself opened its doors. But the presence of the teaching staff of the proposed department became at once a recognized feature of the academic and other exercises of the University. On Independence Day, 1838, the Medical Society marched with the student-body and instructors of the University to the court-house to hear the Declaration of Independence read by one of the students and thence to the cathedral to listen to a discourse by Father Van de Velde of the University. The chronicler adds that, the exercises over, the medical professors with other invited guests, among them General Morgan, a hero of the battle of New Orleans, were dined by the fathers of the University. That same year, 1838, the commencement exercises of the University were marked by a baccalaureate procession, the medical staff and other professors marching through the main corridor of the building and thence into the college campus, where the exercises were held.¹

Instruction in the St. Louis University Medical School was inaugurated in the fall of 1842 in a building erected for the purpose on the north side of Washington Avenue directly west of Tenth Street. The reorganized faculty included such eminent names in the medical profession as those of Daniel Brainard, subsequently founder of Rush Medical College, Chicago, Moses L. Linton, founder in 1843 of the

¹ W. H. Fanning, *Historical Sketch of St. Louis University* (Bulletin of St. Louis University, 1908); *Litterae Annuae*, 1838. (A).

St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal, and Dr. Charles Alexander Pope, later a president of the American Medical Association.² The popularity of Dr. Pope when dean of the Medical School caused it to be referred to as "Pope's College." He was a son-in-law of Col. John O'Fallon, one of St. Louis's best known citizens, and it was through his influence that the latter erected in 1850 a stately new building at Seventh and Myrtle Streets in which to house the medical department of St. Louis University. "This beautiful structure," wrote a contemporary observer, "was built entirely by the munificence of Col. John O'Fallon at an expense of about \$80,000. . . . The fitting up, museum arrangements and instruments cost Dr. Pope at least \$30,000 besides."³ Thus in the early fifties St. Louis University was enjoying facilities for medical instruction of the highest order when unlooked for circumstances brought about the loss of this branch of its curriculum. In consequence of the Know-Nothing excitement of 1855 it was agreed that year by mutual consent between the University authorities and the officers of the Medical School to dissolve the connection between the two. The "St. Louis Medical College," as the released institution was called, continued its work under a separate charter.

A law department was opened in the fall of 1843 with a matriculation of eighteen students. At its head was Judge Richard Aylett Buckner of Kentucky, a man of high legal attainments and a figure of some prominence in the national politics of the day. He was the controlling and vitalizing influence of the first St. Louis University Law School

² A son of Dr. Pope, Father John O'Fallon Pope, of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, was for years head of Pope's Hall, Oxford. A sister of Father Pope married Col. Vaughan, head of the English Catholic family of that name which has given so many distinguished members to the service of the Church. Dr. Linton was for years the house-physician of St. Louis University. He was on terms of intimacy with the Jesuit faculty, especially De Smet, who compiled for him the so-called "Linton Album," a unique manuscript record of Jesuit activities in the West. (A). A few days previous to his death Dr. Linton penned, May 14, 1872, a tribute to the Society of Jesus in the form of a letter addressed to the provincial, Father Thomas O'Neil. It begins: "I wish to say a few things to the Jesuit Fathers of St. Louis. Since I entered their hospitable doors thirty years ago, up to the present hour, I have been the recipient of their kindness and benefactions. I cannot express my gratitude and therefore shall not attempt it; I wish merely to record it. If Almighty God has a heroic and faithful vanguard in the church militant, it is most surely constituted by the Society of Jesus. The more I think about this organization, the more I am convinced that there is something miraculous about it." (Cf. Hill, *Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University*, St. Louis, 1879, p. 112.) The Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot, Unitarian clergyman, and founder in 1857 of Washington University, St. Louis, was a member of the original board of trustees (1836) of the medical department of St. Louis University.

³ Hogan, *Thoughts About St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1855), p. 25.

during the three years he presided over it and when he died, December 8, 1847, the school passed away with him.⁴

Daniel Webster visited St. Louis for the first and only time in 1837, on which occasion, through the friendly intervention of John F. Darby, mayor of St. Louis, he was received in honor at the Jesuit institution. Father Verhaegen, superior of the midwestern Jesuits and Father Elet, rector of the University, with the members of the faculty welcomed the distinguished guest as he appeared at the Green Street entrance to the college building. He passed through two rows of applauding students to a hall where the members of the various faculties were presented to him. Thence he proceeded to the boarders' hall, where he was given a rousing welcome. Seated on a raised platform, he listened to poems and addresses from students in English, Latin, Greek, German, Italian, Spanish, and French. The remarks made by Webster in acknowledging the addresses were worthy of the reputation of America's leading orator, so Darby assures the reader of his *Recollections*:

Mr. Webster arose, as the newspaper reporters would say, "under evident emotion." He made the proper acknowledgment for the compliment paid to him, and said, among other things, that these scenes brought to his mind "his school-boy days and remembrances, when he himself was struggling for intellectual culture and improvement." Then turning to the reverend fathers, he said, "The sculptor and the painter worked upon marble and upon canvas, materials that were perishable, but to them was given the high privilege of working upon that which was immortal." The address was short, but most happy and felicitous and in such a manner and language as could have been delivered only by Daniel Webster.⁵

On the day following the reception there was a Whig gathering and banquet at Lucas's Grove, at which Webster delivered his one political speech west of the Mississippi. Four or five fathers of the University, eager to hear the speaker of the occasion, were in attendance, being shown special courtesy and attention by the presiding officer, Mayor Darby, who gave them places of honor at the banquet table. "No one who witnessed it," wrote Darby, "can ever forget with what deep and riveted attention those reverend and learned men listened to every

⁴ "Yours of the 12th inst. was received day before yesterday. Calculating on removing to St. Louis sometime during the succeeding year and believing that it would be a good location for a law-school, I was anxious to see a law-professorship established in your institution. There is a large and flourishing region of country surrounding St. Louis without such advantage, the nearest and perhaps the only one of the kind being at Lexington, Ky. That such a one in your city would under proper management, and with professors of proper reputation, succeed, I have no doubt." Buckner to Carrell, October 21, 1843. (A).

⁵ Darby, *Personal Recollections* (St. Louis, 1880), p. 265.

word that was uttered by the captivating and powerful speaker. This was the only occasion on which I ever saw the reverend gentlemen attend a political meeting. They came to hear the speech of the great Mr. Webster."⁶

The visits of ex-President Van Buren and Charles Dickens, both occurring in 1842, are also incidents of note in the annals of the University. Of the reception tendered the famous master of English fiction it is recorded that one eager youth in the enthusiasm of the moment rose from his seat and gave "three cheers for Boz," whereupon the one hundred and fifty students made the room ring to the echoes of what was no doubt the genuine equivalent of the modern college yell. In the course of 1838 two European scientists of note, Joseph N. Nicollet, who became prominent for his exploration of the sources of the Mississippi, and Charles A. Geyer, a German naturalist, were frequent callers at the University. Both scientists were lent aid in their researches by the meteorological records of the University and in return initiated some of its professors in the secrets of taxidermy.⁷

As early as 1829 steps were taken through the medium of Senator Benton to obtain a congressional subsidy for St. Louis College. Nothing came of this initial attempt. Later, on September 1, 1835, the trustees of the institution in meeting assembled resolved to petition the federal government through Senator Benton for a grant of land as a means of

⁶ *Idem*, 269.

⁷ *Litterae Annuae*, 1838. The annalist's Latin rendering of "taxidermy" is curious—"optima imprimis avium quadrupedumque palea aut canabe secta implendarum methodus."

"While preparing for this expedition [to the sources of the Mississippi] he [Nicollet] was ably assisted by Dr. George Englemann and the Jesuit Fathers of St. Louis University. He acknowledged this assistance in the following words: 'All these altitudes, with the exception of what is south of the entrance of the Ohio, have been referred to the ordinary low water in the Mississippi at St. Louis. The absolute height of the barometer at this point was not known; and my addressing myself to the reverend fathers, the Jesuits, and engaging them in making meteorological observations, was the first approach toward obtaining it. The late Rev. Mr. Van Sweevelt charged himself with the task, receiving 19 months of observations, made 5 times a day, through the years 1835 and 1836. When Mr. Van Sweevelt was obliged to discontinue, I had the good fortune to find a successor, not less zealous, in Dr. Englemann, who followed these observations with a regularity that was unlooked for from a person so occupied, otherwise with professional engagements. The years to which these observations refer are 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1840. As for some time the members of the Western Academy have undertaken a regular system of meteorological observations, we have reason to hope that, in some years from this, there will be a definite clearing up of this point.' Mary J. Klem, "The History of Science in St. Louis," *Transactions, Academy of Science of St. Louis*, 23: 100 (1914).

placing the school on a secure financial basis.⁸ No petition for signatures, it would appear, was submitted to the citizens of St. Louis on this occasion as had been done six years before. On December 8, 1836, Benton introduced on leave in the United States senate, it being the second session of the 24th congress, the following bills, to wit: a bill to construct certain fortifications; a bill to provide for the construction of a western armory and arsenal; a bill for the relief of the heirs of General W. M. Eaton; a bill making a grant of land to the University of St. Louis.⁹ All of these were read a first time and ordered to a second reading. Among the twelve bills read a second time and referred to appropriate committees, December 15, was the one granting a township of land to "the French University of St. Louis." The bill was referred to the committee on public lands, the chairman of which was Senator Walker of Mississippi. Walker first reported it without amendment on January 30, 1837, and about a year later, January 18, 1838, again reported it, this time unfavorably. Despite the unfavorable report of the committee, the bill was taken up for discussion in the senate on Tuesday, June 5, 1838.

Mr. Clay of Alabama thought the bill ought to be postponed. There will be many objections to the measure in a constitutional point of view that would present themselves to the minds of gentlemen which he was not going to take up the time of the Senate by going into.

Mr. Benton advocated the school with much zeal, maintaining that it was the only school in the Union where the living languages were taught

⁸ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 51. It would appear that an attempt was made in 1832 to get the measure through Congress. The editor of the Cincinnati *Journal*, having under the caption "Perpetuation of Jesuitism" expressed surprise that "the Congress of the United States should grant aid to a Jesuit establishment," was taken to task for his bigotry in the Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph*, April 14, 1832.

⁹ The text of the bill is as follows: "A Bill to grant a township of land to the French University of St. Louis in the State of Missouri. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That there be granted, and the same is hereby granted to the French University of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, one township of land in said state, to be selected in parcels conformably to divisions or subdivisions, out of such public land as shall have been offered at public sale; and that the chartered authorities of said institution cause the said lands to be settled and to sell the same within five years after the passing of this act and to apply the proceeds of said sales to the endowment of the University aforesaid." "I received a letter the other day from the honourable T. H. Benton, in which he requests to forward him by 1st opportunity a catalogue (printed) and an account of the last examination, stating that he has brought forward our petition among his earliest measures, thinking the present session more favorable than the preceding. Pray hard—*O[mn]ia possibilia sunt credenti*. We may, after all, get out of difficulties." Elet to Van de Velde, 1837 (?). (A).

so as to be practically useful. Mr. Benton thought the donation was due to that French institution and said that he saw no constitutional difficulties in the way. Mr. Clay of Alabama said he could not understand how we were to grant a whole township of land to a French institution because the languages were taught there. He presumed the languages were as well taught and perhaps better in all the other universities of the country. He thought the whole matter should be well considered before final action was taken on it.

Mr. King made a statement in relation to the land received by different states for the purposes of education. Though the grants were the same, the value, in many instances, varied materially. For instance, that of Alabama had been found amply sufficient. In some of the states the land sold higher than in others, because the soil was more appreciated. That, he presumed, was the fact in relation to Alabama, though her school land was disposed of at a fortunate period. Mr. King was opposed to making any special grant. If it were extended to Missouri, he hoped it would be to every other state.

Mr. Benton went into the history of the institution, claiming for it a great superiority over all the schools in the country for the French and Spanish languages. At this school there were young gentlemen from every part of the world, in constant use of their mother tongue, French, Spanish, Italian and others and under such circumstances only could those languages be acquired. If there were schools or colleges in this country, where the languages were as well taught, he did not know them. Of the many persons that had learned the languages in these universities, he had never yet known one that had learned them so as to make them of practical utility; that was to speak them fluently in conversation, and if they were enabled to do so they must have acquired them somewhere else. Mr. Benton felt sorry that the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Clay) had made so strenuous an opposition to a measure which was so reasonable in itself.

Mr. Sevier explained his willingness to vote for the bill. In the first place the object was laudable; and in the second, he thought the lands ought to be at the disposal of the states wherein they lie. Mr. Sevier dwelt for some time on the subject, maintaining that now the public debt was paid, such ought to be the disposition of the public domain. The lands were acquired by the common blood and treasure of our ancestors, which the old states hold on to, while those of the new were sold for the common benefit of the whole. He would vote for no grant to the old states and was for putting the matter on an equality by holding on to the lands in the new. Here we were spending millions to get rid of the Indians in Georgia and were the lands thus acquired sold for the common benefit? Mr. Sevier hoped that the bill would be permitted to pass.¹⁰

Senator Clay of Alabama, who was particularly insistent in his opposition to the bill, at length called for the yeas and nays on the

¹⁰ Blair and Rives (eds.), *Abstract of Congressional Proceedings* (Washington D. C., 1838).



(a)



(b)



(c)

St. Louis University, Ninth Street front. (a) 1841-1855. Church of St. Francis Xavier, opened for divine service, Palm Sunday, 1843. In rear, the original building of 1829 with added wings. At left, two-story structure, 1836, serving successively as college chapel (St. Aloysius), law school, infirmary. From contemporary letter-head. (b) 1855-1865. At left, science building (with auditorium) erected in 1855. Contemporary print. (c) In middle of group, class-room building erected in 1864. Contemporary print.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER 12, 1836.

Agreeably to notice, Mr. BENTON asked and obtained leave to bring in the following bill; which was read, and passed to a second reading.

DECEMBER 15, 1836.

Read the second time, and referred to Committee on Public Lands.

JANUARY 27, 1837.

Reported without amendment.

A BILL

To grant a township of land to the French University of St Louis,
in the State of Missouri.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That*
3 *there be granted, and the same is hereby granted, to the*
4 *French University of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri, one*
5 *township of land in said State, to be selected in parcels con-*
6 *formably to sectional divisions or subdivisions, out of such*
7 *public land as shall have been offered at public sale; and*
8 *that the chartered authorities of said institution cause the*
9 *said lands to be selected, and to sell the same within five*
10 *years after the passing of this act, and to apply the proceeds*
11 *of said sales to the endowment of the University aforesaid.*

From an original copy of the bill in the Archives of the Missouri Province, S.J.,
St. Louis.

indefinite postponement of the discussion. When these were asked, there were twenty-five yeas and fourteen nays; in other words, almost two-thirds of the senators voted that further discussion of the question be put off to an indefinite period, thus practically shelving Senator Benton's bill. John Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky were among the senators that showed themselves unfriendly to the bill; but Daniel Webster, perhaps with pleasant recollections of his welcome at St. Louis University the year before still fresh in his memory, cast his vote in its favor.¹¹

Thus, for once in its history, the University of St. Louis became a topic of debate in the highest legislative body of the land. Political, sectional, perhaps even religious prejudices will explain the failure of this attempt on the part of the devoted senator from Missouri to secure a measure of government aid for the institution. The attempt was never again renewed and the senate debate of June, 1838, soon passed into oblivion. It is left unnoticed by Senator Benton himself both in his *Thirty Years' View* and in his *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*. For one thing, the designation by Benton of the school as "The French University of St. Louis" was infelicitous, suggesting as it did against the fact an institution conducted under foreign auspices and having about it a foreign atmosphere, circumstances not likely to have recommended the plea made by the University for a federal subsidy.

The undergraduate instruction offered by St. Louis University from the earliest years of the institution embraced two courses, the classical and the mercantile or commercial.¹² The classical course, restricted to boarders and half-boarders until the session 1842-1843, embraced five years of Latin, Greek, English and accessory branches and one of philosophy. Latin, Greek, mathematics and philosophy were required of candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts, to which the

¹¹ *Idem*.

¹² The first recorded attempt to systematize the curriculum and formulate definite requirements for graduation was made in 1837. On May 6 of that year the trustees of the University in meeting assembled appointed a committee, of which Father Van de Velde was made chairman, with instructions "to specify the qualifications and acquirements that shall in future be required of the candidates that may apply for the various degrees in the Faculty of Arts." The report, as finally adopted by the board of trustees on July 28, 1838, provided: "the Classical Course shall comprehend a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin and English languages; of Geography, the use of Globes, Ancient and Modern history, Logic and the principles of moral Philosophy, including Ethics and Metaphysics, of Rhetoric and Mathematics, including Arithmetic, Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Mensuration, Conic Sections and the principles of Natural Philosophy." *Record Book of the Proceedings of the Board and Faculty of St. Louis University*. (D).

classical course ordinarily led.¹³ As early as 1836 there were five separate classes in Greek, indicating that the study of this language was on an equal footing with that of Latin. For a few sessions in the early forties two years were required in philosophy, but this arrangement failed to become permanent. In the first thirty years of the University or down to the session, 1858-1859, the studies appear to have been organized on something like a departmental basis. Mention is made in the catalogues of the period of the departments of Latin, Greek, French and German, while the professors are designated by their respective subjects of instruction and not, as in later years, by the general name of the class assigned to them. At the close of the session 1857-1858 a change in the nomenclature of the six classes of the classical course was announced. They were to be designated as Philosophy, First Rhetoric, Second Rhetoric, First Grammar, Second Grammar, Third Grammar. As a matter of fact, this nomenclature does not appear ever to have been actually put in use, or if so, it lasted only a year, as in the session 1858-1859 the classes appear with the names they were to bear down to the early eighties, viz.: Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry, First Humanities, Second Humanities, Third Humanities.

The subjects prescribed in the classical course were in general those pursued in that course in Jesuit colleges today. "This course [is] designed to impart a thorough knowledge of English, Greek and Latin languages, of Mental and Moral Philosophy, of pure and mixed Mathematics and of Physical Science." More attention was given to French and Spanish, the first in particular, than was customary in later years in the western Jesuit colleges. The large number of Creole students from the southern states, particularly Louisiana, attending St. Louis University prior to the Civil War made French more or less of a living language in the student-body.¹⁴ Moreover, in the earlier days of the University the professors were for the most part of European origin and therefore especially well equipped to teach the modern languages.

During the years 1837-1841 Father Peter Verheyden was professor of architecture and drawing. His skill in these departments was some-

¹³ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the St. Louis University, Missouri*, August 14, 1839. The practice, previously introduced, of granting the degree of A.M. to "alumni, who, after having received the degree of A.B. shall have devoted two years to some literary pursuit," was confirmed and it was further determined to grant the A.M. to graduates of other colleges on their producing "the diploma of A.B. and testimonials that, after their graduation, they had devoted at least two years to some literary pursuit." Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ "The English is the ordinary language of communication in all the classes, the French and Spanish excepted, but the students speak French and English indiscriminately during the hours of recreation." Cf. *supra*, p. 177.

times in requisition for practical tasks of importance and he appears to have prepared the plans of the College Church in St. Louis as also of the present cathedral of Cincinnati. Fencing as an elegant accomplishment was given the dignity of a regular branch of instruction. In October, 1840, the University authorities took under consideration the erection of a separate building or hall for "boarders learning the art of fencing." Music made its first appearance in 1837. At the eighth annual commencement of the University, held August 2 of that year, a "vaudeville," or operetta for six voices, composed by one of the professors, was a feature of the program. It was the first time vocal music had a place in any of the public exercises of the University. The credit of introducing music into the curriculum was due to the scholastic, Maurice Van den Eycken (or Oakley), who was attached to the staff in 1837. In 1838 the Philharmonic Society was organized with Van den Eycken as its first president. Its object was to "add solemnity to the celebration of our religious, national and literary festivals and to afford the qualified student the advantage of performing at the orchestra in a regular band." The brass band of the Philharmonic Society made its first public appearance in the Independence Day exercises of 1838 under the direction of the lay professor, Carriere, formerly of the staff of the Conservatory of Music in Paris. The instruments were a gift to the University from M. De Boey of Antwerp, generous benefactor of his Jesuit countrymen in America. Thereafter the University band lent the attraction of its music to all public appearances of the student-body, especially on commencement day. A newspaper account of the commencement of 1839 commented on the musical part of the program: "The French piece, a beautiful little opera, exhibited the musical acquirements of the students, both vocal and instrumental. The full orchestra of the University in the grand overture and in all the other pieces on this occasion performed with great accuracy and with the most effective execution. It was, altogether, one of the richest musical festivals ever got up in the city."

Down to the session 1839-1840 the scholastic year began September 1 and continued to July 31. During the period, 1839-1844, it ran from October 1 to August 16; 1844-1855, from September to July 15; 1855-1860, from the last Monday in August to about July 4; 1860 and subsequently, from the first Monday in September to about July 4. Students who spent the vacation period at the University paid an extra charge of twenty, later thirty dollars. A writer in a local print describes the vacation pleasures of the University boarders:

During the vacation, all those who have no other means of disposing of their time are taken to the country, where with several of the professors

they encamp for several weeks and are taught all the exercises of camp duty and the pursuit of field sports. A few days since in company with the professors and a number of gentlemen from the city, we dined at the present encampment, almost ten miles in the country. The dinner was such an one as the veriest epicure might have been satisfied with, and yet it was all cooked by the students, even to the pastry; the meats were chiefly procured by them from the surrounding forest and prairie. At the camp we found between twenty and thirty students, chiefly young men from the South; they had been there about two weeks and a more healthy, happy and lively company could not be found anywhere. They were encamped several miles from any house, rose early and spent a portion of the day in fishing or hunting, and did their own washing and cooking. A more complete scene of youthful happiness cannot be conceived.¹⁵

To this account it may be added that Bishop Rosati, whose relations to the University were always marked by the utmost cordiality, was pleased on occasion to visit the students in their summer camp.

In order, so the author of the *Annual Letters* explained, "to stir emulation and penalize the slothful," public oral examinations were introduced at the close of the session 1837-1838. Two days, August 7 and 8, were devoted to these tests, the marks obtainable in them being rated as one-third of the total number on which was based the award of prizes on commencement day. In 1839 the examinations were prolonged so as to cover the period August 2-12. The board of examiners included all the professors of the University together with the president, Father Elet, while Father Krynen discharged the duties of secretary.¹⁶ It would appear that visitors took a hand in the examinations by proposing questions, as one of their number who was present at the examinations of 1841 wrote in the *St. Louis Argus* under the pen-name of "Visitor." "What a trial for a timid youth; let us therefore feel for him and condemn him not on so slight a testimony. But if from among these rises one who, throwing off the shackles of *mauvaise honte*, shows an intimate familiarity with the classics, is at home with Cicero and Homer, and answers readily all questions propounded by visitors, it is enough for the honor of the University, enough for the vanity of the professors, since it evidently shows to what a degree of excellence a youth of *praeclaræ indolis* can reach." Father Emig's classes in Latin, Greek and second mathematics and Mr. Verdin's class in algebra passed through the ordeal very creditably, "Visitor" remarking of the latter, "the problems were perplexing ones, but they went through every one with ease and found less difficulty

¹⁵ *St. Louis Republican*, September 14, 1838.

¹⁶ *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*, August, 1838. (A).

in getting rid of their *radicals* than the British Government does in disposing of theirs." The French class taught by Father Mignard scored a like success. "Questioned by visitors on the rules of participles, the most abstruse of all rules in any language, they were not found in fault; and it was remarked that the pronunciation of some of the Americans was even more perfect than that of some boys of French descent." These public examinations, whatever may be said in their favor, did not survive the experimental stage and with the passing of the early forties no further mention of them occurs in the records of the University.

Day-scholars or "externs," as they were officially designated, were admitted from the beginning, Van Quickenborne's circular prospectus of October 20, 1829, announcing that their tuition would be gratuitous. They were charged, however, five dollars a year for "fuel and servants." In 1833 the authorities of the University decided to raise the annual charge from five to twelve dollars, except in the case of students whose parents had subscribed for the first building. In the first three sessions separate premiums for conduct and diligence were given to the three sharply defined classes of students, boarders, half-boarders and day-scholars. The day-scholars appear to have been carefully segregated from the boarders; in truth the expediency of admitting day-scholars at all remained during several years an open question. For several sessions previous to 1838-1839 no mention is made of this division in the University catalogues or prospectuses. Immediately prior to the opening of the session 1838-1839 it was decided to readmit day-scholars, providing them at the same time with a special prefect of studies and opening up to them the regular classes of the University as also the prizes offered to the students. But the new plan was not immediately put into effect. It was not until the session 1842-1843 that the day-students were placed on an equal footing with the boarders in regard to studies. A University announcement, August 29, 1842, informed the public:

The causes which have hitherto confined the usefulness of this Establishment almost exclusively to Boarders, are already partially, and will ere long be entirely removed. We feel pleasure, therefore, in announcing to the public that almost equal advantages can now be extended to Boarders, Half-Boarders and Day-scholars. In future, they will all study in the same Hall, attend the same Recitation Rooms and derive great benefit from a uniformity of Discipline. This change, though frequently solicited by many respectable Parents and Guardians, could not have been effected heretofore without endangering the strict order which ought to be maintained in a literary institution. The rules regarding regular attendance at studies and the various

classes could not be enforced as long as access to the University remained so difficult in unfavorable weather.¹⁷

Varying economic conditions in the country are reflected in the terms charged the boarders. In the first session 1829-1830 the rate for the boarders was one hundred and twenty dollars, for half-boarders, sixty dollars a year. A few years later the rate for the boarders was advanced to one hundred and fifty dollars, the half-boarders paying seventy-five. These latter breakfasted, dined and studied at the University, but lodged with their parents or guardians in the city or its immediate vicinity. In 1839 the boarders were charged two hundred dollars and the half-boarders one hundred dollars a year. The two hundred dollars covered board and lodging at the University for the full year of twelve months, students who spent the vacations at home being allowed a reduction of twenty. In 1841 the rate for the boarders was reduced to one hundred and fifty. In August, 1842, another reduction was made "in accordance with the distress of the times," the boarders paying only one hundred and thirty, washing and mending of clothes being an extra charge. The half-boarders continued to be charged one hundred. The one hundred and thirty dollar rate for the boarders continued to 1852 when it was raised to one hundred and fifty, at which figure it remained until the sixties.

The commencement exercises were held partly in the University chapel and partly on the playgrounds, where a huge tent was stretched over the audience. A baccalaureate procession featured the occasion. The program was generally of formidable proportions, the idea having been, it would seem, so to arrange it as to enable the largest possible number of students to appear individually before the public. One easily understands that at the commencement of 1839, "owing to the length of the exercises, it was found necessary to omit the 'English Debate,' the 'German Dialogue' and the 'Latin Oration.'"

Independence Day exercises at the University included for several years a procession of the faculty and student-body to the Court House where the Declaration of Independence was read by one of the students and an oration delivered by another, after which the procession proceeded to the cathedral where appropriate services were held. In 1838 the day was ushered in by a "federal salute" from a small field-piece under the direction of the students. At 9 o'clock the procession formed, there being in line the staffs of the schools of divinity and medicine, the professors of the various departments, the students in uniform, among whom were the Philalethic and Philharmonic Societies, "conspicuous with their banners, scarfs and instruments." Heading the pro-

¹⁷ *Catalogue of St. Louis University*, August, 1842.

cession was the Hibernian Benevolent Society with banner and band. Down Green Street to Main and thence to Olive the procession moved to the court-house on Broadway, where the Declaration of Independence was read by Lewis Carneal of Cincinnati and an address delivered by John Posey of Louisiana, both students of the University. From the court-house the procession proceeded by Market and Third Streets to the cathedral on Walnut Street, dedicated only four years before and the pride of Catholic St. Louis. Here Father Van de Velde of the University delivered a discourse on "The Nature of True Liberty," after which Bishop Rosati solemnly intoned the *Te Deum*.¹⁸ This, so a contemporary account noted, was "executed under the direction of Signor Marallano, by the joint musical talent of the Cathedral, the University and of several Amateurs of the city, who had volunteered their services for the occasion." Both at the court-house and in the cathedral, the student band of the University, under the direction of Professor Carriere, discoursed music appropriate to the occasion. The exercises at the court-house were held, not as one might suppose, on the steps of the building but within, which led a newspaper-writer who described the scene "to regret the smallness of the Court room, for not a tithe of the people present could get within the house or within ear-shot of the proceedings." In 1840 the Declaration of Independence was read with remarkable effect by Alfred H. Kernion, who on his entrance into the University four years before was quite unfamiliar with English. "Every part of the room was crowded to suffocation, yet the young orator apparently without effort, was distinctly heard and read the Declaration with a clearness and correctness of emphasis which we have never heard excelled by anyone." In 1841 the Independence Day exercises of the University were held not in the court-house but in Concert Hall and a few years later they ceased being attended with the public ceremony and display which had made of them one of the most interesting civic demonstrations of the day.¹⁹

From the first days of the University a large proportion, in most years the majority, of the boarders came from the South. Father Kenney, Visitor of the Missouri Mission in 1832, directed that a father be sent "yearly at the commencement of Spring to Lower Louisiana to visit the parents of our boarders, settle accounts, buy provisions of sugar and coffee and wine, and also get a supply or increase of boarders."²⁰ A visit of Van de Velde to the South in the spring of 1832 had helped to swell notably the list of registrants. Thereafter, the dispatch of a faculty member to the South at intervals of a year or so

¹⁸ *Litterae Annuae*, 1838. (A).

¹⁹ *Idem*.

²⁰ De Theux to Dzierzynski, October 22, 1832. (B).

was a recognized University practice. "Father Elet started for Louisiana on the 14th inst. [December, 1834]. He will spend the winter in the South and try to collect what is due to the Institution. Times are hard in St. Louis and money is scarce."²¹ Failure to send a representative to Louisiana reacted at once with unfavorable result on the registration, as happened in 1836. "The number of our boarders has somewhat decreased; but it is owing to a circumstance which we anticipated and which we control. No Father went down to Louisiana last fall and parents do not like to send their children up the river unless accompanied by a trusty person."²² The opening of St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, in 1836 by a group of French Jesuits was accompanied by a falling off in the number of southern boarders at St. Louis University. The author of the *Litterae Annuae* for that year was at pains to note that, with Grand Coteau now in the field, St. Louis faced the loss of the patronage she had hitherto enjoyed on the part of southern youth, while in 1839 Verhaegen informed his favorite correspondent, Father McSherry: "It seems that we will never get more than the average number of 130. Lower Louisiana sends but few; but Missouri and Illinois have become more liberal. This circumstance I anticipated with regard to Louisiana, as soon as I heard that the Society had a college in Grand Coteau. The tide will naturally flow in that direction; but the same good will be produced and this should satisfy us."²³ During the forties the number of students at St. Louis University from the southern states and Mexico kept on increasing until in 1850 they were again in the majority. Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago, a guest of honor at the commencement exercises of that year, noted in his diary under date of July 7-14: "About fifty of the boarders accompanied by two of the Professors left for the South on the steamboat Amaranth; others went in other directions. Between thirty and forty, chiefly Creoles and Mexicans, have to spend their vacation-time at the Institution, and in the neighborhood, where different measures are adopted for the purpose of diverting and amusing them."²⁴

The large number of students entered from the southern states, Mexico and Cuba made it necessary for the University to maintain a permanent agency in New Orleans. The duties of agents at this point were discharged by Messrs. Byrne and Sloe, later by P. Huchet Kernion, at a still later period by the firm of Elder and Doerring, and on the death of Doerring by Thomas Elder and Co. The University's

²¹ Verhaegen to McSherry, December 22, 1834. (B).

²² Verhaegen to McSherry, May 14, 1836. (B).

²³ Same to same, April 8, 1839. (B).

²⁴ Bishop Van de Velde's diary in McGovern, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, p. 122.

agent at the end of the thirties for the "upper part of Illinois and for Wisconsin and Iowa Territories" was the well-known Dominican missionary, the Reverend Samuel Mazzuchelli, with address at Galena and later at Burlington, Iowa Territory.²⁵ Other agents besides those regularly representing the University could be commissioned by parents to negotiate financial matters between their sons and the institution. To cite the notice carried for many years in the University prospectus: "Parents who live at a distance are requested to appoint an agent in St. Louis or New Orleans, who must be answerable for the payment of all expenses and to whom the children may be directed on leaving the University."²⁶

An attempt at hazing made towards the end of 1836 by a group of northern students at the expense of some of their fellow-students from Mexico had a nearly tragic outcome. The incident, as told by the

²⁵ *Catalogue of St. Louis University*, 1839, p. 16.

²⁶ *Idem*, p. 15. The correspondence of Doering and Elder with the University is preserved in the University archives. Besides collecting students' accounts they directed new registrants to St. Louis. Some typical passages follow: "We introduce to you through this medium five young Mexicans who are presented to us by the very respectable house of Messrs. Cramer and Co. in this city who act as agents and guardians for these youths (Juan de la Vina, Francisco Garcia, Bernardino Garcia, Valente Paras, Clemente Paras). These young gentlemen will enter your institution as students and we hope to hear favorable accounts of their progress" (May 1, 1850). "This will be handed to you by Master Theodore Camus a youth of 14 who will become a student of your institution. He is son of T. Camus, Esq. who lives opposite to the lower part of the city. Mr. Camus desires his son to be carefully examined and placed in his classes and wishes him to study French, English, Spanish, Greek, Latin, Philosophy, Surveying, Mercantile Book-keeping, Music on the violin and drawing—in fact he desires that he receive a thorough education. He requests me to say that he wishes his son immediately removed from college to some place in the event of any epidemic appearing among the Students, and should he become dangerously sick he wishes you to telegraph us and he wishes his son to write to him at least twice during each month" (September 21, 1852). "This morning I gave a letter of introduction to a couple of Creole youths of Avoyelles Parish who will depart for your classic halls within a day or two. They are named Jerome Ducoté aged 18 and Evariste Joffrion aged 15 years; and their parents desire us to recommend them to your special tutorage and request that they be allowed no privileges without your sanction. Their agents here, Messrs. C. Pasquier and Co. have promised to send us a check for \$100 as an advance (say \$50 for each)" (April 22, 1853). Joffrion lived to be president of a bank in Avoyelles, La. "We have this day given a letter of introduction to Dorcy [Dorsé] Mayeux of Avoyelles, La. aged about 20 years who goes with two younger brothers to your University. We growled a little at the age of this student but as he is said to possess first-rate credentials from his parish priest, we presume there will be no difficulty in admitting him and indeed Dr. Linton [physician to St. Louis University], (who has just stepped in to say good-bye), assured us there will be none" (March 18, 1854). The above correspondence was addressed to Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University. (D).

president, Father Elet, in a letter to Father Van de Velde, is a side-light on student-life of the day:

A very singular occurrence took place at the University on Friday last. A prodigious quantity of snow had fallen on the day previous. Our Missourians and acclimated Louisianians to the number of about 20 were inspired, no doubt by the black spirit, to roll in the snow all those who had arrived in Missouri from the South since last winter. Some good-natured boys as O'Connell, the two Commageres and some others after some debate, cheerfully submitted to this strange ceremony; and seemed to enjoy the joke like the rest. But our Spaniards were not so easily wrought into compliance. They made serious objections, but our Missourians insisted on their submission, alledging that it was a custom of long standing and as such demanded respect and obedience on their part. But nought would do. The Spaniards remained obstinate; they declared that they would never consent to take the baptism of snow. In vain was it urged that it was a kind of naturalisation act by which they would become true Missourians; they persisted in their refusal. Our baptists finding that the means which they considered fair took no effect, had recourse to violence. Peter Corlis boldly stepped up and attacked Argornedo. Upon which the latter drew his knife and slightly wounded his aggressor in the arm. One of our ceremonious fellows interfered and endeavored to wrest the knife from Argornedo. Then Lopez and Medina with drawn knives came to the assistance of Argornedo, but were stopped by the prefect, who by this time had recovered from a kind of illusion which had made him believe all the time that it was mere fun. At night I gave both parties a severe lecture in presence of all the students, required mutual pardon and ordered all dirk-knives to be given up within 24 hours under pain of dismission. All is settled again though I dread some exaggerations in the letters of the Spaniards to their agents in New Orleans.²⁷ Guijeno and Regil are well-behaved boys, but as they arrived here just before winter, they are somewhat disheartened by the severity of the climate. Caution their agents against any complaint arising from that source as next spring their gloomy spirits will disappear.²⁸

The vicissitudes that befell the University property from its grant by Jeremiah Connor to Bishop Du Bourg for educational purposes to its final acquisition by Father Van Quickenborne as a site for his new institution, have already been detailed (*supra*, Chap. IX, § 2). The property was bounded by Washington Avenue, Ninth Street, Christy Avenue or Green Street and a line running between Tenth and Eleventh Streets. Tenth Street was never laid out through the college grounds, Jeremiah Connor's deed of conveyance of October 15, 1821, to Du

²⁷ Father Elet's fears were realized. Lopez complained to his agent in New Orleans and was withdrawn by him from the University.

²⁸ Elet to Van de Velde, December 20, 1836. (A).

Bourg having secured to the University "the privilege of using the street as a part of said square." This privilege was confirmed by the city charter of 1843 which enjoined that "the mayor and city council shall not establish or open a street, lane, avenue or alley through the grounds lying or being situated between Ninth street and Eleventh street and Washington Avenue and Green street, without the written consent of the proprietors of St. Louis University, so long as the building now used as a university remains thereon."²⁹

When the first building went up in 1829, it stood isolated in suburban loneliness, for the city-limits ran two squares to the east along the line of Seventh Street. An advertisement dated 1834 directs attention to the advantage of altitude enjoyed by the University grounds: "The amenity and salubrity of its site on the heights of the City of St. Louis, removed from any occasion of dissipation, are peculiarly favorable to the application of the students."³⁰ The original building, forty by fifty, stood at the north end of the property, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, facing south. An east wing forty by forty was begun in the spring of 1832 and a west wing, forty-two by forty, was constructed in the summer of 1833. In 1836 work was begun on a two-story brick building, eighty by thirty-four, located along the Washington Avenue side of the property, between Ninth and Tenth Streets. On the first floor was the University chapel, dedicated in the course of 1837, while on the upper floor were the museum, chemical laboratory, Philalethic Hall and museum of sculpture and painting, one of four large rooms being assigned to each.³¹ In 1838 the University grounds were enclosed by a wall nine feet in height, part wood and part stone.³² Pleasant walks and gardens were provided for the faculty and ample playgrounds for the students. The generosity of two Belgian benefactors, the Bishop of Namur and M. De Boey of Antwerp, made possible the furnishing and decoration of the chapel. From M. De Boey, moreover, had come a donation of ten thousand florins (\$4,000) with which the cost of construction of the new building was largely met. In this structure, under the name of St. Aloysius Chapel, were held religious services not only for the students, but also for the Irish and German Catholics of the northern parts of the city, before the

²⁹ An attempt made in 1881 by the city to open Tenth Street north of Washington Avenue was resisted with success by the University in the Circuit Court of St. Louis. The case is cited as 56,484 and the brief of Madill and Ralston, attorneys for the University, was issued in a printed brochure of sixty-one pages. (D).

³⁰ *The Metropolitan Catholic Calendar and Laity's Directory* (1834), p. 98.

³¹ *Litterae Annuae*, 1837.

³² *Idem*, 1838.

churches of St. Francis Xavier and St. Joseph began to serve their needs. In later years the chapel building housed the Law School and afterwards, the infirmary.

New units were added at intervals to the University group of buildings. In 1845, during Father Carrell's administration as president, a large three-story structure of brick was erected along the Green Street front of the property directly west of the main building. The parish school, which had previously held its classes in the basement of the new church, now began to occupy the second story of the Green Street building while the first was utilized for a students' wardrobe and an infirmary and the third, for a dormitory.³³ Accommodations for the students were still further enlarged by the purchase in 1849 of the old quarters of the University School of Medicine on the north side of Washington Avenue west of Tenth.³⁴ Here was opened a hall for the junior students with dormitory and study-room. The lack of an auditorium of capacity sufficient to accommodate the friends of the institution on commencement day and other academic occasions had long been felt. With a view to supply this need Father Druyts began in 1853 the erection of a three-story building, sixty by a hundred and thirty, at Washington Avenue and Ninth Street, the length being along the Washington Avenue side. The building was finished in 1855. On the first or lowest floor was the students' chapel and study-hall; on the second, the museum and the library, and on the third, the auditorium with a seating capacity of twelve hundred.³⁵ In 1856-1857 the artist,

³³ Hogan, *Thoughts about St. Louis*, p. 50.

³⁴ Erected in 1842. This first medical building of St. Louis University was the scene of a riot on February 22, 1844, when some boys at play accidentally discovered the vault which contained the remains of dissected bodies. A mob broke into the building and demolished its valuable furnishings and equipment. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), 2: 1836.

³⁵ Hogan, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

³⁵ "You see the building fever has infected us as well as our neighbors. Really, the plan and purpose of the new edifice justify the outlay of \$35,000, but the knowing ones say that by selling land (or lots near the city) to cover the expense, we prove but indifferent business men. Be it so. The Irish say that 'Dominus Vobiscum' never starved. At any rate we shall have a hall for Dr. Brownson when he comes again to strengthen and unfold the Catholic element of St. Louis." W. S. Murphy to Brownson, May 27, 1854. Cited in Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Middle Life: from 1845 to 1855* (Detroit, 1899), p. 514.

In January, 1859, Brownson gave a series of lectures in the new University Hall to members of the Catholic Institute, of which Father Smarius was president at the time. He was tendered and accepted the hospitality of the University during his stay in the city, "Brownson accordingly lectured there in January, making his home with the Jesuits and becoming well acquainted with many of the ablest members of the Missouri Province. The impression made on him by these Fathers

Leon Pomarède, painted on the walls of the auditorium a series of frescoes allegorical in character, which were pronounced in competent quarters to be among the finest specimens of this kind of art to be seen in the West.³⁶

The year 1849 is noteworthy in the annals of St. Louis for two major calamities. On May 17 fire broke out among the steamers along the river front, reducing scores of them to ashes and thence spreading its trail of destruction over several city blocks. De Smet wrote to a friend:

We have had a dreadful calamity in St. Louis. Such a scene of desolation no man here has ever witnessed—about five hundred houses are lying in ruins and are still smoking. The cathedral and orphan asylum were in great danger. We carried the library and all the furniture of the Archbishop to safe places and I conducted all the little orphans to our college. Truly the scourge of God is over this people. Fire has done its work and sickness has snatched hundreds from our midst. Since some time public prayers have been said every evening in our churches and novenas said in honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.³⁷

Of far greater violence than the cholera visitations of 1832 and 1834, the one of 1849 took its toll of lives among all classes of the population. That the faculty and student-body of St. Louis University passed through the crisis unscathed has always been considered a memorable incident in the history of the institution. In August, by which time the violence of the plague had notably abated, De Smet supplied to one of his correspondents a graphic account of what had occurred:

Since my return St. Louis has suffered severely by fire and sickness and often have I thanked kind Providence that you were not here. More than

in general was that, whereas the fathers of the Maryland province appeared to be fashioned after the Italian or Acquaviva type, the others took more after the Spanish or Loyola model. Perhaps this might partly be accounted for by the fact that in one there was a large Italian element and in the other more of the Belgian and Netherland. Hence in these he thought he found more marked individuality and greater force and freedom of thought as well as more sympathy with his views of Church and State and his opposition to the philosophical teaching in vogue." Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Latter Life, from 1856 to 1876* (Detroit, 1900), p. 139. Father De Blieck, probably alone of the St. Louis Jesuits of the time, was in sympathy with certain views of Brownson in philosophy which were later regarded as unsound.

³⁶ The University catalogue for 1858-1859 contains a description in detail of the Pomarède frescoes.

³⁷ De Smet to Sister Mary Ignatius Joseph, May 22, 1849. (A).

one tenth [?] of our population have died within five months. The number of burials is now reduced to an average of 20 per day and we confidently expect to be soon entirely free from cholera, if it leaves us at all at this season. The reason of this great mortality is easily accounted for. Imagine a city of 70,000 inhabitants crowded and packed together in new brick houses—in the dampest and worst drained prairie in existence, undulating, imperfectly drained and interspersed with sink-holes and stagnant waters. The city has hardly a sewer, and in the new streets, mostly unpaved, all the offal of the houses runs out or is thrown out in the omnipresent mud, where it soon ferments, sheds an unmitigated aroma upon the general atmosphere, and gives the people the cholera and many other kinds of diseases. Add to this that out of the center of the corporate limits is a dirty pond, a mile or more in circumference. Around this natural "slop-bowl," at short intervals, you find breweries, distilleries, oil and white lead factories, flour-mills and many private residences of Irish and Germans—into this pond goes everything foul—this settles the opinion as to the real cause of all the dreadful mortality here.³⁸ The Lord, in His infinite goodness, has spared our University. Seven of our Fathers were night and day, for months together, among the dead and dying. We had about two hundred students in our house. Fourteen corpses in one day were laid off in front and back of our college and not a single case within our walls. All the students assembled and made a vow to the Blessed Virgin to present her statue with a silver crown, if protected. They showed an unbounded confidence and approached frequently the Holy Table. The event proved hitherto that their vows and prayer have been acceptable.³⁹

In the event not a student or professor was touched by the dread epidemic. When the students returned to the University to begin the session 1849-1850, they lost no time in redeeming the vow which they had made at the instance of Father Isidore Boudreaux, director of

³⁸ Chouteau's pond, an artificial body of water formed through the damming-up of Mill Creek, the *Petite Rivière* of the early French. It was named for Col. Auguste Chouteau, who succeeded in acquiring all the property abutting on it. Once a charming spot and favorite haunt for the pleasure-seekers of early St. Louis, it later became a menace to public health and was drained in the fifties. The buildings of Cupples Station cover its site.

³⁹ De Smet to ?, August 20, 1849. (A). "June 28 [1849]. The Cholera is steadily on the increase in the city and rages with peculiar violence around St. Louis College; yet all the boarders, thanks to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, are in good health; not one of them has been stricken with that plague or with any other disease. Today nearly all the pupils were sent to their parents without the usual examinations and distribution of premiums taking place. Before leaving, all with two or three exceptions, went to Holy Communion." *Diarium P. Ministri*. (D). Cf. also Stella M. Drumm, "Cholera Epidemics in St. Louis," in *Glimpses of the Past* (Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), 3:45-76 (1936).

the students' sodality.⁴⁰ Father De Smet was present at the ceremony of decorating the Virgin's statue with a silver crown and described it with his usual vivid touch.⁴¹

§ 2. THE COLLEGE CHURCH AND PARISH

The Jesuits of St. Louis were without a parochial church of their own until the opening of St. Francis Xavier's, "The College Church," in 1843.⁴² Prior to that date they were lending their services to Bishop Rosati as preachers and confessors in his cathedral and as substitutes for the cathedral clergy in the discharge of sick-calls during the absence

⁴⁰ On the north wall of the College Church was placed a tablet (since removed to the new College Church on Grand Ave.) bearing the inscription:

S. M. O. P. N.
In Memoriam insignis beneficii
per MARIAM accepti.
A. D. 1849, Grassante hic peste qua prope
sex millia civium, paucos intra menses,
interierunt, Rector, Professores ac Alumni
hujus Universitatis, in tanto vitæ discrimine
constituti, ad MARIAM, Matrem DEI, Matrem
Hominum confugerunt, votoque sese obstrinxerunt
decorandi imaginem ejus corona argentea, si
ad unum omnes incolumes servarentur. Placuit
Divino Filio tanta in Divinam Matrem
fiducia. Etenim exitiosa pestis, vetante MARIA,
muros Universitatis invadere non fuit ausa:
et tota mirante civitate, e ducentis et pluribus
convictoribus, ne unus quidem lue infectus fuit.
Grati MARIAE Filii.

⁴¹ For De Smet's account cf. *The Queen's Work* (St. Louis), 6: 38.

⁴² Bishop Du Bourg, while eager to see the Jesuits open a college in St. Louis, insisted that they were not to ask for a parish church in that city. When in St. Louis for the last time (May, 1826) he wrote in this sense both to Bishop Rosati and Father Van Quickenborne. Du Bourg à Van Quickenborne, May, 1826. (A). "It is greatly to be hoped that they [the Jesuits] will some day establish a college and church on the property I am giving them in St. Louis. But oppose always their having a parish, for fear of bringing in a source of dissensions. I have told the Father [Van Quickenborne] so; he appreciates my reasons, but comes back to the subject now and then and though he has promised me not to insist on the matter any longer, I fear nevertheless he may forget his promise." Du Bourg à Rosati, May 11, 1826. (C). Bishop Rosati, however, offered no objection on this score: "When I was at the Barrens two years Bishop Rosati told me that in case he should be titular bishop of St. Louis, he would be glad that we should have on that College Lot [Washington Avenue and Ninth] a college with a parochial church. When he was here, he adhered to the same resolution." Van Quickenborne to Dzierozynski, February 12, 1828. (A). Two passages from letters addressed to Bishop Rosati, one by Father Edmund Saulnier, rector of the St. Louis Cathedral,

of the latter from the city. In 1835 Fathers Verhaegen, Elet and Van de Velde were taking turns regularly as cathedral preachers, while Father Smedts was hearing confessions weekly in the same church.⁴³ The year following Elet was preaching in the cathedral in English and Helias in German. The sermons of the fathers sometimes drew large crowds, as in 1836, when people flocked to the cathedral even from the outskirts of the city to attend an evening course, carrying lanterns with them as no system of public lighting then existed.⁴⁴ Verhaegen, who was then residing at the cathedral in the capacity of administrator of the diocese, tells of a sermon which he preached in that church on All Saints Day, 1840:

In the evening I preached on purgatory. More than 3000 persons, so I am told, came to hear me and many more had to go away, not being able to get into the church. If I could give my instructions in the evening, I believe they would with God's grace accomplish considerable good. A num-

the other by Father François Niel, a former rector of the same cathedral, writing from Paris, are of interest in this connection.

"These gentlemen are going to have a church and they have spread a rumor in town that the English speaking people shall soon have an English priest there who will preach to them every Sunday. Beware! *Principiis obsta: sero medicina paratur.*" "I [Niel] heard a report that the Jesuits are going to build a church. If this be true, and if you give them permission, you will incur the danger of preaching to empty pews in your Cathedral. You destroy the parish of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg, although half a Jesuit himself, often told me at St. Louis that in the deed of the donation of the land where they built their college, he had made the condition, that they should have a chapel only for their pupils, to the exclusion of the general public. Beware! You will create for yourself a lot of difficulties, if you permit them to have a church. I foresee the time, when the Cathedral will be deserted, when the only occupation of the Bishop in St. Louis shall be to give confirmation, and when he can have only two or three diocesan priests." Cited in *SLCHR*, 4: 12. No stipulation that the Jesuits were not to have a parish church is to be found in any of the deeds of the Washington Avenue property. Bishop Rosati's attitude on the question has already been indicated. When in 1826 certain persons in St. Louis were alarmed over the rumor that the Jesuits were to take over the parish there the prelate wrote to Father Saulnier: "The Jesuits do not want to accept the parish of St. Louis; so the people who were worked up over that were simply mistaken." Bishop Rosati's Diary, January 26, 1826, in *SLCHR*, 4: 170. F. S. Holweck, "The Language Question in the Old Cathedral of St. Louis," in *SLCHR*, 2: 17, writes: "The Flemings of Florissant learned English much faster than the French of the diocesan clergy. *Hinc illae lacrimae.* This is the reason why Father Saulnier wrote to Bishop Rosati that 'all the Flemings who have ever come to St. Louis have caused trouble.'" Rosati's friendly attitude to the Jesuits was well known, culminating in his appointing Verhaegen administrator of the diocese on his departure for Rome and naming him *dignissimus* in a *terna* which he submitted to Propaganda for his successor in the see of St. Louis.

⁴³ *Catalogus Missionis Missourianae*, 1835.

⁴⁴ *Litterae Annuae*, 1835. (A).

ber of Protestants have been to see me, asking for books to read and four of them are now being prepared to enter the church.⁴⁵

In April, 1841, Verhaegen was carrying out his plan of a course of evening lectures in the cathedral. He wrote on the subject to Bishop Rosati:

Thanks be to God, my health is excellent. I have been able to give a familiar instruction every morning and three lectures, chiefly for Protestants, at night. In the morning from 150 to 200 have been in attendance at the instructions, while at night I have had 2000 to 3000 hearers. From what they tell me, these lectures have done an immense amount of good. They have produced many conversions and inspired a number of persons with a desire and determination to receive instruction. The local press has spoken of them in very flattering terms. The Protestants have found our Lent too short; I have found it longer than usual. May God be blessed and may His be all the glory of the efforts I have made to combat error and vindicate the truth. I believe I can say that piety is on the increase and I see more clearly every day that St. Louis offers a fertile field for pious, zealous and well-trained missionaries.⁴⁶

As late as 1840 preaching at St. Louis Cathedral was still partly in French. "The French sermons," Verhaegen reported that year to Bishop Rosati, then in Europe, "are poorly attended and religion suffers in consequence. If Monseigneur could bring back with him a good French preacher for his Cathedral, he would fill a great void. As to the English preaching, I cannot myself complain of my audience—but I cannot any longer conceal from you the fact that if, on my departure from the episcopal residence, some competent English or Irish priest does not replace me, religion will be very much the loser."⁴⁷

The small number of priests at the University, entailing as it did

⁴⁵ Verhaegen à Rosati, 1840. (C). Verhaegen overestimated the number of his hearers. With both seating and standing-room used to capacity, the old St. Louis Cathedral will scarcely hold twelve hundred.

⁴⁶ Verhaegen à Rosati, April 19, 1841. (C).

⁴⁷ Verhaegen à Rosati, July 8, 1840. (C). The story of the gradual elimination of French from the cathedral pulpit is told interestingly by F. S. Holweck, "The Language Question in the Old Cathedral of St. Louis," in *SLCHR*, 2: 4-17. In 1842 Bishop Kenrick abolished French at the morning services altogether, fearing that the English-speaking members of the cathedral congregation might be drawn entirely to the new College Church, which was then in process of construction and in which the preaching was to be entirely in English. French sermons, however, continued to be given in the cathedral in the afternoon after vespers, but in the course of the forties these also were abolished and the language of the founders of St. Louis ceased to be heard in the cathedral pulpit.

long hours in the class-room and other burdensome collegiate duties, made their attendance at the cathedral for preaching and other ministerial duties less frequent than under other circumstances might have been the case. Already in November, 1823, Bishop Du Bourg in offering his episcopal college to the Jesuits had stipulated for the personal attendance of the fathers at solemn ceremonies in the cathedral. Six years later, when they took up residence in St. Louis for the first time, the question of lending aid to the diocesan clergy became an occasion of disagreement between Father Van Quickenborne and Father Edmund Saulnier, rector of the cathedral. The latter complained, November, 1830, to Father Dzierzynski, the Maryland superior, that the St. Louis Jesuits declined to lend him due assistance in conducting the cathedral services. Bishop Rosati, so Saulnier alleged, was under the necessity of celebrating two Masses on Sundays notwithstanding the fact that there were six Jesuit fathers resident at the college. On the other hand, Van Quickenborne had recently explained his position to the Maryland superior, declaring that the fathers, being engaged in teaching during the week, needed relaxation on Sundays and could not therefore be reasonably expected to engage on those days in the trying functions of the ministry. While Van Quickenborne's explanation was on the whole a valid one, Father Roothaan was of the opinion that neither Van Quickenborne nor his successor as superior of the Missouri Mission, Father De Theux, went as far as the circumstances allowed in meeting the Bishop's wishes. What arrangement was felt to be practicable was indicated in a letter addressed by Verhaegen to Bishop Rosati, March 26, 1831, at which time Van Quickenborne was still superior:

Aware as you are of our willingness to render your Lordship every service in our power compatible with our occupations, I am sure you will appreciate the liberty I respectfully take to inform you that we can manage to absent ourselves from the College only on those days on which your Lordship celebrates Mass *in pontificalibus*, that is, according to our calculation only eight or ten times a year. This engagement Rev. Father Superior makes with you after having inquired of us what each of us could do. To do more would be beyond our power.⁴⁸

That Bishop Rosati himself did not fail to appreciate the position of the Jesuits is clear from a letter which he wrote for publication under date of March 6, 1832:

⁴⁸ Van Quickenborne to Dzierzynski, September 17, 1830; Saulnier to Dzierzynski, November 4, 1830. (B). Verhaegen à Rosati, March 26, 1831. (C). Cf. also *supra*, Chap. XV, § 1.

Dear Sir,—I have lately seen, in one of our public prints, that some people, from motives best known to themselves, would fain make it appear that there exist in Missouri two parties, the one *Jesuitical*, and the other Anti-Jesuitical. When writers offer to their readers nothing but a repetition of old calumnies and misrepresentations, which have been a thousand times refuted, the indignant silence of the abused Catholic cannot, or at least, should not be construed into a concession of the grounds on which his character is assailed by such as pretend to say the last word and write the last syllable; but when new slanders are held forth to the public, silence will not always prove the allegations to be false, because they pass unnoticed by those against whom they are made. Wherefore, you will oblige me by informing the public, through your highly valuable paper, that the greatest union has always existed between the Society and myself and the secular priests of my Diocese. We live on terms of a truly affectionate amity, and, linked together by the profession of the same faith, we actually join, as we have done ever since the arrival of the Fathers in Missouri, our unwearied efforts for the propagation of our holy religion. If, owing to their literary pursuits and domestic occupations, incumbent on all who are entrusted with the education of a large number of pupils, they cannot devote, at St. Louis, a considerable portion of their time to the duties of the sacred ministry, no sinister suspicion should arise from an impossibility of which I am perfectly aware and thoroughly convinced. I sincerely applaud and highly value their exertions, while they prove to the public, that proportionally to the increase of their members, they cheerfully extend the sphere of the services which they render to me, and to those under my spiritual care.⁴⁹

From the time Bishop Rosati penned this letter up to the opening of St. Xavier Church in 1843 some of the priests attached to the University were regularly detailed to fill the cathedral pulpit on Sundays and other occasions. This ministry did not grow less burdensome with time and in 1839 Verhaegen again laid before Rosati the hardship it entailed on the fathers employed in teaching:

They [the fathers] are few in number; they have from four to five hours of teaching every day, they are in general weak in health, while those who are competent to preach at the Cathedral are unfortunately of a constitution anything but robust. Besides, I believe, Monseigneur, that the English preaching suffers much in consequence, and that it is very expedient, not to say *very necessary* for the welfare of our holy religion in St. Louis that there be an American priest at the Cathedral to give *consecutive* instructions. This gentleman would make himself doubly useful by assuming the

⁴⁹ *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati), March 24, 1832. Rosati wrote to Cardinal Cappellani, Prefect of the Propaganda, April 5, 1831: "I PP. Gesuiti occupati nel loro collegio non possono venire secondo quel che mi hanno significato a predicare che cinque o sei volte l'anno. Bisogna dunque che mi sottometta a portare il peso io stesso e faccia quel che posso." Kenrick Seminary Archives.

spiritual direction of the boarding-school of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, which more than any other external ministry weighs heavily on our shoulders. Deign, Monseigneur, to reflect on what I have just set down and to arrange things in such a wise that those who are already overburdened at home may no longer have reason to complain of external functions of the ministry imposed upon them.⁵⁰

As late as 1841 Father Verhaegen was still preaching at the cathedral, where his sermons attracted large crowds. Assisting him in this function was Father Van Sweevelt, a young Belgian, whose untimely death in 1841 was a great shock to his religious brethren. Verhaegen sent news of it to Bishop Rosati:

On my return from Louisiana I found a very sad vacancy at the University. The zealous and learned Father Van Sweevelt was no more. Stricken, so it appears, with apoplexy, he was found dead in his bed. The attack must have been a sudden one, occurring during sleep, for there were no indications of any struggle, even the least. For a space of four hours, during which some of our people had occasion to enter his room, he was thought to be asleep. What a loss! It is irreparable. He was the only one who could replace me at the convent and the hospital, and who was ready to assist me in preaching at the Cathedral. For the present, I find myself left to my own resources. No more help from the College, and I do not wonder at this, for ever since this distressing accident Father Van de Velde has lost all energy. He has fallen into a languor and we fear even for his life. May God preserve us from a misfortune which would be worse even than the other. I shudder to think of it. The good Father, obedient as a child, has gone on a trip. I hope the change of air will bring about the result we so earnestly look for. You will understand, Monseigneur, that under these circumstances, my presence at the University becomes almost indispensable.⁵¹

Father Verhaegen was apparently the last of the Jesuit fathers to be regularly employed as preacher in the cathedral. With the organization of St. Francis Xavier's parish in the early forties, their services as preachers found ample room for exercise in their own parochial church.

The first services for the college parish, as the Jesuit parish came to be known throughout St. Louis, were held in the University chapel, better known under the name of St. Aloysius, which was built in 1835 on the Washington Avenue side of the University premises.⁵² Here

⁵⁰ Verhaegen à Rosati, August 4, 1839. (C).

⁵¹ Father Judocus Van Sweevelt was born in Belgium, February 27, 1804, entered the Society of Jesus, November 27, 1828, and died at St. Louis University, May 10, 1841.

⁵² Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIX, § 3.

in 1837 there was Mass on Sunday, with an English sermon at 9 o'clock and another Mass with German sermon at 11 o'clock. French sermons were preached only on occasion, for even at this early date French, as a language of current use, had lost its importance in the city. In 1839 four of the University fathers, Van de Velde, Krynen, Van Sweevelt and Carrell were preachers in St. Aloysius Chapel. The capacity of this edifice, meant primarily for the student-body, by no means met the needs of the rapidly growing Irish and German population of North St. Louis. The question of churches for the two elements soon became a pressing one, to be settled by the erection of St. Francis Xavier's for the English-speaking and St. Joseph's for the German-speaking worshippers.

When in 1839 the problem of providing more room for the growing number of the University students was under consideration by the vice-provincial and his consultors, Father Carrell advised the erection of a parish church with basement, which latter could be used for college purposes. A little later, when the erection of a parish church had been determined on, Father Van de Velde suggested that it be built on the south end of the University grounds, facing Washington Avenue. In the event Carrell's recommendation rather than Van de Velde's was acted upon. The new church, which had a basement, was built at the northeast corner of the University grounds, Ninth Street and Christy Avenue. On March 13, 1840, a meeting of Catholic residents in the neighborhood of the University was held in St. Aloysius Chapel to deliberate on ways and means towards the erection of a new church.⁵³ The great majority of the names on the subscription-list opened to secure funds for the project were Irish, indicating that the parish was largely made up of that nationality. Among the subscribers from the French and native American elements were a Mrs. Chouteau, Emilie Chouteau, M. P. Le Duc, Julius De Mun, L. A. Benoist, James H. Lucas, Wilson Primm, John O'Fallon, Ann Biddle, John F. Darby, Richard Graham, William P. Clark, George Rogers Clark, Lewis M. Clark and Dr. Farrar.⁵⁴ On March 23 ground was broken for the new church and on Sunday, April 12, the corner-stone was laid by Bishop Rosati, Father Elet, rector of the University, addressing the assembled people from the east balcony of the main University building.⁵⁵ On Easter Sunday, 1843, the church, under the name of St. Francis Xavier, was opened for divine service. It was an imposing edifice in the classic style and from its first days down to its dismantling in 1890, after the University had been moved to another site, remained a

⁵³ *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*, 1837-1841. (A).

⁵⁴ (D).

⁵⁵ *Diarium Universitatis S. Ludovici*. (A).

favorite shrine of devotion for the Catholic residents of St. Louis, to whom it was familiarly known as the College Church. A contemporary description of the church has come down to us:

This is one of the most beautiful buildings for public worship in the whole valley of the Mississippi. It is 67 feet front by 127 feet deep and its height to the top of the pediment is 60 feet. The front represents a triumphal arch, adorned with four Ionic pilasters four feet wide bearing a full entablature and pediment; its style is taken chiefly from the theatre of Marcellus at Rome. The bases, caps, architraves, imposts and archivolts are exquisitely wrought in fine white limestone. Its basement is constructed of massive blocks of hammered blue limestone; the rest of the front is built of the best pressed brick; an irregular octagon belfry of brick, finished in the form of a dome and surmounted with a lantern of cast iron, imitated from [the] Choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, rises eighty feet above the ridge of the roof.

The interior of the church is in the style of the Incantada at Thessalonica; it contains two tiers of galleries, furnished with seats in Amphitheatrical form; the first tier is supported by Corinthian columns and the second by Antae, sustaining figures, the whole rising to the height of thirty-two feet. The Sanctuary is composed of six columns, supporting a semi-circular dome, which is enriched with octagon Caissons and Flowers. The spaces between the columns in the rear of the sanctuary are ornamented with three large paintings representing scenes of the crucifixion on Mount Calvary. The platform of the altar is elevated five feet above the floor; the altar is ornamented with a tabernacle in the form of the ark of the Covenant, with a cherub on either side. The pulpit is movable, so as to be placed in any position that may best suit the orator and audience. The ceiling is arched and rises in the centre to the height of forty feet above the floor; it is richly ornamented with Lacunaria.⁵⁶

The interior finishing of the church was in keeping with its fine architectural design. Paintings and statues of merit adorned the walls, some of them gifts from Father Roothaan, others brought by Father De Smet from Belgium. Great throngs gathered to view these works of Catholic art when they were first put in place. The five altars were the work of Paschal Lincetti, a coadjutor-brother attached to the Uni-

⁵⁶ *The Valley of the Mississippi illustrated in a series of views. Edited by Lewis Foulk Thomas, Painted and Lithographed by J. C. Wild. Accompanied with Historical Description* (St. Louis, 1841), p. 35. According to this authority the church was planned by Father Peter Verheyden, S.J., pastor of the College Church, 1839-1842. Charles Dickens, who saw the church while in process of erection, 1842, wrote in his *American Notes*, Chap. XII: "The architect of this building is one of the Reverend Fathers of the school and the works proceed under his sole direction." Three altars designed and built by Brother Lincetti are now in the basement chapel of the present College Church, Grand and Lindell Boulevards.

versity. Under one of the altars rested the body of St. Florentine, which Father Van de Velde brought from Rome in 1842.

In 1838 there were, so contemporary records seem to indicate, only two parish schools in the diocese of St. Louis, one at St. Charles for boys, which was taught by Brother Michael Hoey, S.J., and the other at Florissant, also for boys, which was conducted by Brother Cornelius O'Leary, S.J.⁵⁷ The first parish school for girls in St. Louis was the one attached to St. Francis Xavier's. It was opened May 8, 1843, by a group of Sisters of Charity who had arrived in the city Low Sunday of that year from their headquarters in Emmitsburg, Md. This congregation of sisters had been established in St. Louis since 1828, when they came to assume charge of the hospital founded through the munificence of John Mullanphy. Later they took in hand the direction of St. Philomena's Orphan Asylum and Free School at Fifth and Walnut Streets in the cathedral parish, and of St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum at Biddle and Tenth Streets. St. Xavier's parish school for girls, first known as St. Vincent's Free School, was a success from the start. It opened in temporary quarters with one hundred and thirty pupils, the new school-building at Tenth and St. Charles Streets, which was built on property donated by Mrs. Ann Hunt, not being at the moment ready for occupancy. In 1845 the average number of pupils in attendance was two hundred and eighty, the teaching-staff consisting of five sisters. Attached to St. Vincent's was a select or pay school, the revenue of which went to the support of the free school. Under the skillful direction of Sister Olympia St. Vincent's Free School, or "Sister Olympia's School," as it came to be known, became an important factor in the upgrowth of St. Louis Catholicity. July 14, 1843, the Rt. Rev. M. J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville, lectured in the new St. Xavier Church for its benefit.⁵⁸

St. Xavier's parish school for boys was in a sense an outgrowth of the day-school department of St. Louis University. At first the

⁵⁷ *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* for 1838 lists only two. In 1847 Van de Velde informed the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith that there were four "free schools" in St. Louis, two of them being for children of both sexes. "They are the first schools of that sort established in the west of the United States. We are now building one for children of both sexes in Cincinnati. Many other Bishops have followed our example." Van de Velde à O.P.F., December 12, 1847. Archives, *L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*. As a matter of fact the parochial schools of St. Charles and Florissant, though probably not organized on a strictly parochial basis, antedated those of St. Louis. Cf. *supra*, Chap. VII, § 1, 2.

⁵⁸ *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1845. Under date of October, 1842, a diary kept by an official of the University records that a New Orleans boy was sent by his parents to St. Louis "1200 miles away," that he might attend the St. Xavier Free School, the fame of which had penetrated to the South. (A).

day-scholars of the institution were not admitted to the classical course, but were merely given instruction of a rather elementary kind in the usual branches of an English or mercantile education. Later, in 1842, they were admitted on an equal or almost equal footing with the boarders to all the educational opportunities of the University. At the same time provision was to be made for poor boys unable to meet the expense of a collegiate education, as a circular issued from the University August 29, 1842, informed the public. "It is not intended, however, to exclude from the benefits of a good education such as are unable to defray the expense of a collegiate course. Some of the gentlemen connected with the Institution will devote themselves to the gratuitous education of such children and a spacious hall is now being fitted up for their accommodation within the precincts of the University, but unconnected with the apartments appropriated to the use of the pupils that pursue the course of collegiate studies."⁵⁹ In pursuance, accordingly, of the announcement thus made, an "English Male Free School" was opened towards the end of 1842 in the basement of St. Francis Xavier's Church, then just nearing completion. Here classes were held until the erection in 1845 of a large three-story building on Christy Avenue immediately west of the main University building. The first teachers in the boys' school were Jesuit scholastics. In 1844 Father Arnold Damen was in charge of the school, assisted by Hugh Russell, Francis Horstmann, Ignatius Maes and George Watson, all of the Society of Jesus. In 1848 Father Damen was still conducting the school, with Mr. Van den Hurck, S.J., Brother Thomas O'Donnell and others as assistants. The average attendance in 1851 was about three hundred and fifty, in which year the Jesuit instructors were relieved by Brothers of the Christian Schools.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Catalogue St. Louis University*, August, 1842.

⁶⁰ *Catholic Metropolitan Almanac*, 1846-1851. "A large and handsome three-story building 93 x 40 feet is being erected for the use of this school on the University premises. It will be completed before the end of the present year, 1845." "There was question of preparing school-rooms for extern scholars. The College was unable to meet the expenses; meanwhile the boys to the number of more than two hundred were attending Protestant schools at the risk of losing the faith and suffering harm in their morals. Kindling with pious zeal, Mr. Damen offered his services to complete the job. He begged alms from our citizens and when others had no heart for the work, he finished it up without any expense whatever to the College. Now as some of the inhabitants had contributed not money but labor, he had to deal at times with the carpenters and other workmen by way of giving them directions. But whatever he did, was done with the approval of Father Rector. The young man who by his own enterprise had rescued almost three hundred boys from the said schools or from the streets to train them up in letters and religion seems to me to be deserving of the highest praise." Verhaegen ad Roothaan, July 13, 1843. (AA).

Fathers Carrell and Elet writing in 1844 to the Father General spoke in high commendation of the good that was being accomplished by the recently opened parish schools:

Everything connected with our free schools is calculated to give edification—they are the admiration of the whole city and the consolation of our community. The Bishop shed tears of joy when on the Feast of St. Aloysius he gave the Holy Communion to 300 of these happy children of the two schools.⁶¹

The good done there [St. Louis University] is considerable especially in the free school and the church. It is touching to see the pious and zealous Father Dahmen [Damen] enter the church at the head of 300 children (all in uniforms which this good Father has procured for them with the aid of some charitable Ladies). They show by their conduct that they are well instructed in the faith and that the faith inspires them. A short time ago a second free school was opened for the German children. These are the children from whom we choose from time to time a certain number conspicuous for talent and piety to admit them into the regular course; in this manner we shall prepare candidates for the sacred ministry. My very Reverend Father, you cannot encourage these schools too much. They must be established everywhere, for as long as poor Catholic children are educated in protestant schools apostasies will be frequent. Now it was the opinion of Bishop England of happy memory that in the United States of America the number of apostasies is greater than that of conversions. A line or two from your Paternity to Father Dahmen would greatly encourage him to continue with the same zeal the good work to which he has so generously devoted himself.⁶²

Father Murphy on arriving in St. Louis in 1851 to take up the duties of vice-provincial was likewise impressed by the work being done in the church:

The two pastors [Damen and Loretan] are very zealous and prudent. The piety of the parishioners and of the two Congregations [sodalities] is remarkable for this country. A new arrangement this year permits us to leave more than a third of the church to the poor at the last Mass. You know, Reverend Father, that it is the custom in America to reserve the pews during the high Mass for those who have rented them. Without this the priests are without means of support. The non-payers have now 20 pews and a tribune for 300 persons. I have never seen anywhere in America so many communions of men. What a fine meeting every Sunday evening of the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart! When I think of New York, these things strike me with peculiar force. It is all because Ours are allowed free play and their influence is very great. Their knowledge of

⁶¹ Carrell to Roothaan, August 2, 1844. (AA).

⁶² Elet à Roothaan, December 23, 1844. (AA).

English amazes me more and more every day; not only do they speak and write well but some preach perfectly. This is what I had been told at New York and elsewhere.⁶³

Similar testimony to the activities of the college church was given by Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago in a report of the early fifties to Propaganda: "In St. Francis Xavier's Church [St. Louis] there are more confessions, communions and especially conversions of non-Catholics than in the other churches; the preachers draw better; there are sodalities of young men and girls who come from every part of the city, an Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a Confraternity of the Living Rosary, all of which are sources of great edification to the faithful and do not exist in the other churches." In 1856 Father Verdin, rector of St. Louis University, noted that there were five Masses at the high altar on Sundays and feast days, the church being crowded at every Mass. Communions on Sundays numbered five hundred; on the First Friday and on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, about two hundred. On Sundays and feast days there were at least two sermons. "I say, and it is the truth, the church is our joy and our glory." Father Wippenn witnessed in 1856: "The sermons given in our church produce great fruit as one may infer from the immense crowds of people and the use made of the sacraments, which is extraordinary for this part of the country."⁶⁴

Especially popular with the worshippers at St. Xavier's was the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.⁶⁵ Founded in Paris, this association had spread to the United States and was in particular favor with the middlewestern Jesuits, who introduced it everywhere into their churches, colleges and Indian missions. It was to be found at St. Xavier's in St. Louis as also at St. Xavier's in Cincinnati, among the students of Bardstown and the Indians of Sugar Creek. Father De Theux wrote from Cincinnati to Father Van Assche at Florissant: "Reverend Mr. de Goesbriand, Pastor of Louisville, Ohio, [*sic*] told me that he had established the Archconfraternity of the most pure Heart of Mary in his parish and that within two years he had doubled the number of his communicants. The end of the Archconfraternity is to obtain the conversion of sinners and all sorts of infidels

⁶³ Murphy à Roothaan, October 8, 1851. (AA).

⁶⁴ Verdin ad Beckx, February, 1856; Wippenn ad Beckx, January 23, 1856. (AA).

⁶⁵ The Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was founded in 1836 by the Abbé Des Genettes, pastor of Notre Dame des Victoires in Paris. It was erected into a confraternity by Gregory XVI, April 24, 1838. Beringer, *Die Ablassse* (Paderborn, 1887), p. 754.

throughout the world. During the course of last May 80,000 men and 120,000 women had their names enrolled in it at Paris. Should your Reverence wish to have it established in your church, [Rev.] Mr. de Goesbriand has power to establish it throughout the U. S. F. Rect. [Father Rector] intends to have it established in the [students'] chapel and afterwards in the church." ⁶⁶ The Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was introduced at St. Xavier's in St. Louis apparently by Father Gleizal, who was its director in 1844. He was succeeded in the charge in 1846 by Father Arnold Damen, pastor of the church during the decade 1847-1857.

The Young Men's, sometimes called the Gentlemen's Sodality, was organized by Father Damen about 1848. As originally planned, it was to be recruited from among alumni or former students of the University living in St. Louis, but no such restriction on its membership was subsequently enforced. It became in actual development a select group of Catholic laymen of the city, especially such as had a professional or equivalent standing. On its register, as a contemporary record indicates, were "lawyers, doctors, bankers, merchants, agents and engineers." The influence in the community of such a body of representative and God-fearing Christian gentlemen could not but be a positive one. Father Wipperm said in 1851: "They make our religion everywhere known and communicate a Catholic spirit to the entire city." ⁶⁷ According to another witness they became "apostles bringing back a great number of others to the practice of their religious duties." Father De Smet wrote of the organization in 1856: "It contains the élite of the town to the number of 300 gentlemen of all ranks of society. It is a unique example for the United States. All the bishops who assisted at this Provincial Council [St. Louis] were witnesses of the zeal of the Sodalists and of the great good resulting therefrom for the entire town and they expressed aloud their admiration at it." ⁶⁸ Though the Gentlemen's Sodality was thus proving itself an influence for good throughout the city, it labored under the inconvenience of having to draw its membership from the other parishes of the city, the pastors of which sometimes felt that this worked to the disadvantage of their own congregations. Such was the case in 1850 when four of the diocesan priests of the city, Father Melchiors among them, joined

⁶⁶ De Theux to Van Assche, October 16, 1842. (AA).

⁶⁷ Wipperm ad Roothaan, January 21, 1851. (AA).

⁶⁸ De Smet à Beckx, May 13, 1856. (AA). William Linton, editor of the *Western Tablet*, a Chicago Catholic weekly, wrote to Father Druyts, December 19, 1853: "Give my best respects to Father Damen, tell him that I think of the Sodality every Sunday at 9 o'clock and would give almost anything to transport myself to the Chapel, where I have been used to be at that hour." (A).

in protest against the continuance of the Gentlemen's Sodality on the plan according to which it was being conducted. The difficulty thus inherent in the sodality's plan was never satisfactorily adjusted as long as the organization lasted.

Father Damen's obvious success in the parish continued to elicit generous comment from his associates in their correspondence with the Father General. Father Murphy wrote in 1853:

The great good being done in our church is a subject of edification to the whole town. The people say openly that at St. Xavier's there is always some new devotion to maintain the fervor and nourish the piety of the faithful. Confessions are also very numerous; there is always something as a matter of fact to electrify the most indifferent. Father Damen, a Hollander, is the soul of it all. A zealous worker, ardent and courageous by nature, with robust health and gifted with uncommon eloquence, he suffices for everything and carries everything along with him. He has, too, the talent of gaining the good-will of the secular clergy and securing their cooperation. Many Protestants owe their conversion to him.⁶⁹

The following estimate of Damen by De Smet belongs to 1856:

Reverend Father Provincial has asked the Consultors to say a word to your Paternity about Father Damen because of certain, in my opinion, erroneous ideas about him which have been communicated to you. As pastor and missionary in a large American city I think you would be hard put to it to find his equal in the whole country. For many years he has been working with indefatigable zeal, much edification and abundant and consoling fruit in the vineyard of the Lord. He has introduced several pious works in St. Louis with great success—several charitable institutions owe to him their existence and support—the number of conversions he has worked among Protestants and unbelievers is very large—he has brought back to the holy practices of religion a great multitude of Catholics who were weak and unsteady in the Faith. He possesses the esteem, the respect and the admiration of most Catholics of the city—the rich readily draw on their purses to help him in his acts of charity and his holy enterprises. The rich also have need of counsel, sometimes much more than the poor, and they address themselves by preference to him, which sometimes gives rise to talk and gives a little umbrage. Just now good Father Damen is contemplating the erection of an industrial school under the care of the Sisters of Mercy as an offset to the schools of this kind among the Protestants, who do so much to pervert the children of the Catholic poor. He has been engaged on this venture scarcely two months and the subscription-list already amounts to more than sixteen thousand dollars. With four thousand dollars more, which he expects he can obtain before long, this religious house will be founded and

⁶⁹ Murphy à Beckx, December 8, 1853. (AA).

so two hundred children at least will be snatched from the hands of the sectaries.⁷⁰

Father Damen left St. Louis in the spring of 1857 for Chicago to repeat there on a still larger scale the program of work he had carried through in his first field of labor. A few months after his departure Father Gleizal was installed for the second time as pastor at St. Xavier's; but ill-health soon necessitated his removal, his place being taken in 1858 by Father Cornelius Smarius, who had been filling the post of prefect of studies in St. Louis University. Smarius was already a preacher of obvious promise and his sermons at St. Xavier's filled the church to overflowing. But ill-health made it necessary for him to be relieved of his pastorship, which was assigned to Father John O'Neill. The new incumbent lacked the brilliant parts of his predecessor; but the parish apparently did not suffer in his hands. "He is not a very well-informed man," wrote Father Coosemans, his rector, "nor a very eloquent one, it is true, any more than he is without his private defects; yet he is a man full of zeal and attentive to his religious duties and he gives instructions that are familiar but solid." Complaint having been made that Father O'Neill was not the right sort of man for the church, Coosemans observed: "When you consider the fruits of salvation produced in our church during this year, you must admit that if, humanly speaking, he is not the man for the church, the Lord has known very well how to make use of this instrument to accomplish his designs."⁷¹ Some months later, after noting of O'Neill that he had not Smarius's talent and did not draw equally well as a preacher, Coosemans went on to say, "but the good is done with less noise and solid piety has gained rather than lost by the change." For a number of years Father O'Neill, as Father Damen before him, had been giving instructions on Christian doctrine in the parish school and church and they were given well. "Now he walks in the footsteps of Father Damen by fidelity to his

⁷⁰ De Smet à Beckx, May 13, 1856. (AA). "The winter has been a very severe one. The kitchen for the poor or 'Soup House' started and supported by Father Damen has fed a great number of families. One can say that he is at the head of the charities of St. Louis." Murphy à Roothaan, February 15, 1852. (AA). "Father Damen had two attacks of apoplexy—he rather overworked himself. He is very well at present. For a little while they prevented him from preaching and hearing confessions. He is not idle; in a fortnight he has collected about twelve thousand dollars to commence an industrial school under the Sisters of Mercy for poor and young girls. It was much needed in St. Louis to counteract the doings of the enemies of the church who stretch every nerve to take in Catholic children." De Smet to Congiato, April 20, 1856. (A).

⁷¹ Coosemans à Beckx, June 25, 1861. (AA).

pastoral duties and by zeal in the exercise of the sacred ministry.”⁷² Someone having written with a touch of disparagement of Father O’Neill that he was once “a business man,” Father Murphy, with his usual incisiveness, made this comment: “I am surprised any one should have called attention to that in this country of ours where people inquire not what a person was but who and what he is here and now.”⁷³

§ 3. THE COLLEGE FARM

The tract of suburban property known as the College Farm, which St. Louis University acquired in 1836, touches the history of the institution at many points. The early prospectuses of the University invite attention to the advantages which it enjoyed by reason of its secluded position “in the western suburb of the city, airy and salubrious.”⁷⁴ But in the mid-thirties a change came over this locality, the former quiet of which began to disappear before the numerous buildings erected or in process of erection in that part of suburban St. Louis. “Property is selling enormously high in St. Louis,” wrote Father Carrell in September, 1836, to a friend in the East. “The grounds all around the University (which one year ago stood solitary) have been sold as high as \$95 per foot—and buildings are going up in every direction.”⁷⁵ Though Seventh Street continued to be the western boundary of the city as late as 1841, building operations were being carried on beyond that line as early as 1836, in which year the University trustees, deeming that the work of the institution could no longer be satisfactorily carried on under the changed conditions, took under consideration its removal to another site. On May 3 of that year the Board of Trustees appointed Fathers Verhaegen, Elet and De Theux a committee to select a new location for the University buildings.⁷⁶ They were on the point of signing papers for the purchase, at one hundred dollars an acre, of two hundred and fifty acres situated on the Bellefontaine Road, when opportunity arose to acquire a more desirable tract situated close to the purchase first contemplated.⁷⁷ This tract, lying “four miles northward of the court-house in the city of St. Louis,” was conveyed June 23, 1836, by its owner, Lewis Meriwether Clark, son of General William Clark, to St. Louis University for a consideration of thirty thousand dollars. Two days after the purchase Father Verhaegen announced to Father McSherry in Maryland the news of the “grand acquisition,” as

⁷² Coosemans ad Beckx, October 23, 1861. (AA).

⁷³ Murphy ad Beckx, August 14, 1861. (AA).

⁷⁴ *Catalogue of St. Louis University*, 1839.

⁷⁵ Carrell to Frenaye, September 8, 1836, in *RACHS*, 14: 68.

⁷⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ *Litterae Annuae*, 1836.

he called it. "We have concluded on disposing of the property and buildings which we own at St. Louis and transferring the institution to one of the most handsome situations in our vicinity. It is a highly improved farm, comprising 400 acres of land, about three miles north of the city on the Bellefontaine road, generally known as Major O'Fallon's place. We bought it for \$30,000." ⁷⁸

The history of the new University property as a real-estate holding dates back to the first days of St. Louis. The tract, as acquired by the Jesuits in 1836 and known thereafter as the College or Fount Hill Farm, consisted of seven distinct parcels of land which had already passed through various hands from the time they were first allotted by the Spanish government out of the royal demesne. The title to one of these parcels of land was vested at one time in the founder of the city, Pierre Laclede Ligest. On December 10, 1768, before a notary, M. Labuesciere, "personally appeared M. Pierre Laclede Ligest, Merchant, residing at the Post of St. Louis in the French part of Illinois," to convey to Jacques Noisé, in exchange for other property, "a piece of ground, two arpents wide by forty arpents deep, situated in the cul-de-sac of the Grand Prairie." The Grand or Big Prairie formed part of the Common Fields of St. Louis. In later years, when St. Louis University was called upon to defend in court its title to the College Farm, a copy of the contract between Laclede and Noisé was among the documents appealed to in adjudicating the case. Other historic names to be met with as those of principals, trustees or witnesses in the transfer deeds and other documents that entered into the chain of title of the College Farm, are those of Auguste Chouteau, co-founder with Laclede of St. Louis, who testified in 1831 that the Noisé tract was under cultivation as early as 1791; Ramsay Crooks, fur-trader, explorer and one of the founders with John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company; Albert Gallatin, who gave his name to one of the three forks of the Missouri River in southern Montana; Edward Bates, attorney-general in Lincoln's cabinet; Col. John O'Fallon and his brother, Benjamin O'Fallon; and General William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition. It was Lewis Meriwether Clark, eldest son of General Clark, who conveyed the College Farm

⁷⁸ Verhaegen to McSherry, June 25, 1836. (B). The actual extent of the property was 370.95 acres or 6402 x 1980 feet. (D). In 1857 Col. John O'Fallon gave a quit-claim to St. Louis University for any interest he might have had in the College Farm. According to carefully-drawn plats made by Van de Velde, while treasurer of the University, the actual extent of the College Farm at the time of purchase was as follows: section between the Bellefontaine Road and the Mississippi, 193.95 acres, section south of Road, 177 acres, total 370.95 acres. In 1849, when the section toward the river was sold to Dr. Hall, 6.2 acres had been lost, presumably by the eating in of the river.

property to St. Louis University, he having acquired the bulk of it from Benjamin O'Fallon, to whom it had been transferred by his brother, John.

The farm was in shape a rough parallelogram running N.W.S.E. and extending about a mile and a fourth in one direction and between a third and a half-mile in the other. The east line ran parallel with the present Grand Boulevard, not yet laid out in 1836, and at a distance of about five hundred feet to the west of that thoroughfare. Both east and west lines began at the Mississippi River and extended back to about the present Blair Street. Adjoining the property on the west was the fine estate of Colonel John O'Fallon, now O'Fallon Park, while the land to the east belonged to Major John Dougherty, well-known trader and Indian agent.

"In the whole state of Missouri," declare the *Annual Letters* for 1836, "there is no site better adapted for a college." The property possessed indeed every natural advantage for the purpose intended. Between the Mississippi and a small stream intersecting the farm and called in the early deeds Gengras River but later Harlem Creek, was a stretch of timber about one hundred and twelve acres in extent. As wood was becoming scarce in St. Louis, the prospect of felling the trees and shipping them down the river to the city for fuel is noted by the annalist for 1836 as a distinct advantage of the new purchase. Gengras River connected with the Mississippi at both ends, which fact was said to account for the abundant fish found in its waters. Between the Gengras and Bellefontaine Road were some eighty acres of prairie or meadow-land, which rose to a gentle declivity before reaching the road. South of the road the land continued to slope upward affording a splendid and far-reaching view of the Mississippi River and the Illinois shore. Bellefontaine Road, at this stage of its course identical with the Broadway of today, which thus traversed the College Farm in a northwesterly direction from the city, was the public highway connecting the city with Fort Bellefontaine on the Missouri. Laid out in the period of the Spanish occupation, it is rich in historical associations of pioneer St. Louis. Whatever buildings were on the College Farm at the time of its acquisition by St. Louis University stood some yards off the line of the Bellefontaine Road and to its left as one looked away from the city. First, there was Lewis Meriwether Clark's dwelling-house with its shaded walk leading down to the road. To the left of the house was a mill built by Benjamin O'Fallon and some wooden cabins for the hired help and slaves. To the right, at some distance off, were the stables, and between these and the house, an ample vegetable-garden with its own well as also a large-sized cistern to impound the rain-water from the house. Behind

the latter was an apple and peach orchard and an extensive field for wheat or potatoes. One descriptive detail of the annalist must not be overlooked. From the hill-side behind the house a spring of perfectly clear, wholesome water flowed steadily and through underground pipes constantly renewed the water in a large circular-shaped fish-pond constructed out of the living rock. From this spring, so it would appear, the property acquired its name of Fount Hill Farm.⁷⁹

How the College Farm property and its vicinity impressed the visitor to St. Louis, appears from a paragraph written by Edward Flagg, a young journalist of Louisville, who visited St. Louis and its vicinity in 1838:

By far the most delightful drive in the vicinity of St. Louis is that of four or five miles in its northern suburbs, along the river bottom. The road, emerging from the streets of the city through one of its finest sections, and leaving the "Big Mound" upon the right, sweeps off for several miles upon a succession of broad plateaux, rolling up from the water's edge. To the left lies an extensive range of heights, surmounted by ancient mounds and crowned with groves of the shrub-oak, which afford a delightful shade to the road running below. Along this elevated ridge beautiful country-seats with graceful piazzas and green Venetian blinds are caught from time to time glancing through the shrubbery; while to the right smooth meadows spread themselves away to the heavy belt of forest which margins the Mississippi. Among these pleasant villas the little white farm-cottage, formerly the residence of Mr. Clark, beneath the hills, surrounded by its handsome grounds, and gardens, and glittering fish-ponds, partly shrouded by the broad leaved catalpa, the willow, the acacia, and other ornamental trees, presents, perhaps, the rarest instance of natural beauty adorned by refined taste. A visit to this delightful spot during my stay in St. Louis informed me of the fact that within as well as abroad, the hand of education and refinement had not been idle. Paintings, busts, medallions, Indian curiosities, etc., tastefully arranged around the walls and shelves of an elegant library, presented a feast to the visitor as rare in the Far West as it is agreeable to a cultivated mind. Near the cottage is the intended site of the building of the St. Louis Catholic University, a lofty and commanding spot. A considerable tract has been purchased, at a cost of thirty-thousand dollars; but the design of removal from the city has, for the present, been relinquished. Immediately adjoining is situated the stately villa of Colonel O'Fallon, with its highly cultivated gardens and its beautiful park sweeping off in the rear. In a very few years this must become one of the most delightful spots in the West. For its elegant grounds, its green and hot houses, and its exotic and indigenous plants, it is, perhaps, already unequalled west of Cincinnati. No expense, attention or taste will be wanting to render it all of which the spot is capable.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *Litterae Annuae*, 1836. (A).

⁸⁰ R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Western Travels*, 26: 259.

Before the end of 1836 the authorities of St. Louis University had proceeded to carry out the intention they had in view in acquiring the College Farm, which was to afford a new site for the University buildings.⁸¹ Stone was quarried on the farm premises and the foundations were dug, when circumstances brought about the sudden and permanent abandonment of the original plan. What those circumstances were is told in a letter written in 1850 by Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago, the former Jesuit father of St. Louis University, to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis:

It cannot be said that the idea of establishing a Convictus or College for Boarders on the farm (or, in case the farm was sold, somewhere else in the neighborhood of the city) was *ever abandoned*. It is certain that the farm was bought principally, I might say exclusively, for the purpose of building a college on it. The foundations were dug (as may still be seen), the stone was quarried and cut, and the day had been appointed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Rosati to lay the corner-stone with *éclat*, when the Undertaker [contractor] and myself were seized with the bilious fever.⁸² The kind Bishop came to see me frequently during my illness, and said that he would not perform the ceremony unless I was present. However, the ceremony was postponed. In the meantime the Undertaker died, and we have ever looked on that circumstance as an interposition of Providence to save us from utter ruin. The farm was bought during the time of the speculation fever, and it was then our intention to sell the whole or the greater part of the property in the city and with the proceeds to make the 2nd and 3rd payments for the farm (the first having been made cash down when the deed was delivered). All the money we could muster went to the first payment, and I had begun to borrow money at 10 per cent to feed the Undertaker and his men. We had then six months before us, and no doubt on our minds of being able to effect the sale of the city property. All at once a crisis takes place; bankruptcies are announced in all directions;

⁸¹ Soon after acquiring the farm Verhaegen sought to reimburse the University to some extent for the purchase-price by disposing of a part of the timber. "The farm is almost in order. I have bought four horses and several cows and calves. The mill is in operation and good Father Helias has advertised the fact to the neighbors. You may see the following sign fastened to a tree: 'Our mill is in operation. Active and faithful attention will be paid to the business.' I have six wood-cutters at work, and count on selling more than a thousand cords of wood this winter if the speculation succeeds." Verhaegen to Rosati, November, 1836. (C).

⁸² These incidents occurred before the end of 1836. "Our Fathers were obliged to look out for a handsome spot for a new college 2 or 3 miles from the city. They lately purchased a handsome farm from the son of Genl. Clark for \$30,000 and have already commenced the foundation 200 by 62 ft. Of course they cannot sell the present University and grounds valued at \$65,000 for one or more years as they could not give possession before that time. The property is unincumbered but they would rather not mortgage it—however, if there is no other way to get money they will do so." Carrell to Frenaye, September 8, 1836, in *RACHS*, 14: 60.

everybody becomes alarmed; property sinks to less than one-half, perhaps one-third of its former value; and we had no alternative left but to send Father De Smet to Europe to effect a loan in order to pay for the farm and save our credit.⁸³ The loan was effected and then it was resolved to keep the whole property in the city, and, if at any time we should be able to sell the farm to advantage, and thus to cancel the debt in Europe, to reserve a few acres (I think 10 or 20), in order to build a College on it for boarders, and to keep the College in the city for a scholasticate and Day-school; or, for this purpose, if the whole farm should be sold, to buy some few acres in the city. There was even question for a considerable time of purchasing a Villa or College for the small boarders, in order to have these separated from the larger ones.⁸⁴

As agent for the trustees of St. Louis University, De Smet negotiated August 17, 1837, at Termonde in Belgium, a loan of one hundred thousand francs at five per cent from Madame de Ghyseghem, and another loan of twenty-five thousand francs at the same rate from her daughter, Mlle. Elizabeth de Ghyseghem. With the money thus obtained, the payment of the twenty-five thousand dollars due on the College Farm was made within two years of the date of purchase, a first payment of five thousand having been made at the time the property was acquired. The Ghyseghem debt was liquidated in May, 1849, in response to instructions from Father Roothaan that the obligation be lifted as soon as possible, even by the immediate sale of the College Farm. As this was daily increasing in value and could not be sold except at a sacrifice, a loan was obtained by Father Van de Velde from a St. Louis bank and the Ghyseghem debt thereby paid off.⁸⁵

Though the property known as the College Farm failed to be utilized for the purpose for which it was bought, it was put to good use as the college villa. From 1837 to 1847 one or more fathers with a few coadjutor-brothers resided on it, but without forming a community distinct from that of St. Louis University. Father James Busschots was the first one to be stationed at the Farm in the capacity of superior or minister. He was succeeded after a year of office by Father John Schoenmakers, who held the post until commissioned in 1847 to start the Osage Mission. As early as 1837 the professors of St. Louis University, both scholastics and fathers, were accustomed to

⁸³ In this detail Van de Velde appears to be in error. De Smet was not sent to Belgium to negotiate the loan in question. He had been living there since 1833, returning to Missouri only in December, 1837. The financial crisis to which Van de Velde makes allusion was the panic of 1837.

⁸⁴ Van de Velde to Kenrick, February 28, 1850. (A).

⁸⁵ De Staerke à Elet, May 5, 1849. (A).

spend their recreation-days at the Farm. Sometimes the University boarders were lodged there for a week or so. Sometimes, too, the sick ones among them were sent there to recuperate. For a period of years the boarders who did not return to their homes during the summer vacations spent this season at the College Farm. In 1837 the college laundry was transferred to the Farm to the great gain, so the annalist is at pains to state, of discipline. In the same year, too, a solid bridge of oak was built over the Gengras River, thus joining the meadow and the woods.

Not long after the property was acquired one of the rooms of the Clark house was converted into a chapel, named for St. Francis Xavier, whence the villa came to be designated the Farm (*praedium*) or Residence of St. Francis Xavier.⁸⁶ Sunday services were held in the chapel for the farm-hands and women employed in the laundry, as also for near-by residents. Bishop Rosati suggested the building of a chapel for the convenience of the little congregation, but the suggestion was never acted upon, unless St. Thomas Church, built by the fathers in the seventies on College Street, be considered the realization of the Bishop's idea. With the exception of the scholastic year 1841-1842, during which a class of first-year philosophers were lodged at the Farm, thus converted into a scholasticate (*Scholasticatus ad Sti. Francisci Xaverii praedium*), the property served only farm and villa purposes down to 1847 when it was rented out on lease to one Weishaupt. From that date until the opening for a second time of a scholasticate at the Farm in 1859, there were no Jesuits residing on the place. In 1849 the entire section of the property between Bellefontaine Road and the Mississippi, comprising 187¾ acres, was sold to a Dr. Hall.⁸⁷ Thence-

⁸⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, 1837. (A).

⁸⁷ "The Penrose claim has been decided in favor of the claimants by the Supreme Court at Washington. We must lose of course from 40 to 50 acres—we are sorry your Paternity is not with us at present, for it appears from the extract from the [Missouri] *Republican*, [February 3, 1850] which I take the liberty of sending you, that a compensation might perhaps be obtained by Congress, under the same plea of Capt. Bissell's." (De Smet to Van de Velde, February 4, 1850. [A].) "Of this farm there still remains to us about 80 arpents, of which thirty must be kept for the future boarding-school. The separation between boarders and day-scholars has become absolutely necessary on account of the serious inconveniences that arise from having them together.—Fifty arpents will be either leased or sold." De Smet à Roothaan, February 2, 1850. (A). The effect of the decision in the suit Penrose vs. Bissell, according to the St. Louis journal cited by De Smet, was to establish the principle that a "prior Spanish grant though subsequently confirmed holds against a New Madrid location." As the decision involved financial loss to individuals who were holding the land in question by government patents accepted in good faith, the suggestion was made that Congress indemnify such individuals for losses incurred.

forth that part of the old College Farm, which fell within the limits of the district subsequently known as Lowell, was given over by degrees to factories, refineries and other features of modern industrial centers. The portion of the College Farm south of the Bellefontaine Road was also gradually diminished by sale and, in one or two instances, by the unfavorable issues of lawsuits until in 1870 it comprised only thirty-eight acres. These were valued at the time by the tax-assessor at twenty-two hundred dollars an acre or eighty-three thousand, six hundred dollars for the entire tract. This remnant was held until 1903 when it was finally disposed of by the University authorities.

§ 4. THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

The presidency of St. Louis University from the beginning of the forties down to the close of the Civil War was held in succession by Fathers Van de Velde, Carrell, Druyts, Verdin, Coosemans and Thomas O'Neil. John Lesperance, who had known them all, touched off graphically some of their characteristic traits in a notable contribution to a St. Louis daily on occasion of the University semi-centennial in 1879.⁸⁸ Van de Velde and Carrell were later raised to episcopal rank, the former occupying the see of Chicago, the latter that of Covington in Kentucky. Under Van de Velde, a product of the best classical training and perfectly at home in the leading European languages, not to say in English also, which he learned to use with admirable propriety and skill, the academic standards of the University were set high. Carrell was also a gentleman of culture and address; but he lacked the scholarship of the Americanized Belgian who had preceded him. He lacked, too, Van de Velde's warmth and affability, his manner being austere even to the point of severity. The first two years of his administration saw a marked decline in student-registration, fewer than eighty being on the roll at the close of the session 1844-1845. Some saw or thought they saw an explanation in the "stern notions of rule and authority with which he governed."⁸⁹ More likely widespread economic depression furnished the real explanation. At all events, a visit of Father Gleizal to the South to canvass for students was attended with good results and before Carrell retired from office the registration had notably improved. Under Father Druyts, his successor, it went on improving, reaching in 1856 a total for intern and extern students of three hundred and twenty-one. In the early sixties the number of students fell off considerably owing to the Civil War and other circumstances; but with the passing of the great struggle it showed sudden and rapid increase, as

⁸⁸ St. Louis *Republican*, September 14, 1879.

⁸⁹ Hill, *Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University*, p. 87.

many as three hundred and seventy-six being registered during the scholastic year 1865-1866. Meantime the number of interns or boarders declined steadily and at the end of the seventies they constituted only one-third of the student-body.

With the accession of Father Druyts to the presidency in 1847 the University took a distinct step forward. For the preceding twelve years he had been employed in the institution as professor or disciplinarian laying up thereby a rich fund of experience which he was now able to put to excellent account. His contacts with the student-body met with happy response and high regard for him as a gentleman and a priest was evidenced on every side. "No trying or adverse event," it was said of him, "could disturb his perfect equanimity or lessen his complete self-possession."⁸⁰ Everywhere through the records and correspondence of the day there breathes a uniform esteem and reverence for the personality of Father Druyts. In the beginning of the session 1854-1855 he was relieved of office and sent to Florissant for a make-shift tertianship with a view to preparing him to take up the duties of the vice-provincialship.

Father John Verdin, American-born of Alsatian-Irish stock, and a student at the University eight days after it opened under Jesuit management in 1829, was only thirty-two when his superiors made the experiment of putting him at the head of the University in succession to Father Druyts. The experiment succeeded. The University flourished under his direction and in the fall of 1855 the high-water mark, one hundred and eighty-eight, of intern registration in the history of the institution was reached. John Verdin's chief asset as an educator was a gift of understanding and managing young men; in the language of the present-day campus he was an excellent dean of men. At the same time the executive tasks that fell to him as a university head were not slighted. Father Verdin was later superior of the Jesuit community at Bardstown, which he piloted securely through the critical days of the Civil War.

Father Coosemans, who took over the presidency of St. Louis University from Verdin on March 19, 1859, was the most humble and diffident of men; but once assigned an executive position he discharged it with firmness and on the highest supernatural plane. His manner, somewhat austere and aloof from ordinary human interests, was not calculated to win the sympathies of the young; at Bardstown where he was rector, 1854-1857, difficulties with the student-body necessitated his removal. From St. Louis he wrote to Father Beckx that his appointment to the presidency was anything but agreeable to the students

⁸⁰ *Idem.*, p. 69.

and to the friends of Father Verdin and that not a little discontent on his account smouldered among them for the rest of the scholastic year. "Permit me to express to you once more my sincere conviction that I do not possess the talents requisite for a rector. . . . Where there is question of advancing the interests of a college, the experience of Bardstown has sufficiently proved that I am not the man. Nevertheless, as long as God will wish to keep me in the office for the punishment of my sins and those of others, I shall try to be resigned to His will, hoping with patience for the happy moment when He will release me from this position."⁹¹ On July 16, 1862, Father Coosemans became vice-provincial of Missouri. Despite the poor opinion he entertained of his fitness for the position, there is nothing to indicate that his three years' tenure of the presidency of the University did not succeed to the satisfaction of all concerned.

With the opening of the session 1858-1859 the classical and commercial courses of the University were separated, distinct class-rooms and professors being assigned to each.⁹² Moreover, it was arranged that all subjects of study assigned to a given class, say poetry, should be taught by one and the same professor. The curriculum of the four years' commercial course was considerably strengthened, graduates therefrom being required to pass satisfactory examinations in higher rhetoric, the elements of logic and moral philosophy, algebra, geometry, surveying, chemistry, physics, and astronomy. The introduction of this so-called commercial or English course into Jesuit colleges in the United States was brought about by pressure of circumstances. The *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society of Jesus postulates only a single curriculum of studies, the traditional classical course that obtained for generations in the schools of Europe. But Jesuit instruction is obviously not immune from the operation of the law of supply and demand. From the first days of the Society's schools in the United States there was a demand, growing with the years, for a merely business and English education in behalf of students who (or whose parents) were averse to the conventional classical course. Hence Jesuit schools had to equip themselves to meet this call or else suffer to a serious extent in loss of patronage.

The type of mercantile or English course thus devised to satisfy contemporary needs was often of a superior kind as exemplified in the one introduced at St. Louis University towards the end of the fifties. But a serious difficulty was involved in the process; these business and English classes could not be provided with Jesuit professors when the latter had the classical students to instruct. The result was that numer-

⁹¹ Coosemans à Beckx, July 18, 1859. (AA).

⁹² Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

ous lay professors had to be employed with a consequent financial burden placed upon the school. As a solution of the problem some saw nothing else to do but discontinue commercial classes altogether. Father Druyts, when vice-provincial, was ready to proceed to this measure. Speaking of the burdensome activities of the vice-province, he said in a letter to Father Beckx, January 1, 1860: "The greater glory of God demands that we do not recoil, on the contrary that we go ahead, a thing we might be able to do, even with our meagre numbers, if it were not for the double course of studies [classical and commercial] in our Colleges, a result of which is that we are forced to employ a great number of professors."⁹³ Father Druyts then expressed the hope that the Father Visitor might perhaps authorize in the General's name the discontinuance of the commercial course in some of the colleges of the vice-province. Two or more years later Father Sopranis did promulgate certain provisions in regard to the commercial course.⁹⁴

Father Thomas O'Neil, who was called to the rectorship of St. Louis University in succession to Father Coosemans in July, 1862, had behind him administrative experience gained at Bardstown, where he was president for a space of two years and where he saw the last class of the Jesuit institution graduated at the outbreak of the Civil War. He was a man of clear head and excellent practical judgment. Though without marked address or any power of public speaking, he was well equipped with the learning of the schools, for he was one of the first Missouri Jesuits privileged to pass through all the stages of the elaborate training with which the Society outfits its members. His tastes and interests were at all times scholastic and scientific rather than literary and he had a special bent to theology. "So purely intellectual did he always appear to be," wrote Lesperance, "that I thought he would be entirely reserved as a professor of the exact sciences and his success as an administrator has therefore been a pleasant surprise." Father O'Neil was a native-born Irishman, who sat as a boy on the benches of St. Louis University where he imbibed an Americanism that was ever afterwards an integral factor in his outlook on men and things.

In August, 1863, Father O'Neil reported to Father Beckx that attendance at the University was disappointing, for which condition he assigned four reasons: (1) the proximity of the free or parochial school, which adjoined the college buildings in the same city block. The ragged youngsters who frequented the less select institution answered to inquiring passersby that they were attending the "College School." (2) The college buildings were of forbidding aspect. The nine-foot wall that

⁹³ Druyts à Beckx, January 1, 1860. (AA).

⁹⁴ Sopranis ad Beckx, May 14, 1862. (AA). For Sopranis's regulations in regard to the commercial course, cf. *supra*, Chap. XXXI, § 2.

enclosed them suggested a "public prison" rather than an institution of learning. (3) Class-rooms were inadequate and uninviting. With the spacious class-rooms of recently erected public school buildings in St. Louis attracting students, something new must be supplied. (4) It was difficult to manage the boarders and in general to enforce discipline in view of the narrowness and congestion of the college premises. If students were punished for infractions of discipline, they made complaint and were forthwith sent by their parents to other institutions. A boarding-school alone might be conducted satisfactorily under the existing circumstances, but hardly a boarding and day-school together. This last difficulty Father O'Neil thought could be met only by building in the county for the boarders alone; but for this there were no available funds.⁹⁵ In any case, a new class-room building could and should be erected. Father O'Neil's wishes in this respect were realized. A four-story building, eighty by forty, containing ten commodious class-rooms and a dormitory on the fourth floor, was begun in the spring of 1864 and occupied by the following autumn. It faced east on Ninth Street, occupying the space between the church and the large exhibition-hall erected by Father Druyts in 1855.

The erection of the class-room building solved only one of the problems that beset the University; it hardly affected the larger question which was now raised and of which Father O'Neil gave a hint in his letter to the General, the question whether the University should remain on its actual site or seek new quarters. Opinion among the provincial consultors was unanimous that a new site should be looked for. Moreover, in the fall of 1866 Father Coosemans and his assistant, Father Keller, were submitting to the General a rather radical plan. They would transfer the St. Louis boarding-school to Bardstown and conduct in St. Louis a day-school only, but on a new and attractive site. Only a quarter of a century before Father Keller, who appears to have been the originator of the plan, was a clever Bavarian immigrant-boy getting his education in the halls of St. Louis University. He said in a letter to Father Beckx:

Let us put at Bardstown the one and only boarding-school for the whole Province; and here in the city a college without a boarding-school. . . . I should indeed far more willingly give up the college at Bardstown; I should like to see the boarding-school elsewhere, but by no means two boarding-schools. We must have one, for it is a necessary evil, but not such as the one here in St. Louis; rather, a large one, worthy of our Society, in which everything is so well-ordered as to satisfy everybody, students, parents and the public. We could put up such a school at Bardstown; we

⁹⁵ O'Neil ad Beckx, August 25, 1863. (AA).

ought to put it up as soon as possible and on such a scale as to accommodate even five hundred boarders unless we are willing to take second place in the education of youth, we who up to this were taking the lead. But we must buckle ourselves to the task, we must act strenuously; nor should they whose duty it is to defend the Society's name if not to add to its lustre merely follow events or wait for things to present themselves of their own accord, as it were, and ready made. An enterprise of importance and one not to be taken in hand inconsiderately; an enterprise glorious for religion, worthy of the Society, and productive of untold good to souls if only it be successfully carried out. With this object in view we must buy property at once, a whole square in that section which is soon to become the center of the city; I say at once for the price of real-estate in that very beautiful and healthy district is going up every day. I say a whole square; for our cities are so laid out that all our streets intersect at right angles and offer square spaces for construction of houses—hence our college would have four streets as boundaries nor would there be any adjoining building not ours situated on the property. On the ground thus purchased the entire building would be constructed by degrees according to some first-class and regular plan so that part would harmonize with part and everything together form a single whole.⁹⁶

Less than a year later Father Coosemans was giving Father Beckx the reasons why the transfer of the *convictus* or boarding-school from St. Louis to Bardstown was on further consideration deemed inadvisable:

As to the project of transferring the St. Louis boarding-school to Bardstown, I believe it subject to too many inconveniences to allow of its execution; and here I only express, I believe, the unanimous opinion of my Consultors; for although this plan was proposed by Father Keller and myself to your Paternity after our interview with Bishop Lavialle, more mature reflexion on the consequences of this measure made us change our opinion and declare that resort ought not to be had to it for the following reasons:

a) This boarding-school being the only one in the Province and forming the *Collegium maximum* of the Province ought to continue to be where it has been up to the present, in the state of Missouri, which is the center and the cradle of the Province. On the other hand, Bardstown is, I may say, on the territorial frontier of the Province.

b) It is very likely that the Archbishop of St. Louis would be greatly dissatisfied with this change. He refused the request of the administrator of the Louisville diocese, Dr. Spalding, that he interest himself in the fortunes of St. Joseph's College and say a word in its favor when he should be in Rome.

c) Even though Archbishop Kenrick agreed to this change, which he would do only with regret, this measure would provoke discontent and com-

⁹⁶ Keller ad Beckx, October 18, 1866. (AA).

plaint on the part of the inhabitants of Missouri and especially of St. Louis, who would not be disposed to send their children to Kentucky.⁹⁷

Though the boarding-school was thus to remain in St. Louis, Father Keller's plan of buying property in the west end of the city as a new home for the day-school was eventually carried out. Grand Avenue or Boulevard, important cross-town thoroughfare of present-day St. Louis, was only a mud-road in the sixties. On its western side between Lindell Avenue and Baker or, as it subsequently came to be called, Pine Street, were the inviting grounds of Lindell's Grove, an amusement garden of the day. Directly across on the east side of Grand was the site of historic Camp Jackson. The Grove, finding its way into the real-estate market, won favor with the University authorities as a satisfactory location for the proposed new buildings. It was accordingly acquired, at least in part, May 25, 1867, by the University from its owners for a consideration of fifty-two thousand, six hundred dollars.⁹⁸ The property measured four hundred and forty-six feet on Grand and three hundred on Lindell. At a later date a tract of three hundred and seventy-six acres subsequently known as College View and situated on the edge of what is now the St. Louis suburb of Jennings was purchased for seventy-six thousand dollars as a site for the boarding-school.⁹⁹

Meantime the University had become a recognized centre of moral and cultural influence in the West, and, through the medium of its boarding department, in the South also. The French families identified with the frontier period of St. Louis history probably without exception gave it their patronage for the education of their sons while the non-Catholic American element represented by the Forsyths, Clarks, Kennerslys and others, was not inconspicuous in the student-body.

All our Creole families have passed through the University—the Chouteaus, Papins, Labeaumes, Sanguinets, Chenies, Sarpys, Bosserons, Lucases, Saugrains, Benoists, Roziers, Tessons, Bertholds, Desloges, Brazeaus, Valles, Provencheres, Pratts, Soularde, Leducs, and the Garesches. Among other honored names I recall the Carrs, the Knapps, the Welshes, the Von Phuls, the Donovans, the Conroys, the Hunts, the Griffins, the Farishes, the Darbys, the Lanes, the Rices, the Barretts, the Yores, the Clemenses, the Finneys, the Garlands, the Forsyths, the Kellys, the Lokers, the Lintons, the Frosts, the Turners, the Wilkinsons, the Grahams, the Kennedys, and the Chambers.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Coosemans à Beckx, August 2, 1867. (AA).

⁹⁸ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 99. *Land Record Book, St. Louis U.* (D).

⁹⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 102. *Record Book of the Proceedings of the Board and Faculty of St. Louis University.* (D).

¹⁰⁰ St. Louis *Republican*, September 14, 1879. The University student register for the period 1828-1860 shows among others the following names: Charles P.

On July 2, 1860, St. Louis University as a Jesuit institution admitted its 2911th student. By 1879 the number of registrants from the beginning of Jesuit control of the institution had risen to 5,674. During the fifty-year period, 1829-1879, were graduated one hundred and thirty-eight bachelors of arts, eighty-one masters of arts, seventeen doctors of law and five bachelors of science while diplomas on completion of the commercial course were awarded to two hundred and seventeen.

Chouteau, capitalist (1828); Bryan Mullanphy, mayor of St. Louis and founder of the Mullanphy Fund (1829); John Hartnett, city comptroller of St. Louis (1830); Henry Guibor of "Guibor's Battery" in the Confederate army (1831); William Clark Kennerly, ordnance officer in the Confederate army (1839); Thomas Finney, well-known Protestant clergyman (1840); Francisco Chavis, member of Congress from New Mexico (1841); Richard Barrett, mayor of St. Louis (1844); John I. Burbridge, brigadier general in Civil War (1844); John Lesperance, journalist and author (1845); James McBride, St. Louis criminal lawyer (1845); William Linton, editor of the *Western Tablet*, Chicago (1849); Adolphe Kehr, member of the 44th Congress (1849); Gilman Chouteau, capitalist (1850); Eugene Semple, governor of Washington Territory (1856); George Ainslie, member of Congress for Idaho (1856); John Knapp, journalist and proprietor of St. Louis *Republic* (1857); Firmin Desloge, capitalist (1858); Martin L. Clardy, member of 48th, 49th, and 50th Congress from 10th Missouri District (1859); John O'Meara, lieut. governor of Missouri (1860). "Historical Sketch of St. Louis University," St. Louis University *Bulletin* (December, 1908).

CHAPTER XXXV

EDUCATIONAL VENTURES IN LOUISVILLE

I. THE FRENCH JESUITS

Captain Thomas Hutchins of the British Engineers was a visitor in 1766 to the falls of the Ohio opposite the site of Louisville, Kentucky. The sight evidently impressed him, for he made it the subject of a sketch which appeared in his *Topographical Description of Virginia*. Twelve years later, May 27, 1778, George Rogers Clark landed with a party of immigrants from Virginia on an island amid the falls that had come under the notice of Hutchins. Thence, on an order issued by Clark after the Illinois country, or the part of it bordering on the Mississippi, had fallen into his hands, the immigrants moved in the autumn of 1778 to the mainland south of the falls where they proceeded to form a settlement. From the Virginia legislature came a gift of a thousand acres of land, confiscated from Dr. John Connolly, a British adherent during the Revolutionary War. On this tract was laid out in the spring of 1779 the projected town, to which the settlers gave the name of Louisville in honor of Louis XV of France, at the moment an active confederate of the Americans in the war against England. The founders of Louisville were all apparently native-born Americans from Virginia. Probably no Catholic, native or foreign-born, settled in the place earlier than 1790, the French, Irish and German emigrants coming at a later period.¹

In 1811 the first Catholic church in Louisville, named for St. Louis, was built by Father Badin at Main and Tenth Streets, services being held in it for the first time on or about Christmas day of that year. This pioneer structure served the needs of the Catholic residents until 1830 when a second church of St. Louis was erected by Father Robert

¹ Hutchins's sketch is reproduced in J. Stoddard Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville, from its First Settlement to the Year 1896* (Chicago, 1896), vol. 1. Groups of French immigrants settled early in the nineteenth century at Portland and Shippingport, from one to two miles below Louisville on the south bank of the Ohio. Cf. Benjamin J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), p. 289. Irish and German immigration began in the forties. For the best documented account of pioneer Catholicism in Louisville, cf. Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812* (Catholic University of America, Washington, 1936), p. 90 *et seq.*

Abell on a new site on Fifth Street between Green and Walnut. In 1841 the see of Bardstown, still occupied by its venerable first incumbent, Bishop Flaget, was removed to Louisville, which had grown to be the most important centre of Catholicity in Kentucky. Having lost the services of his first two coadjutors, Bishops David and Chabrat, by resignation, Flaget, as his last official public act, consecrated in September, 1848, his third coadjutor in the person of the Reverend Martin John Spalding. On August 15 of the following year, 1849, was laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral of the Assumption on the site of the second church of St. Louis, the affair being witnessed by Flaget from the porch of his residence, which overlooked the scene.²

The first Jesuits to make the acquaintance of Louisville were Van Quickenborne's group of twelve, who in their journey from Maryland to Missouri arrived at the city of the Falls in the May of 1823.³ Father Theodore De Theux and Brother John O'Connor, while *en route* in 1825 from Maryland by the Ohio River route to reenforce the Jesuit colony at Florissant, also probably made a brief stop at Louisville. On October 16, 1831, arrived there a Jesuit party consisting of Fathers Peter Kenney, James Oliver Van de Velde and James McSherry, all of whom have already met with frequent mention in the pages of this history. The experiences of the travellers while in Louisville were detailed by Van de Velde in letters to friends in the East. Owing to the great number of strangers that happened to be in the city, hotel accommodations were at a premium. "People are pouring in from all sides to see the horse races which are to take place today at noon." The Jesuits put up at Union Hall, an hotel kept by a Mr. Langhorne.

We succeeded at last in finding two beds in one room, which was already occupied by others persons. Father Kenney fared even worse. There were only three beds in our room and we got two of them, but there were four or five beds in the room which was offered to him. After making these arrangements, Fr. McSherry and I went to take a walk to look for the Catholic church, which we found, and to which we returned after some time in order to offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass. It was the first time since our departure that I had that happiness. Father Kenney preached on the Gospel of the day, and after the last Mass we went with the Rev. Mr. Abell to dine at Mr. O'Brien's, an Irishman, who treated us very well. After dinner we went to see the interior of the Church, for we had said Mass in a room under the church, which room is destined for a school when the church shall have been completed. The church itself, which was commenced about a year ago, is a tolerably fine building, in Gothic style, with

² Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 290, 302, 401, 478.

³ *Supra*, Ch. III. Maes, *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 445-464.

a square tower in the same style. It is 95 feet long and 55 feet wide exclusive of the sanctuary, which is 16 feet long and 20 feet broad. They were working at the altars and at the pews, of which there will be six rows; each row will have twenty-two pews and each pew will be able to admit five persons. There is also a large gallery for the organ etc., so that the church will contain about one thousand persons or thereabouts. The city of Louisville increases almost as rapidly as that of Cincinnati. A kind of epidemic, which broke out here in 1822, served very much to stop the progress of this rising city. There existed then several marshes and ponds of stagnant water, which have since been filled. Now the atmosphere of the city is considered healthy. Buildings are springing up in every direction, and the population is already over 11,000. Last Sunday we took supper at Mr. John Carrell's, brother of my friend George, who is now pastor at Wilmington, Delaware. Mrs. Carrell is a very amiable lady and showed the greatest kindness to us.⁴

John Carrell, mentioned in the foregoing letter, was the brother of Father George Carrell, who became a Jesuit in 1835 and was subsequently the first Bishop of Covington. Other Catholic lay-folk of Louisville, Captain James Rudd and Mrs. Bullitt among them, opened their doors to entertain the visiting Jesuits, who at a dinner at their hotel, Union Hall, made the acquaintance also of ex-Secretary of War Eaton, Judge Rowan and Dr. De Clery. Others to greet the travellers were the two diocesan priests, Fathers Simon Fouché and Francis Xavier Evremond, who had just arrived in Louisville from Bardstown, the latter of the two being about to enter the Jesuit novitiate at White Marsh in Maryland. Eleven years later Evremond opened the first house of the Society of Jesus in Louisville.

A few months previous to the visit of Father Kenney and his companions to Louisville, two French Jesuits, Fathers Pierre Chazelle and Nicholas Petit, arrived in Kentucky in response to an appeal from Bishop Flaget to the province of France to assume direction of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. A shift of circumstances brought it about that the Jesuits from France took over, not the Bardstown institution, but St. Mary's College, near Lebanon, Marion County, generously surrendered into their hands by its founder, the Reverend William Byrne.⁵ Early in the forties came an invitation to the Jesuit Mission of Kentucky to extend its educational labors to Louisville. A letter of the period addressed by the Reverend Ignatius A. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Charleston, to Bishop Chabrat, Flaget's coadjutor, touches on the subject, the main part of the letter being concerned with the proposal previously made to the Jesuits that they assume charge of St.

⁴ *WL*, 10: 124-126.

⁵ Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-400.

Joseph's College, Bardstown. Father Reynolds was at this time vicar-general of the diocese of Louisville.

I also proposed that the establishment in Louisville should only be deferred, not relinquished; and I also proposed that they should be secured in their establishment in Louisville by compacting that during its postponement no other Catholic college should be opened in Louisville or Portland. I beg your particular attention to the above statements; and I also beg you to let me know how far you authorize me to proceed in this business. I consider it of the utmost importance that the Jesuits should take this institution. The interests and honour of Religion and also justice to its creditors require it. I wish that I can come to some understanding with Mr. Murphy on the subject, at least I will make a great effort, if you authorize me to do so. He wishes to write and get an answer to his letters by July; therefore no time is to be lost.⁶

In the sequel St. Joseph's College at Bardstown was to be taken over, not by the French Jesuits, but by their associates of the vice-province of Missouri. But the Louisville school projected by the former was to become a reality. An advertisement in the *Louisville Journal* in the spring of 1842 announced that "Messrs. Evremond, Larkin and Gockeln" proposed to commence a classical academy in that city for boys between the ages of ten and fourteen. In addition to the classical languages, English, French and German were to be taught. The *Journal* commented: "The reverend character of the teachers, the circumstance of their being respectively natives of the three countries whose language they proposed to teach and the high character of the seats of learning and piety at which they have graduated, all give earnest of zeal, ability and success in their enterprise; while the low price which they have fixed for tuition will, we doubt not, bring them a speedy and overflowing patronage."⁷

With Father Evremond as its first principal the St. Ignatius Literary Institution, as the new school was called, opened its doors in September, 1842, in a rented house at Seventh and Walnut Streets. The school promptly achieved popularity, a large proportion, if not the majority of the students in attendance being non-Catholics. Father Larkin, a man of great personal charm and recognized power as a

⁶ Reynolds to Chabrat, January 14, 1842. Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky. Father William Stack Murphy was at this time rector of St. Mary's College, Lebanon, and superior of the Jesuit Mission of Kentucky.

⁷ *Catholic Advocate*, May 7, 1842. Evremond was a native of France, Larkin, of England, while Gockeln, then a scholastic twenty-two years old, was German-born (Westphalia). The tuition-fee was forty dollars per annum. A preparatory class for boys of nine (or under?), terms thirty dollars per annum, was also a feature of the institution.

preacher and public speaker later became principal, the growth of the institution being largely due to his efforts on its behalf. Property was bought by him from a Mr. Jacobs in the fall of 1845 and the new college building, one hundred and ninety-six feet in length, begun thereon was three feet above its foundation, when the French Jesuits withdrew from Louisville in March, 1846. To the edifice, thus left unfinished, College Avenue of today is said to owe its name. The teaching-staff of the school in the final session of its career (1845-1846) counted, besides the principal, Father Larkin, two other priests, Fathers Henry Dumerle and John Ryan, together with three scholastics.⁸

During their brief stay in the metropolis of Kentucky the Jesuits of the province of France were active not only in the field of education, but also, as far as their slender personnel permitted, in that of the ministry. In 1842-1843 Father Evremond had pastoral charge of the little congregation at Portland.⁹ He returned in 1844 to his native France, whence at the instance of Flaget he had come as a young priest to labor in the diocese of Bardstown. By Benjamin Webb, the historian of Kentucky Catholicism, he is described as a man of learning and piety; exemplifying in his manner of life the characteristic virtues of the priesthood. He spoke with a strong French accent, but was well understood by his English-speaking hearers. "He was tall and spare, of an ascetic caste of features, and grave in both speech and manner. His addresses from the pulpit were distinguished by a deliberateness of delivery that would have been painful, but for the unction and earnestness by which they were also characterized."¹⁰

Two St. Patrick's Day sermons preached in the cathedral of Louisville, one by Father Hippolyte Charles De Luynes in 1843, the other by Father William Stack Murphy, probably the following year, "at candle-light," are noted in contemporary prints. In the same cathedral the Jubilee was preached in 1842 by Fathers De Luynes and Larkin. All three were striking personalities, of whom interesting accounts have

⁸ *Idem*, September 3, 1842, October 25, 1845. *Catholic Almanac*, 1843-1845. According to Webb (*op. cit.*, p. 398) Larkin purchased an acre of ground on First Street, the foundations of the academy or college building being laid in 1843 and the property resold in 1844. There would appear to be some confusion of dates here, unless (which is not likely) this be a purchase distinct from the one reported in the *Catholic Advocate*, October 25, 1845: "Rev. Father Larkin has commenced the erection of college buildings on the spacious lot which he purchased recently from Mr. Jacobs. The edifice will be 196 feet long and probably will be so far complete next summer as to be fit for the reception of pupils."

⁹ *Catholic Advocate*, 1843.

¹⁰ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 391. Father Francis Xavier Evremond (originally Evremond Harissart), born in Paris, France, May 15, 1792; entered the Society of Jesus, December 2, 1831; died in Paris, April 13, 1859.

been preserved. William Stack Murphy, born in Ireland and educated in France, was superior of the Kentucky Jesuits from 1839 to their withdrawal from the state in 1846. His later activities as superior of the middlewestern Jesuits for two terms are on record elsewhere in this history. Webb speaks in terms of eulogy of his mastery of English.¹¹ Hippolyte De Luynes, born in France of Irish parents, his father having been an agent of the United Irishmen of 1798, labored for years as a diocesan priest in Kentucky, chiefly at Bardstown, the pastorate of which he gave up in 1841 to become a Jesuit. "His advice, always judicious, was at the command of all who sought it, and the very tones of his voice, so indicative of the heart's sympathy, was full of encouragement. He was an interesting speaker always, and, at times, an eloquent one. As a writer, he was at once graceful and forcible. He appeared to have an intuitive knowledge of what was best to be said and his judgement was never at fault in respect to the most suitable manner of expressing it."¹² Father De Luynes was editor of the *Catholic Advocate* from 1838 up to the removal of the office of publication from Bardstown to Louisville.

Of all the Jesuits of this period identified with Louisville, Father Larkin was the one most in the public eye. Superior gifts of mind and heart and an impressive personality won him the respect and confidence of great numbers of all religious denominations. He was an Englishman by birth, studied at Ushaw College, Dr. Lingard being at the time vice-president of the institution, and as a Sulpician priest held a professor's chair in Montreal. From Montreal he passed to Kentucky, there to enter the Society of Jesus in St. Stanislaus Novitiate, Marion County, in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary's College. Father Walter Hill, S.J., a native son of Kentucky, and a student of St. Mary's College during the Jesuit régime, retained to his last days distinct recollections of Larkin as a Jesuit novice. "I remember seeing him push a heavily-loaded wheel-barrow, removing stone and rubbish from the yard, though his own person afforded him a heavy burden, as he was of portly stature."¹³ While yet a novice, he was called upon by his superior to put to account his uncommon ability as a preacher in a series of re-

¹¹ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 393. Father William Stack Murphy, born in Cork, Ireland, April 29, 1803; entered the Society of Jesus, August 27, 1823; died in New Orleans, October 23, 1875. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVII, § 2.

¹² *Idem.*, p. 397. Father Charles Hippolyte De Luynes, born in Paris, France, July 29, 1805; entered the Society of Jesus, September 15, 1841; died in New York City, January 20, 1878.

¹³ Walter Hill, S.J., "Reminiscences of St. Mary's College, Ky." in *WL*, 20: 33. Father John Larkin, born at Ravenworth, Durham County, England, February 2, 1801; entered the Society of Jesus, October 23, 1840; died in New York City, December 11, 1858.

treats and missions preached in Kentucky and neighboring states. It was in Louisville that he scored his chief oratorical successes, acquiring there a reputation that passed far beyond the limits of the city. The author of a tribute to him records that meeting on a journey an eminent member of the American hierarchy, he was addressed by the latter in the words, "Oh! so you are from Father Larkin's city."¹⁴

Two appearances of Father Larkin on the public platform were especially happy, one, July 4, 1843, when he addressed the Kentucky state militia on "True Liberty" in their encampment at Oakland, on the outskirts of Louisville, the other in December of the same year, when on a few hours' notice he delivered an eloquent address on "Genius" before the Mercantile Library Association of Louisville, supplying the place of ex-President John Quincy Adams, who had been announced as the speaker of the occasion. The address appears to have been entirely improvised, the speaker being unable afterwards to supply a written copy, which was eagerly sought for publication.

Father Larkin often occupied the pulpit of the church of St. Louis [Louisville], and no one ever filled it to better effect. If one were called upon to define wherein was his greatest strength as a preacher, he would have to say that it was in his mastery over the pathetic. In a greater degree even than either Bishop Flaget, or Rev. George A. M. Elder, Rev. Robert A. Abell or Dr. I. A. Reynolds, all of whom could at times excite their listeners to tears, was he recognized as a sympathetic expounder of the Divine Word. In depicting the scenes of the passion of our Lord, for instance, he appeared to lose sight of himself and his surroundings in the contemplation of his Saviour's sufferings. Nor was this mere acting. The tears he evoked by his pathetic delineations and pleadings had their primary fount in his own eyes.¹⁵

Father Larkin after his change of residence to the East filled various positions of trust in his order, including those of president of Fordham College and Visitor of the Jesuit province of Ireland. He was named by the Holy See Bishop of Toronto, but sought and with success to have the appointment withdrawn. He died suddenly, December 4, 1858, at the age of fifty-seven, after a day of strenuous ministry in his confessional in the Jesuit Church of St. Francis Xavier, West Sixteenth Street, New York.¹⁶

The retirement of the Jesuits of the province of France from their

¹⁴ *Catholic Guardian*, January 8, 1859.

¹⁵ Louisville *Journal* cited in *Catholic Advocate*, December 10, 1843; *Catholic Guardian*, December 25, 1858; Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

¹⁶ The *Catholic Guardian*, January 8, 1859, carried a three-column editorial on Father Larkin.

Kentucky field of labor, arranged by the Visitor, Father Boulanger, was effected in 1846. "The Fathers of the Society when questioned as to their reasons for giving up their establishment in Kentucky, contented themselves by saying that the proposition made to them by the Archbishop of New York, insuring to them, as it did, a much wider field of usefulness, was one which they were not in conscience at liberty to decline."¹⁷ A letter written at the time by Father De Luynes to Edward Wilkinson of Yazoo City, Mississippi, touches on the subject:

You have no doubt already learnt from the papers or in some other way that the monks of St. Mary's, as you called us, are about to leave their solitude. Your friend, Father Thebaud, accompanied by Father Murphy, is already gone; we shall soon follow him—and by the latter part of August or the beginning of September at the latest, all our Fathers and Brothers will be on their way to be comfortably and I hope permanently and usefully settled in New York. Our occupations there will be, I believe, in perfect conformity with the spirit and letter of our Institute. Bishop Hughes gives us the college of Rose Hill [Fordham] founded a few years ago by him and a month or two ago incorporated by act of the New York Legislature. I am told that the charter is as complete and liberal as could be desired. The clerical seminary will also be placed under our charge—and within a short time we shall have in New York itself a church and a day-school. Our hands, you perceive, will be full; and, if we be true to ourselves, if by a strict observance of all our rules, we deserve the blessing of God, we shall effectively, after many years of apparent inactivity and painful expectation, promote his glory and the good of souls. Gentlemen of another order will succeed us here. They will carry on a common English school, or as they say now, I believe, a primary school; also, most probably at least, the brothers attached to the establishment will teach various trades. I am happy to think that the great outlay made by us here, in buildings, improvements, will be serviceable to something and somebody. However, with these gentlemen succeeding us we are not properly concerned: we have conveyed back to the Bishop of Louisville the farm on which our buildings are. He has called these Gentlemen. Our school in Louisville was closed last March—so the Sons of Loyola, whether right or wrong, will all leave Kentucky.¹⁸

¹⁷ Webb, *op. cit.*, 398. Some friction between the Jesuits and the diocesan authorities appears to have developed in connection with the Louisville school conducted by the former. The Jesuits were expecting certain diocesan encouragement and support for the school, expectations which were not realized. On the other hand they were being urged by Bishop Flaget to take over St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, which was heavily in debt. Bishop Chabrat, Flaget's coadjutor, was not, as a matter of fact, friendly to the Society, though this circumstance was not a decisive or important factor in the withdrawal of the Jesuits from Kentucky in 1846.

¹⁸ De Luynes to Wilkinson, May 23, 1846. Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky.

Father Walter Hill, S.J., then a student at St. Mary's College, witnessed to the chagrin felt by the student-body when they learned shortly before commencement day, July 21, 1846, that the Jesuits were to retire from the management of the college, while Benjamin Webb put on record the regret entertained by the Catholics of the state generally at the withdrawal from their midst of the sons of St. Ignatius. With an editorial, probably from the latter's pen, which appeared in the *Catholic Advocate* of February 7, 1846, this brief account of what may be called the French phase of Jesuit educational endeavor in Louisville may be brought to an end:

We have now official authority for saying that they [the Jesuits] have not only determined to leave Louisville, but what is still more to be regretted, to leave Kentucky and remove to New York. Thus will the diocese be deprived of a body of learned priests and of two literary institutions which could have prospered and done good service to the cause of religion. It is natural to inquire what may be the reason for this move. The chief reason seems to be that their new destination presents a more advantageous field for their exertions with greater seeming facilities for usefulness and success. No doubt the Superiors who have decided upon this measure have considered the reasons for and against it and as their decision has been made and announced by the Bishop, it would be useless now to discuss the question whether or not they have acted wisely. Together with all the Catholics of the diocese we disapprove as well as regret the change and are sorry that the Reverend Fathers judged it proper, advisable or *ad majorem Dei gloriam*.

§ 2. THE FREE SCHOOL

Only two years had passed since the departure of the French Jesuits from Kentucky when the Society of Jesus reentered the state, the new group of workers being supplied from St. Louis. St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, was taken over from the diocesan clergy and a beginning made of educational work in Louisville. When in the summer of 1848 negotiations for the transfer of St. Joseph's College to the Jesuits had been brought to a successful issue, Father Elet, Missouri vice-provincial, was warmly solicited by Bishop Flaget and Coadjutor-bishop-elect Spalding to undertake the management also of a "free school" opened the year before in Louisville. The vice-provincial at first declined the offer but the prelates insisted. To an inquiry as to how the school was to be supported, Bishop Spalding replied that he would himself maintain it the first year, after which other arrangements for its financing would be made. "Finally," so Elet explained to the Father General, "it was believed that the best possible way of making provision for it would be to join to the Free School a Pay School, which little by little would develop into a college, and thus to maintain one by the profits of the

other. But it was a new institution and your permission would be required! This [that permission would be required] was denied on the ground that it would be only a continuation of Father Larkin's school discontinued two years ago, unfortunately for the youth of Louisville."¹⁹

The stand taken by Father Roothaan when the circumstances of the opening of the Louisville house by Elet became known to him revealed that he did not by any means share the view of the vice-provincial that formal authorization from the General to take the step had been reasonably dispensed with. That such authorization had never been obtained was to be a circumstance among others which brought about the subsequent withdrawal of the middlewestern Jesuits from their Louisville field of labor. But to Elet, not finding it in his heart to resist the solicitations of the two Kentucky prelates and otherwise too ready, so some of his Jesuit colleagues felt, to make new ventures without adequate ways and means to see them through, it seemed that the opportunity to enter Louisville should not be allowed to go unseized. In January, 1850, he wrote to Father Roothaan: "Your Paternity can rest assured that I haven't the least desire to undertake new establishments with the slender personnel at my disposal. The Louisville affair for reasons detailed in one of my preceding letters had to be an exception. It is one of the big towns of the United States. It was important to get an entrance there—*magnas Ignatius urbes*." Father Elet's readiness to embark on fresh undertakings was manifestly a continued source of anxiety at Rome; in the closing period of his administration he was under an order of obedience, an exercise of authority rare in Jesuit government, not to open new houses without the explicit approval of the Father General.

In pursuance, then, of the arrangement thus made by the vice-provincial, Father John Emig and the scholastic, John Beckwith, arrived in the Kentucky metropolis in August, 1848, to take in hand the management of the so-called free school for boys. Father Emig, forty years old at the time, was a native of Bensheim, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, being the first novice of German birth to attach himself to the Jesuits of the Middle West. He was a resourceful and enterprising type of man as was evinced by the courage and directness with which he grappled with the difficult conditions that met him in Louisville. The arrangement in regard to the school which he was enabled to make on his arrival in the city would appear to have been at first a tentative one only, for in the following October Father Elet and his consultors took under consideration the question whether, in view of the conditions

¹⁹ Elet à Roothaan, February 11, 1850. (AA).

under which it was offered, the vice-province should signify its acceptance of the Louisville free school, "which Father Emig with two of Ours are already in possession of." The decision was for acceptance under the conditions affecting the offer, no mention being made of what these conditions were. The Catholic free school (in reality the cathedral parish school) was at this time the only Catholic elementary school in the city for the sons of English-speaking residents. A Catholic free school for girls had been opened May 29, 1843, by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in the basement of the cathedral. The Catholic free school for boys had been first opened September 15, 1847, with three brothers of St. Francis from the archdiocese of Tuam in Ireland in charge. It was "for Catholic boys only or for those whose parents were willing to have them instructed in the Catholic faith." It occupied a new building erected for the purpose, which stood within four blocks of the cathedral and in the rear of the two-story structure of brick on Fourth Street between Chestnut and Broadway, which served as the dwelling-place of the Jesuits during their stay in Louisville. The school-building was of modest proportions consisting in one story with a high basement. On September 8, 1848, a chapel was blessed, and the institution, on being taken over by the Jesuits, was named the St. Aloysius Free School for Boys. Later, besides the free school, the Jesuits conducted in connection with it a select or pay school for children whose parents were able to meet the expenses of their education. To this school most of the well-to-do Catholics of Louisville sent their sons. The free and select schools were maintained by the Jesuits up to their withdrawal from Louisville in 1858.²⁰

²⁰ John Keenan, 11, son of Henry Keenan, was the first pupil entered in the free school, September 15, 1847. During the session 1848-1849 the registration ran to 364. In the session 1857-1858, the last under Jesuit management, it was only 129. *Register of the Catholic Free School*. (A). *Catholic Almanac*, 1848, 1849. A contemporary account of the free school building speaks of it as apparently containing only one class-room but a spacious one, capable of accommodating two hundred and fifty boys. At the western end was a small chapel so constructed that by throwing open large folding-doors between it and the class-room, all the pupils could see the altar and hear Mass. "In front of the school and immediately adjoining it is the residence of the Brothers, a large two-story building with a basement, thirty ft. front by twenty-eight deep and containing five rooms besides a large dormitory. It is distinctly understood that this is strictly a Catholic school; that is, one intended for Catholic children or for such only as their parents are willing to have taught the Catholic religion. A class of catechism will be taught every day and particular attention will be bestowed upon the religious and moral training of the children. Every Catholic parent in our city should rejoice at the opportunity thus afforded of having his children taught that most important and essential element of education—religion. Without this necessary element, all education is but too apt

At the time Father Emig embarked on his educational venture Louisville was a town counting probably somewhere between forty-five and fifty thousand inhabitants.²¹ In 1841 Bishop Flaget reckoned the Catholic population at about four thousand. During the forties and fifties the relative proportion of the Catholic to the non-Catholic groups grew notably as a result of Irish and German immigration, so that in 1858 it was estimated, apparently on a legitimate basis of calculation, that the Catholics numbered one-half out of an approximate population of fifty-five thousand.²² At the opening of St. Aloysius College in 1849 the ratio was no doubt much lower than this. Be this as it may, the Catholic youth of Louisville was numerous enough to justify the attempt now being made to bring within its reach the advantages of higher education.

The location chosen for the new school seemed a favorable one as regarded accessibility and surroundings. The trend of residential settlement in rapidly growing Louisville was in its direction, though before the end of the forties, there was practically no city south of Chestnut and but very little south of Walnut. Main Street was given over to wholesale business, Market to fashionable retail shops, Jefferson to smaller shops and residences, while Broadway, immediately south of the college, with its one hundred and twenty-five feet of width and twenty-five-foot sidewalks, though very sparsely built on, was aspiring to become the premier residential thoroughfare of the city. The passing of the years saw a steady tide of business creep southward up to and beyond Emig's little college of brick, which, until its demolition

to become either a hollow and worthless or a dangerous thing." *Catholic Advocate*, August 14, 1847. The brothers', later the Jesuits' residence, was on the site of the south wing of the later St. Joseph's Infirmary. The site of the north wing was formerly occupied by the Xaverian Brothers' school. Connecting the wings, which projected beyond it to Fourth Street, was the original college building erected by Father Emig in 1849. At the time Emig arrived in Louisville and up to the building of the first St. Patrick's in 1854 the cathedral (on Fifth between Green and Walnut) was the only church in Louisville for English-speaking Catholics. St. Boniface's had been built for the German Catholics and another church for them, the Immaculate Conception, was in course of erection. It may be noted in this connection that the German Catholics had established schools for their children probably earlier than 1848. In the funeral procession for Bishop Flaget, January, 1850, the boys of the Catholic free school, led by Father Emig, were followed by the boys of the German schools.

²¹ *Catholic Advocate*, January 1, 1842.

²² *Catholic Guardian*, November 30, 1858. The exact figure for the Catholic population is given as 27,303. In 1858 the baptisms in the German parishes numbered 1,446, as compared with 680 for the English-speaking parishes, figures that throw light on the relative numerical strength of the two elements in the Catholic population of Louisville at this period.

in 1926, long stood completely isolated in the commercial heart of Louisville.²³

To conduct the free school had thus been the primary purpose that lay behind the entrance of the Society of Jesus into Louisville in 1848.²⁴ To meet the problem of its support the idea of a select or pay school, to evolve by slow stages into a college, almost immediately presented itself, the hope being to maintain the free school out of the surplus funds of the other institution. But Father Emig, probably led by the enthusiasm of the moment beyond the letter of his instructions, was to announce in a prospectus for the public a rather ambitious plan of studies for the opening session, at the same time importuning Father Elet for the necessary staff of professors though he had been cautioned that not more than two would be available for the first two or three years. Everything was later to indicate that the evolution of the college had been unduly forced; but Emig in his enterprising, aggressive way, saw in the situation only an opportunity to be seized promptly and at every cost. Bishop Spalding was at one time to note and praise the father's ample fund of energy; and of the possession of this secret to achievement the latter was now to give obvious proof as he set about preparing the way for a Catholic college in Louisville.

The *Catholic Advocate* in its issue of August 26, 1848, informed the Catholics of Louisville that "Father Emig of the Society of Jesus had reached the city to take charge of the free school lately conducted by the Brothers of St. Francis." "We cannot be too grateful to the Rev. Father Elet, the Provincial of St. Louis for having so kindly consented to come to our assistance in the time of need and especially for having sent us a man of so much ability, etc. The school is our glory and our crown; it has already done much good and is calculated to do much more in future if properly encouraged and sustained, as we are confident it will be." At a meeting of the cathedral congregation held after Mass on Sunday, August 27, Benjamin Webb being secretary, a vote of thanks to Father Elet "for having consented to take charge of the Catholic Free School in this city" was unanimously adopted. Resolu-

²³ "The city south of Jefferson street is very beautiful. The streets are lined on either side with large and elegant shade trees, the houses are provided with little green yards in front and are cleanly kept, presenting a graceful and home-like appearance. An impression of elegant ease everywhere characterizes this part of the city." From a description of Louisville in 1852 by Ben Cassedy. J. Stoddard Johnston (ed.), *Memorial History of Louisville from its First Settlement to the Year 1896*, 1:85, 97.

²⁴ "Meanwhile we shall continue to attend to the Academy and Free School, which was the original object of the college and which has not been affected by its being closed." Murphy to Spalding, April 14, 1855. (Letter indorsed "not sent"). (A).

tions were also passed pledging the congregation to make up any deficit that might occur in the income from the tuition-money that was to go to the "suitable support of Father Emig and his associates." It was finally resolved to hold a fair "in order to provide additional means for rendering the school permanent by connecting with it a Collegiate Institute for higher education."²⁵

§ 3. ST. ALOYSIUS COLLEGE

The free school began its career under Jesuit management on September 5, 1848. In November the *Advocate* reminded the Catholic laity that the conductors of the school depended entirely on their contributions for support. "We cannot expect the gentlemen who now conduct the school to remain unless we support them. They have been put to considerable expense in fitting up the house and they will also need something to provide for the coming winter." The following January the *Advocate* reported: "Many fail to pay the small quarterly amounts agreed on for the purpose and Father Emig and his worthy associates have in consequence been seriously straitened for means during the last month or two. . . . We are rejoiced to learn that the Catholic ladies of Louisville are exerting themselves with commendable spirit towards getting up a Fair in the Spring for the purpose of enabling Father Emig to connect a Collegiate Institute with the Free School. . . . Upon its results will mainly depend the permanency of the Free School."²⁶ The fair, which was held in the Easter week of 1849, netted some seventeen hundred dollars. The plan entertained at this juncture was to add one or more stories to the building of the free school and to hold the college classes in the new rooms thus made available until circumstances should permit the erection of a separate building. The plan was subsequently abandoned, Father Emig having determined to begin at once a separate college building. For this purpose a lot of one hundred feet, fifty of which was a gift from the Bishop, was acquired on the east side of Fourth Street between Chestnut and Broadway. This property immediately adjoined the lot of the free school, which continued to remain under Jesuit direction.

A correspondence of Father Emig's covering the period February-July, 1849, and addressed for the most part to Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University, reveals the travail of mind and body he underwent as he pushed the project of the college forward to a successful issue:

²⁵ *Catholic Advocate*, September 2, 1848.

²⁶ *Catholic Advocate*, November 11, 1848; January 27, 1849. According to the *Register of the Catholic Free School* the tuition of practically all the boys was being paid for at the rate of a dollar or a dollar and a half quarterly. (A).



John Baptist Emig, S.J. (1808-1889), builder and first rector of St. Aloysius College, Louisville, Ky.



St. Aloysius College, Louisville, Ky. The middle section is the building erected by Father Emig in 1849, the wings being later additions.

The Ladies of Louisville have kindly volunteered their services to hold a fair during the ensuing Easter week in order to realize means that your Brother of the Society of Jesus may be enabled to raise suitable buildings for College purposes. During this fair there will daily be edited a paper called the *Meteor*, if a sum of \$225. for which the paper will be printed, can be raised by charitable pecuniary contributions. I would, therefore, kindly request your Reverence, to lend a helping hand to a poor Brother, who, in his humble petition, has no other object in view than the motto of our holy Founder, the Major Dei Gloria. Should he succeed in this humiliating, yet necessary request, he might in all probability realize about \$300 on the paper, as he is of opinion (the price of a set of the paper being \$1.00) that with very great exertion he might obtain 300 subscribers in Louisville and in the neighborhood.²⁷

The Catholic Advocate has undoubtedly informed you of our exhibition on the 22nd ult. [February]. Though the Exercises were only to begin at 2½ o'clock P.M., at one the hall was already nearly filled. Never did I see a better pleased audience. Since that time my fair became the object of general exertion. The troubles with which I met at first, and the difficulties which presented themselves are almost beyond belief. A perfect stranger in the city, scarce acquainted with half a dozen persons, no friend to introduce me into any family, and yet to agitate the movement about a fair, appeared to be nothing but a rash undertaking and vain and fruitless attempt. Yet I had so many happy precursors, slander, calumny, persecution, interior trials and bodily wants, that, interpreting these omens by Father De Theux's infallible rule (R. I. P.) there never entered a doubt about success into my mind. So far, judging from the great preparations, I have not been deceived in my expectations. Even the *Meteor* will be a rare phenomenon. Its brilliancy will rouse the slumbering muse of the University.²⁸

The famous St. Aloysius was commenced on the 24th inst. [May], than which a better day could not have been found, being the feast *Auxilium Christianorum*. It is in her and our Patron, St. Aloysius, that all my confidence is centered; to their intercession I look for means. And indeed some super-natural or heavenly agent must carry on the work; it would be preposterous on my part to undertake a gigantic task, as that of building a college, 70 feet front, 55 deep and 40 feet high (three stories) with a trifling amount of \$1700 which was the proceeds of the fair. The subscription-books were opened three days ago; I gave notice of it to Father Verhaegen, and the good man, as clever as ever, answered by return of

²⁷ Emig to Druyt, February 18, 1849. (A). A complete file of the *Meteor* issued during Father Emig's fair is in the library of St. Louis University.

²⁸ Emig to Druyt, March 13, 1849. (A). Father Duerinck of the Bardstown staff visited Louisville in December, 1848. "Father Emig is getting up in Louisville; he is ever true to himself; he works day and night and it would do one good to see him get some clever help. He is a perfect gentleman to lodge with; he is ever attentive to his guests." Duerinck to Druyt, December 17, 1848. (A).

next mail that his name shall not stand in my book with anything less than \$100.

The house when finished will cost no less than \$6500 and the extras, chairs, tables, well, railing, fixing up of playground, will raise the above amount by at least \$1000. The lot itself cost \$2000 so that St. Aloysius College will come to nothing less than \$9500. The \$2000 on hand will lessen it to \$7500.²⁹

Your favor of the 12th ult. is hereby acknowledged. Gratitude should have dictated these lines long ago. A full school, however, of nearly 300 children (and myself almost an isolated teacher) whom I had to prepare for Examination and Exhibition, snatched from me every leisure moment. The little time that offered itself on Sundays and in recreation hours was given to the collection of dimes and (dollars?) towards the new St. Aloysius College. The third story of the building has just been commenced and God willing the house will be under roof by the feast of St. Ignatius. It presents a front of 70 feet and is 55 feet deep. Money comes in rather slow.

On Monday last we had our Exhibition. A glorious day for our maturing institution. At 6½ o'clock P.M. the scholars were formed into ranks, two and two; the glorious banner of liberty 12 feet long and 6½ wide, headed the procession; then moved on at regular intervals, the boys all in uniform; a band of twelve followed the children, and the whole procession closed with the Philomathion Society, from whose shoulders floated down the most beautiful scarfs. The sight was imposing and something never seen before by the people of Louisville. Whilst marching from the school-house, through the principal streets to the Apollo rooms, the side-walks were thronged with human beings. The City-Marshall on horseback accompanied us from our door to the Exhibition room. Had the hall been three times as large, it would have been filled to overflowing. The children spoke well. The repeated thunders of applause were indicative of the people's satisfaction and delight.³⁰

Saint Aloysius college was opened on the 10th of September under very favorable auspices if we consider but one side of the picture,—but if both, the drawing shows nothing of pleasing aspect. . . . I have but two brothers, one teaches 5½ hours in the free school; the other is buyer and cook, refectorian and caller etc. etc. For two months already had I to hire a couple of men to do the housework, to level the playground in front of the college, to clean up a large house *et cet.* Whence I have to draw the means to defray these expenses, I have not yet learned.

During the first week of school, I started for Cin'ti on a teacher-hunt, leaving a small note with Mr. Beckwith, my prefect of studies, to go on as quietly as possible till I should return. My intention was to engage Jeremiah Hackett. Whilst half-way between Louisville and Cin'ti, the boat ran into

²⁹ Emig to Druyts, May 26, 1849. (A). Verhaegen, De Blicck and Druyts, rectors respectively of the Jesuit colleges of Bardstown, Cincinnati and St. Louis subscribed each one hundred dollars to Emig's building-fund.

³⁰ Emig to Kernion, July 13, 1849. (A).

a sand-bar, from which she extricated herself after two and a half day's work. The idea of the confusion and trouble at home, and of being flat on a bar, made me feel miserable. After all, on reaching Cin'ti Hackett was unwilling to teach an elementary class, stating that he could obtain such a thing at any time and place. Well—*hic haeret aqua!* What was to be done? The college was neglected from its commencement;—a teacher is wanting and I in the bargain am from home. . . . I keep 4½ hours study, teach two hours Latin and Greek and ½ hour history. I am Procurator and must collect the money subscribed towards the college; I am the only Confessor of nearly three hundred children and have to preach every Sunday. What next!

Our number of scholars is 91, with fine prospects of an increase. The college will be entirely finished the present month. The building will cost about \$8000 and the lot \$2000. . . . Last week I engaged a teacher for the college, and three weeks ago one for the free-school. Hurrah for St. Aloysius—to buy a lot without money, to build a college without means; and to have to engage teachers and pay them, whilst destitute of both money and means. From this you can infer what an act of charity you must have performed by subscribing \$100. A just God will give you your reward. One thing consoles me in all my afflictions, that the men of St. Aloysius are men of untiring exertions and of unprecedented willingness to do more. Though everyone teaches upwards of six hours, yet when they see that I might give out in strength they are at hand to perform part of my task. Pray for me that God in His mercy may give me strength and courage not to surrender the ship.³¹

St. Aloysius College draws nigh to its completion. It is the most substantial building in Louisville. If not in size, at least in beauty and strength it stands foremost of all our Western colleges. Thus far the patronage of our college exceeded our expectations, the more so as great Father Larkin, who was the idol in the city of the Falls, was rather an unauspicious precedent for me. Yet, *Deo dante*, we have almost twice the number of pay scholars of our predecessor's school. This is sufficient of success and glory for the first year, I might say for the first month. Till now we have not met with any opposition and the public prints have on all occasions shown nothing but kindness. Though religious prejudice may yet keep at a distance many a

³¹ Emig to Druyts, October 2, 1849. (A). "This Literary Establishment is situated on Fourth Street, between Chestnut and Broadway. The site is one of the most beautiful, eligible and healthy of Louisville. The College buildings measure seventy feet front, fifty-five in depth and are three stories high. The schoolrooms, six in number, can compete with any of our Institutions in beauty, airiness and space. They are 28 feet by 17.3 and a little over 12 feet high. The floor of the rooms is six feet above ground. In front of the College there is a play-ground of one hundred feet square." *Prospectus of St. Aloysius College*, 1850. "In the month of May last, a stranger passing the corner of Fourth and Broadway, might have noticed a beautiful lot commanding a view of nearly the whole city; the ground then was bare. Four months only have elapsed; a splendid building has sprung up." *Catholic Advocate*, 1849.

scholar, nevertheless I have been assured that almost every Protestant calls St. Aloysius College the best school in Louisville. Of late we became even proverbial for keeping good order and maintaining discipline among the scholars. The use of tobacco is entirely banished from our premises and none of the students have yet been found to introduce any. The ferule has till now rendered no service and it is my determination not to use it at all. This, surely, speaks volumes for the boys of Louisville whom some busy souls were eager to describe as a set of rowdies. We have 104 enrolled on our catalogue and I shall not be astonished if the last day of the year would see the number increased to 125.

I have earnestly to beg your Reverence, should it be practicable at present, to do me the great favor of sending me your subscription towards the College. Were distress in all shapes not at its height, I would never have asked but permitted you spontaneously to come forward with your kind gift. But man is capable of anything when he has to enter the arena for life and death.³²

The first year of St. Aloysius closed with commencement exercises July 8, 1850. The catalogue showed a registration of one hundred and fifty-four, a number that went far beyond reasonable expectation and must have been grateful recompense to Father Emig for the painful experiences through which he had passed. Associated with him on the college-staff this initial year of its history were Father Charles Messea, the scholastics, John Beckwith, James Halpin and George Watson, a coadjutor-brother, John Coveney and a lay teacher, Patrick O'Farrell.

The second session of St. Aloysius College began on September 3, 1850, with a registration of one hundred and twenty. In the course of that month Father Emig was relieved of his duties as rector of St. Aloysius and assigned to St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. Father Adrian Van Hulst was thereupon appointed to the rectorship of St. Aloysius College, taking up his duties in October, 1850. Sometime later, Bishop Spalding, always an admirer of Emig's overflowing energy, petitioned that he be instructed to return to Louisville. In the June following his retirement from St. Aloysius, Father Emig was installed as rector of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. In 1862 he was transferred to the Jesuit province of Maryland, dying at Conewago, Pennsylvania, December 10, 1889, at the age of eighty-one.

The same month that witnessed a new rector at St. Aloysius witnessed Father Elet arrive in Louisville to make his official visitation of the college. The zeal and devotion to duty which he found to exist in the faculty impressed him as he set down in his memorial or report on the visitation:

³² Emig to Druys, November 6, 1849. (A).

Father provincial in closing the visitation of St. Aloysius College takes pleasure in bearing testimony to the unrelenting zeal of its members in promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of those entrusted to their care, despite numberless difficulties inseparable from an institution just opened, without a competent number of professors, and without any other source of revenue than the very moderate tuition-fee paid by the scholars. The rapid increase of the pupils is a proof that the conduct of Ours at home and abroad is such as to entitle them to public esteem and the confidence of the public. Let all endeavor to encourage one another to the faithful discharge of their respective duties by word and example, and in the hour of trials and difficulties look up to God, our support in life and our reward in eternity.³³

A few specific instructions were left with the rector, among others, that a copy of the *Ratio Studiorum* be left in a place accessible to the professors, that the Memorial of Father Kenney, Visitor of the Missouri Mission in 1832, together with the decree *de Minervalibus* be copied and read at table at the proper times, that a fence be built between the respective playgrounds of the college and the free school, and that the scholastics be permitted to visit St. Louis during the summer vacation.

On March 3, 1851, the General Assembly of Kentucky approved an act incorporating St. Aloysius College as "a seminary of learning in the city of Louisville promoted and sustained by Roman Catholic clergymen of that city by means of their own resources, industry and intelligence . . . the seminary has been open and free for persons of every denomination since its establishment and will forever so continue to be and now contains one hundred and sixty students, the managers thereof requiring an observance of moral rectitude and a compliance with the established collegiate regulations by pupils upon their entry thereof and their continuance therein." The college was granted a liberal charter, being empowered to confer the "various degrees of A.M., A.B., D.D. and L.L.D." Further, it was to be "forever free from state and city taxation," provided the value of the college property did not exceed the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. The trustees named in the act of incorporation were Martin J. Spalding, Adrian Van Hulst, Ignatius Maes, Charles Messea, John F. Beckwith, James Halpin and George Watson, all with the exception of Bishop Spalding being Jesuit members of the faculty.

Though thus given a collegiate status, St. Aloysius as a matter of fact in its brief career of three years never rose in curriculum and actual scholastic achievement even to the level of a well-organized high school or academy. Probably no students had been brought beyond two or three years of classical study at the time the institution closed its doors.

³³ De Smet Letter Book (1850). (A).

On May 19, 1851, Father Theobald Mathew, "the Apostle of Temperance," was tendered a reception by the faculty and students, addresses in English, Latin, Greek, French and German being delivered on the occasion. A few months before, Bishop Spalding, in a letter to the vice-provincial, had expressed his satisfaction with the college. "St. Aloysius College is flourishing with about 175 students. Father Van Hulst is liked the more he becomes known. Father Maes is doing remarkably well in the Free School. My heart rejoices at so much good being done A.M.D.G." ³⁴

Father Van Hulst directed the destinies of St. Aloysius College for less than a year, being eager to lay aside the dignity of college president for the career of an Indian missionary. Father De Smet sent him these lines in February, 1851:

I am indeed glad to hear that the prosperity of St. Aloysius College continues onwards; no doubt a great deal of good will be done in Louisville by means of the instruction of youth, which had been so long neglected in that city. In your position, difficulties, obstacles and miseries will at the same time surround you—St. Ignatius asked for them in his prayer to God (for him and his children)—and if we judge from appearances, the Lord has heard his prayer. "If any man will come etc. let him take up his cross," was the bargain the Lord made with his disciples, who must not be better off than their Master. Only patience, courage and perseverance and the work will progress. With regard to the Indian Missions, I believe there is a prospect for you—his Paternity has written to Father Miede that his Bulls will return to him and he must accept. In this case F. Miede has asked for you and I would not wonder if his petition were granted—knowing your dispositions in this regard, I have seconded him. ³⁵

On June 29, 1851, Father Van Hulst was succeeded in the rectorship of St. Aloysius College by Father Francis Xavier d'Hoop.

On July 4 and 5 were held the exercises of the second commencement, including public examinations, at which a number of parents of the students were present. Bishop Spalding lent his presence to the occasion, congratulating the fathers on the success achieved by the college after only two years of life and announcing to the public the name of the new rector, Father d'Hoop. The outgoing superior was to have his desire for the Indian missions gratified, though not immediately. After serving a year as minister at Bardstown, Father Van Hulst was assigned to the Osage Mission to replace Father Bax, whose premature death had been a distressing blow to that important center of Catholic missionary effort in Kansas.

³⁴ *Litterae Annuae*, 1851. (A). Spalding to Elet, February 11, 1851. (AA).

³⁵ De Smet to Van Hulst, February 10, 1851. (A).

Francis Xavier d'Hoop, a Belgian, was in his thirty-ninth year at the time he took over the direction of St. Aloysius College. He had come to the United States in 1837 in company with Father De Smet and other candidates for the Society, all entering the Florissant novitiate together in November of that year. Contrary to expectation, the session 1851-1852, the first during Father d'Hoop's incumbency as rector, opened with a low registration, only seventy students reporting the first week. During the vacation season two lay professors of the college, who had been dropped from the faculty, made a house-to-house canvas of the students' homes in the endeavor to excite prejudice against the institution, each of them announcing at the same time that he intended starting a school of his own. A considerable number of boys were thus diverted from St. Aloysius, attendance at which, however, notably increased. It went from seventy to a hundred the second week of the session, rose to a hundred and twelve in October, and before the year was over reached as high as a hundred and fifty. Meantime, somewhere around Christmas the two opposition schools ceased to be, the pupils of one deserting the teacher, and the teacher of the other deserting the pupils.³⁶

Besides Mr. John Beckwith (Van Wesenbeck), who had accompanied Father Emig to Louisville in 1848 to assist in the management of the free school, Jesuit professors attached to St. Aloysius during its brief career were Fathers Messea, De Coen, Maes and Isidore Boudreaux and the scholastics Halpin, Watson, Girsch and Heylen. The coadjutor-brothers serving the institution included Brothers Donahue, Plank, Coveney, Dohan, Patik, King and Schmidt.

§ 4. PASSING OF THE COLLEGE

All through its brief career the Louisville college bore the character of an experiment, the issue of which was continually in doubt. Within a year of its inception Father Roothaan characterized it as a venture hasty and ill-advised.³⁷ Two years later he expressed himself again in the same sense, adding that he would gladly see the vice-province free itself of the incumbance of Louisville.³⁸ Finally, to Bishop Spalding he expressed with frankness his disapproval of the manner in which the college had been begun:

The promise to keep the Free School must be kept absolutely nor may the latter be now given up merely because the college has been taken in hand so precipitately. I say, Bishop, that the College was started in too great

³⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, 1851.

³⁷ Roothaan ad Elet, July 30, 1850. (A).

³⁸ Roothaan ad Murphy, January 26, 1852. (A).

a hurry. And, in truth, the great plague of the Society in your part of the world is this, that we undertake too many things and do not leave time for the training of subjects, as it is necessary to do. As a result, the latter cannot go through their studies properly and as a matter of fact many find themselves ruined in this regard. Father Emig himself is a case in point. Busily employed for so many years and thrown into work of various kinds, he has not found it possible to make his studies in due form. I understand quite well how urgent are the needs; but if things go on there at this pace, I cannot help entertaining very great fears for the future of that portion of the Society where the harvest is gathered before it is ripe and where one must look for grass instead of grain. This is my chief solicitude and I do not fail to preach on the subject continually in my letters. In view of all this, I should not have indorsed *a priori* the taking over even of the Free School in Louisville, though *post factum* and after hearing of the great good that is being done in it, I cannot do otherwise than give it praise. But as to the college I cannot approve of the exceeding hurry that has marked the whole affair.

I cannot fail to express my displeasure with both Fathers Emig and Elet, as they should not have entered into engagements of this kind without the previous and explicit consent of the General.

In conclusion, Bishop, the free school, so I repeat, will be continued, as having been promised. The college? I do not myself see how it will be possible to make it go forward with such precipitation.³⁹

To Father Murphy, who succeeded Father Elet in the capacity of vice-provincial in the summer of 1851, the inexpediency of the Louisville venture was clear from the beginning. "I have always thought," so he wrote to the Father General, "that even though the college flourished, it would have been better to wait some years before beginning at Louisville. With this house less, the other houses would be more at their ease and some additional scholastics would go to join the colony of nine students sent to Georgetown." The following year he made bold to broach with Bishop Spalding the question of suppressing the college, at the same time bringing to the prelate's notice, as he had not previously ventured to do, that wherever the Jesuits had a college they also had a church in which the sacred ministry was exercised. "In a conversation which I had with him at Louisville he spoke to me at length of the agreements, of the documents signed on one side and the other, of the signatures of Ours 'in due form of law.' I answered him in Latin, *justa quidem, iniqua tamen*; and I added in English that he had showed himself a more skilful negotiator than the Jesuits with all their *savoir faire*. This made him laugh and he had the air of agreeing with what I said. As soon as the documents in question were sent by Father Elet, the Bishop's brother, the vicar-gen-

³⁹ Undated. Original in Italian. (AA).

eral, exclaimed: 'We've got them, those Jesuits.' He is right. *Deus intersit.*"⁴⁰

The documents to which Bishop Spalding made appeal have not come to light and nothing precise may therefore be said regarding their contents. In December, 1849, the prelate informed Father Roothaan that the college property and the money to build on it had been given by himself and the people "on the express and accepted condition that the Free School be maintained by the Fathers of the College *in perpetuum*." The matter was explained somewhat differently by Father Elet in a letter of February 11, 1850, to the General. The vice-provincial declared that on asking the Bishop for the title to the property, which the Bishop himself had sold to the Jesuits as part site for the college, he was informed that they would first have to pledge themselves in writing to maintain the Free School in perpetuity. To this Elet replied that the income from the pay school being precarious, circumstances might arise which would render it impracticable to continue the free school; hence, he could not oblige himself to its maintenance absolutely and under all circumstances. However, should it be relinquished, the Jesuits would reimburse the Bishop for the financial aid lent them with a view to its support.⁴¹ What were the precise terms under which Elet finally accepted the Free School are nowhere stated. For one thing, it appears he was to reimburse the Bishop to the extent of twenty-six hundred dollars in case the school were given up. At all events he evidently pledged himself and his successors in some way to maintain it as Father Roothaan's letter to Bishop Spalding clearly indicates.

Finally, in May, 1852, Father Roothaan, in response to a petition from Father Murphy and his consultors, signified his consent to the closing of the college. "I am not at all averse," he informed Murphy, "to the closing of the Louisville college, which was started without due consideration. It is certainly a matter of regret if the Province is thereby to assume a new burden of debt; but it would be more regrettable still if after the college had run into greater debt, we should have to abandon it at a more costly sacrifice. I do not see how the free school can be maintained once the college is suppressed. I give your Reverence full permission to do whatever you shall judge to be best in the Lord."⁴²

With the circumstances which were thus to bring about the withdrawal of the Jesuits from the educational field in Louisville no man

⁴⁰ Murphy à Roothaan, October 8, 1851; April 23, 1852. (AA).

⁴¹ Elet à Roothaan, February 11, 1850. (AA).

⁴² Roothaan à Murphy, May 23, 1852. (AA).

was better conversant than the rector of St. Aloysius, Father d'Hoop. Letters of his to the Father General throw light on the situation.

Leaving out of account the good which the college will sooner or later furnish us the occasion of doing through the exercise of the sacred ministry, it seems to me that a great mistake was made in establishing it. If it was necessary *per fas et nefas* to multiply the colleges of this Vice-Province, one might have done so in a place [state] where we did not have any and where we might have done more good for religion and humanity. Nowhere in the United States does one find so many Catholic establishments grouped together as in this vicinity. Poor Catholics had a Free School here, others in easier circumstances had St. Mary's College, the one-time college of our Fathers in this state, where rates for boarding are low, while Catholic parents favored by fortune could have sent their children to our colleges at Cincinnati or Bardstown, which latter place one can get to [from here] in half a day.

Father d'Hoop then sketches in brief the financial status of the college in December, 1851. Tuition-money fell far short of the running expenses of the institution. During the scholastic year 1851-1852 debts and interest dues totalling \$3,384 were to be met, while tuition-money for the same period would probably amount to thirty-six hundred dollars, leaving a surplus of only two hundred and sixteen dollars. Besides, current expenses for upkeep of school and faculty had yet to be discharged. Payments under this head amounting to two thousand dollars would fall due in February, 1852, and of this sum d'Hoop did not see his way to raising more than one hundred dollars. In his plight he had turned for help to the vice-provincial, Murphy, but the latter's resources were exhausted. He was now addressing himself to the General, imploring him with all the air of a man in the most distressing circumstances to come to his relief.⁴³

Four months later Father d'Hoop announced to the General the impending suspension of the college:

Our college is at present highly prosperous. We have more pupils than ever before. No hope of making a single convert among our Protestant scholars. Our Catholic children, to the number of 77, are doing well. All who have made their first communion frequent the holy sacraments every month, one single pupil excepted.

Although the college, in the opinion of Ours finds itself just now at the highest degree of prosperity, there will nevertheless be a deficit of about 1000 dollars at the end of this scholastic year.

Such being our financial state, without a future any more auspicious before us, we have decided to follow the decision of your Paternity on the

⁴³ d'Hoop à Roothaan, December 5, 1851. (AA).

issue, namely, to give up the college. The grave difficulties which must naturally beset a step of this kind have occasioned us no little perplexity and reflection. After many prayers offered up for this intention the resolution was reached to give up this institution and we were anxious to speak about the matter directly with the Bishop. But several reasons, especially the publicity that would be given before the measure could be put through, determined us to postpone it to next vacation. Divine Providence has wished otherwise in the matter. Yesterday the Bishop wrote us a brief note advising us that he had a chance to dispose for ten years of the land of his which adjoins our college and that if we wished to buy it ourselves he should like to know so the following day. Reverend Father Provincial [Murphy] accompanied by Father Minister [De Coen] and myself went to see him at once. We made known to him that, far from being able to purchase this property, we should be forced to relinquish the college, and chiefly for the two following reasons. The revenues of the college did not suffice to pay our living expenses and debts; moreover our young professors would have to proceed to their [divinity] studies. Notwithstanding our statement, as precise and detailed as we could make it, his Lordship showed that he could not understand such a financial condition with so many pupils. One would have, he said, to simplify and economize more. The second reason, he admitted. We offered him the college property on condition that he assumed the debt upon it, giving him to understand too, that we would continue the Free School until such a time as his Lordship should be in a position to make other arrangements. At first blush, this proposition did not seem to be altogether displeasing to him; but in the end he refused to accept it. He repeated several times that he was and always would be strongly opposed to our project. It will produce, said he, a bad effect upon the public and will do harm to your Society. He took leave of us, promising to keep the secret both here and at the impending Council of Baltimore and saying he hoped we would remain.

It is evident, Very Reverend Father, that we have been bound hand and foot and delivered over by our predecessors. Without a great pecuniary sacrifice we cannot pull ourselves out of a position prejudicial at once to the finances and the personnel of the Vice-Province. In effect a dozen subjects are wearing themselves out only to put the Vice-Province into debt and to teach a hundred Protestants (without giving them the least religious instruction) together with a few Catholics who perhaps would be better off in the Free School. We count on continuing the latter until a new arrangement is made, the more so as the agreement made with the Bishop obliges the Vice-Province to pay him \$2500 in case we withdraw from the school, not to speak of half of the property on which the college is built, which would return to him in the same supposition. Our idea then is to close the college next July and to give to the public an account of the imperative reasons which make it a duty for us to do so. We believe that the cession of the entire property, land, building, furniture, books etc., a value of at least \$12000 against a debt of some \$9000, together with the continuance of the Free School, would set us perfectly right before the public. As to

rumors and reports we bother ourselves very little about them. There is only one difficulty and that is a debt of 8 or 9 thousand dollars with which the Province would be charged in case the above arrangement could not be effected with the public. To sell the property would be odious, even though one should find a purchaser, which is very doubtful, as everybody declares.⁴⁴

The session 1851-1852 of St. Aloysius College closed with commencement exercises that extended over two days, July 4 and 5. In the course of that same month announcement was made to Bishop Spalding and the public that the institution would not be reopened. The *Annual Letters* for 1852 advert to the facts that Washington's Birthday and Independence Day of that year were celebrated by the college with an enthusiasm that gave no hint of its approaching dissolution, while the academic year came to an end with one hundred and seventy-four students in attendance. That in the face of such tokens of prosperity the college, at the instance of its managers, should cease to be, was due to reasons which, as detailed in the *Annual Letters*, are identical with those which Fathers De Smet and O'Loughlen subsequently presented to Bishop Spalding. The financial outlook of the institution was little short of desperate. Students were indeed flocking to it in ever-increasing numbers, but the growing registration added only to the discomfort of student-body and faculty as quarters for both were already taxed beyond capacity. Among the non-Catholic students, who appear to have been considerably in the majority, not a single conversion seems to have taken place, and adequate spiritual care of the Catholic students was rendered impracticable. The youth of Louisville, however, was not in consequence of the suspension of St. Aloysius College left deprived of all opportunity of a Catholic education. The Jesuit boarding-schools in Cincinnati and Bardstown, the latter distant only a few miles from Louisville, were open to the sons of such parents as could meet the expense. Moreover, observe the *Annual Letters*, the original intention of superiors in going into Louisville is now being realized. For the free school for boys is still being maintained, while attached to it is an academy or day school for the boys of families comfortably circumstanced. The former counts an attendance of two hundred, the latter of thirty-two boys. "Nor let anyone think it strange that more fruit for souls is now being gathered by our two men than was formerly gathered by ten. May Heaven grant that we may continue making the same progress as before."⁴⁵

The reasons that necessitated the suspension of the college were formally laid before Bishop Spalding in August, 1852, by Fathers De

⁴⁴ d'Hoop à Roothaan, April 12, 1852. (AA).

⁴⁵ *Litterae Annuae*, 1852. (A).

Smet and O'Loghlen, who were sent from St. Louis to Louisville on this mission by Father Murphy.⁴⁶ They are detailed in a letter of De Smet's to the General:

1. The Father General's explicit consent to the opening of St. Aloysius had never been secured.

2. The Vice-Province was short of men. Recent deaths among the Fathers and scholastics had reduced its personnel, besides which many of the immigrant German Jesuits of 1848 had returned to their own Province.

3. The majority of the students of St. Aloysius were Protestants, who seemed to profit little in a religious way from their attendance at the institution; on the contrary, their presence was deemed harmful to the Catholic students.

4. The annual running expenses of the College were eight hundred dollars in excess of the revenue.

When his Lordship was made acquainted with the various motives that necessitated the suppression of the College of St. Aloysius, he seemed to enter into the views of Rev. Father Provincial. He spoke in favor of keeping up the Free School and showed us a letter of your Paternity as being agreed with him on this point. The following note was then presented to the Bishop. "The undersigned are authorized to offer to your Lordship the house and property known under the name of St. Aloysius [Louisville] provided that he assume all the liabilities of said establishment. The itemized list of liabilities which follows includes a debt in notes and loans amounting to \$8,155. If your Lordship agrees to accept this offer, arrangement will be immediately made to carry it into effect.

(Signed) F. O'Loghlen, S.J.
P. J. De Smet, S.J."

The sum of \$800 subscribed by the Vice-Province towards the building of the college has been remitted. Remission has likewise been made of the \$1700 paid to the Bishop for a part of the property. The furniture, library and physical cabinet cover these two sums and have already been transported to Bardstown College, where they will be found useful and even necessary.

Catholics appear to be distressed at the departure of Ours from Louisville, but without attaching any blame to the Superior for taking the step. They build hopes on the future, in the persuasion that the Society will one day render great service to Louisville, when it will have there, as elsewhere, a church of its own.

Very Rev. Father Provincial has already advised your Paternity that the ground and buildings of the Louisville college were paid for in great part by contributions from the inhabitants and by the Bishop's gift of a portion of the property. We have thought it our duty to make the arrangement described, so as not to have the appearance of profiting by the suspension of the

⁴⁶ Father Francis O'Loghlen, consultor of the vice-province, and professor of physics and mathematics in St. Louis University.

college. We expect to see soon such a disposition of the affair as will leave the Diocese in possession of a fine property and the Society unburdened of a considerable load of debt. This property, if put on the market, would bring at the present writing, from sixteen to eighteen thousand dollars. The municipality of Louisville or else the School of Medicine would be glad to acquire it at this price;—in a word, we hope with the assistance of God to withdraw with honor and without loss. So far heaven has blessed our efforts.⁴⁷

Before the end of September, 1852, the transfer of the college to the Bishop of Louisville had been effected on the terms, it would appear, which De Smet outlined in his report to Father Roothaan. On September 22, 1852, Murphy wrote to the Bishop signifying his satisfaction over the arrangement made:

I telegraphed yesterday, "please make arrangements for the infirmary according to your deed." This day I forward the agreement as requested. Thanks be to God and under heaven to you, R. Rev. Sir, for the settlement of this delicate business.

Your truly episcopal offer of a church proves your regard for the Society of Jesus and your sincere desire to have some of its members near you permanently. This I hope will be the case at a later date, but really our taking charge even of a chapel is utterly impossible. Besides, Father Baltus is called to Europe and others will probably soon follow (three have been written for). Since the 15 July death has taken away Mr. Girsch, F. F. [Fathers] Loretan and Bax, and Father Kalcher buried this very morning, so that it will be utterly out of our power for some time to undertake even a small mission. Those of Ohio (Chillicothe etc.) have been given up. I have begged of Archbishop Kenrick to take charge of the church and property of Washington, a day's journey from St. Louis; but there is no priest at his disposal. New Westphalia and other places must follow before long. The college and church of Milwaukee with the \$15000 bequeathed have been necessarily declined. For my part I openly profess my preference for your generous

⁴⁷ De Smet à Roothaan, September 6, 1852. (A). The terms of the transfer are stated somewhat differently by Father Murphy in a letter to Europe. "The Right Reverend Bishop takes the college for three years. He will pay the interest on the debt, fire insurance and \$150 to the free school. This little subsidy, offerings, the tuition-money of forty Catholic pupils formerly in the college and other little resources enable the community to get along. The Bishop's tenants indemnify him amply. He is very well satisfied with the arrangement. He would have wished us to build a church at once at a proper distance from the Cathedral. The fact is that he desires the welfare of his people and that his people desire the Society to work among them. The college property increases every day in value. Everybody says the Bishop will take it on our terms, which while indemnifying the Vice-Province in every way cannot but edify the public." Murphy à Pierling, November 15, 1852. (AA). A letter of De Smet's cited below states that the final transfer of the property and buildings was made for a consideration of \$8000 to be paid by the Bishop of Louisville to the Jesuits.

offer. I cannot but regret my inability to accept it. May the Lord send workmen for this harvest.⁴⁸

The building of the suppressed St. Aloysius College, thus acquired by Bishop Spalding in September, 1852, was in turn rented and later sold by him to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, who began to use it as a hospital under the name of St. Joseph's Infirmary. This use it continued to serve up to its demolition in 1926, when the institution was housed in a new and spacious structure in another quarter of Louisville.

§ 5. THE FREE SCHOOL RELINQUISHED

The attention of the two fathers stationed in Louisville from the closing of the college in 1852 up to the withdrawal of the Jesuits from the city in 1858 was devoted to the free school as also to the pay school or academy. At no time did they have a church or parish in Louisville, though the hope of having one was never abandoned and in fact was the only thing that held them from giving up their work in the city altogether.

To their having a church in the city Bishop Spalding made no objection, provided it stood at a proper distance from the cathedral, "the great proximity of which to the suppressed house," so Father Murphy wrote in August, 1853, "prevented us from exercising the ministry and caused us a swarm of embarrassments." The Bishop on dining with the Jesuits at St. Louis University in April, 1855, again tendered them leave to open a house and church anywhere in Louisville provided they would not locate too close to the cathedral and would not rely upon him for any of the expense. "Indeed the excellent prelate, in his desire to promote piety and goodness, is exceedingly anxious to make use of our services." With the passing of the college a period of delays and uncertainties set in with no successful attempt on the part of the Jesuits until 1858 to settle decisively the question of their permanent residence in the city. In January, 1854, Father Murphy and his advisers were of the opinion that the exact status, present and to come, of the Jesuits in Louisville should be clearly defined by the Bishop, who had already expressed himself in favor of their having a church, presumably a parish one. In April of the same year it was decided to continue the free school even though circumstances did not allow of a church.⁴⁹ In May it was determined to buy a church-site, which had been offered at a very moderate price, but for reasons not recorded the determination was not carried into effect. Meantime, in the midst of these dis-

⁴⁸ De Smet Letter Book, 3: 125. (A).

⁴⁹ *Liber Consultationum*. (A).

cussions death overtook Father d'Hoop, March 23, 1855. Benjamin Webb, whose sons were educated at St. Aloysius, has this tribute to his memory:

My acquaintance with Father Francis d'Hoop began in 1851 when he became president of the college of St. Aloysius, Louisville, and, in his death, four years later, I lost an esteemed friend. He was a learned and able priest, and an impressive preacher, simple in his manners, warm-hearted and generous, and equally remarkable for his goodness and kindness towards the poor and afflicted. While in Louisville, he was the confessor of many pious persons attached to the different congregations of the city, and also of members of the clergy. He was a constant sufferer from a chronic complaint that finally caused his death, but so great was his fortitude and so naturally cheerful his disposition that even his most intimate friends were not cognizant of his true condition.

The remains of Father d'Hoop were removed first to Bardstown, where they were buried near the old cathedral, and thence in 1868 to the cemetery of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, where with the remains of other Jesuit laborers in the Kentucky field they lie today.⁵⁰

Shortly after the death of d'Hoop, whose place as superior in Louisville was taken by Father James Halpin, the inability or hesitancy of the Jesuits to formulate a definite plan regarding their future work in the city led Bishop Spalding to address Father Murphy the following letter:

I rejoice that you will be saved the expense of rebuilding at present that old wing. When I will come up, it will afford me great pleasure to assist at the transfer of the remains of F. d'Hope [d'Hoop]. I thought I had sufficiently indicated the spot and regret the mistake as to the location. I trust that good F. d'Hope is at rest and praying for us poor pilgrims on earth.

At a meeting of my council last evening, three out of four members being present—I was unanimously advised to impress on your Reverence's attention the importance of an early decision of your Society in regard to the question of its *permanent* establishment in Louisville. The uncertainty and hesitancy of the last two or three years have greatly embarrassed the episcopal administration; and at present until this matter is settled, I shall be much at a loss to decide on the arrangements which it will be necessary to make especially for Louisville. And unless you decide the matter soon, duty may compel me to make such dispositions as will greatly impede if not prevent, your having such a permanent establishment here in future as you may desire. As I fully concur in opinion with my advisers, I think it right to speak plainly

⁵⁰ Webb, *op. cit.*, 437. Jesuit graves in Nazareth cemetery are those of Fathers Francis O'Loughlen, James Graves, Francis d'Hoop, Messrs. Henry Gossens, Nicholas Meyer, Christian Zealand (scholastics), and the coadjutor-brothers, Edmund Barry, James Morris and Samuel O'Connell.

to you on the subject. I hope that you will find it practicable to do something soon.⁵¹

Father Murphy's answer, he was just then on a visit to Bardstown, is dated only one day later than the Bishop's communication:

I thank you for "speaking plainly" to us, to use your own expressive words. Understanding (from report in town) that you are about to leave the city, I hasten to express my regret for having occasioned you inconvenience by delay and uncertainty and to beg of you to make all your arrangements without any reference to us. We should be sorry to stand in the way of present good. It is our hope to be able sooner or later to purchase a lot; but this measure is quite immaterial as regards yours, since we neither could nor would locate on it without your permission. In case of any difficulty it could be disposed of probably with advantage. To go into debt and to build, as times are, would be more than rashness. Let us but hope that it will always not be so. Indeed *reposita est haec spes in sinu meo*: but it is not ours, *nosse tempora et momenta*. Meanwhile we shall attend to the Academy and Free School, subject, however, to your Lordship's directions.⁵²

Two months later than this interchange of letters between the Bishop of Louisville and the Jesuit vice-provincial the latter had acquired property on Walnut Street in Louisville on which to build a church at such time as circumstances should permit. It was purchased from Bishop Spalding, who had himself bought it as a site for a church and who now deeded it over to the Jesuits at two-thirds the price of what it had cost him in consideration of their remitting the eight thousand dollars which he still owed them on the college property. Only a few months subsequent to this transaction occurred the Know-Nothing riot of August, 1855. The editor of the *Louisville Journal*, George D. Prentice, used the columns of his paper to fan public prejudice and passion against Catholics, especially those of foreign birth. Threats were freely made that members of the Church of Rome would be forcibly kept from the polls on the approaching election-day, August 5. When the day arrived every Catholic and every alien who attempted to approach the polls was driven away. The houses of Catholic citizens were burnt to the ground and scores of their occupants either perished in the flames or were shot down as they attempted to escape. The Catholic churches of the city were saved from destruction only by the vigorous remonstrances of Bishop Spalding, who induced the mayor of the city to put a check on the rioters. To Archbishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, Spalding wrote a few days after the outbreak of Bloody Monday as the day came to be known in Louisville history:

⁵¹ Spalding to Murphy, April 13, 1855. (A). De Smet Letter Book, 6: 323.

⁵² Murphy to Spalding, April 14, 1855. (A).

We have just passed through a reign of terror surpassed only by the Philadelphia riots. Nearly a hundred poor Irish and Germans have been butchered or burned and some twenty houses have been fired and burned to the ground. The city authorities, all Know-Nothings, looked calmly on, and they are now endeavoring to lay the blame on the Catholics.⁵³

Louisville business, as might have been foreseen, suffered serious harm in consequence of the riots, numerous Catholic residents closing up their affairs and moving out of the city to other localities. As to the property which the Jesuits had acquired for their future church, it was situated in the area most severely damaged during the outbreak and on that account as also owing to the moving away of Catholic families had become considerably less suited for its intended purpose.

Interesting glimpses of the fortunes of the little Jesuit residence in Louisville during these years are to be found in letters which De Smet in his capacity of consulor of the vice-province addressed at intervals to the Father General:

⁵³ Webb, *op. cit.*, 484. The account in Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville*, 1: 99, 100, puts the casualties at a lower figure than that given in Bishop Spalding's letter. "Between seven and one o'clock at night twelve houses, known as Quinn's Row, were burned on the north side of Main, east of Elwens [?] and two on the south side of Main, opposite. Patrick Quinn, the owner of the row bearing his name, was shot and his body partially consumed in the flames. A number of other houses were burned and more than twenty persons were killed or died from their wounds. For several hours the city was in possession of the mob and it required the united efforts of the prominent men of both parties to put an end to the riot. The Know Nothing ticket was elected by a large majority and it was a long time before the feeling aroused by the event subsided. The effect upon the State and city has been to repress foreign emigration, the last census (1890) showing that out of a total population in Kentucky of 1,858,635, only 59,356 were of foreign birth." The city of Louisville was required by the courts to indemnify property-owners for losses incurred on account of the riots. It is an interesting speculation just to what extent the percentage of Catholic residents in Louisville has been affected by the Know-Nothing riots of 1855. The influx of Catholic emigrants into the city, very considerable before that date, was no doubt checked by them. However, the Catholic population was put in 1858 as high as fifty per cent of the total. (See *supra*, note 22.) Again, in 1884 Webb estimated that "all of one half," of Louisville residents had been the "recipients of Catholic baptism," the same authority also declaring that "two-thirds of the Sunday churchgoers of Louisville are undoubtedly Catholic." (Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 295.) Allowing even for a considerable margin of error in these figures, there would seem to have been a notable decline in the relative Catholic population of Louisville, as a reliable estimate furnished the writer gives it at present only one-fourth or one-fifth of the total. At the same time, the U. S. government census of 1916 for Louisville (*Religious Bodies*, p. 125) gives the Catholics 53,474 or 41.3% out of a total church-going population of 129,529.

At Louisville Fathers d'Hoop and Maes conduct the school with admirable success—they teach more than two hundred Catholic children, rescued for the most part from Protestant schools. There are three assistant teachers in the school, each receiving a modest salary. The Fathers manage their little temporal affairs without aid from the Vice-Province.⁵⁴

While favoring Milwaukee by all means, we must not by any means lose sight of Louisville in Kentucky. We must try to retain our men in that place and have there a church and school. Louisville has forty thousand souls and will soon have a hundred thousand. Catholics are numerous there and in general devoted to the Society. Religion seems to languish there and the holy Sacraments are poorly frequented. The college of Bardstown could easily incur whatever preliminary expense would be needed to secure a suitable piece of property. Louisville is only a day's journey from St. Louis. In five hours you can cover the distance to Cincinnati. A Residence at Louisville would be of help to the College of Bardstown and even essential, I think, to the prosperity and well-being of that institution. The Fathers in Louisville find frequent occasion to recommend the College and to correct the bad impressions and refute the calumnies spread about by evil-minded persons and enemies of the Society.⁵⁵

Our Fathers do all the good that is possible in their position. They live in a shabby little house and have no church. The Society is respected in the city and leading Catholics have repeatedly expressed a desire to see our Fathers remain in the city and have a suitable church and establishment. The present Bishop recently made some highly favorable offers in this connection to Very Rev. Fr. Provincial. It is exceedingly to be desired for the Glory of God and the good of the Society that the plan be realized in some shape or another; religion, which appears to languish in Louisville, would be the gainer by it. As Louisville is the capital or principal city of Kentucky, this Residence would be of great advantage to St. Joseph's College, not to speak of it as a stopping-place for our travellers. The House or Residence of Louisville is without debts and without running into any, would have at its immediate disposition from 5 to 6 thousand dollars.⁵⁶

Rev. Fr. Provincial requests me to explain to your Paternity the new arrangement with the Bishop of Louisville of which he spoke in one of his letters. The Bishop owed us eight or nine thousand dollars in consequence of the cession of the property (buildings etc.) of the college suppressed by order of your predecessor. This sum became payable the 1st. of January of this year [1856]. . . . The Bishop has declared to Rev. Father Provincial that the Jesuits must come to some decision as to whether they intend to settle permanently in Louisville or not; and that if they wished to take over some property he had purchased as a site for a church, he would let them have it at two-thirds of the price of what it had cost him. In this way he would not be obliged to pay us the money due on January 1 of this year and we

⁵⁴ De Smet à Roothaan, January, 1853. (A).

⁵⁵ De Smet à Beckx, December 20, 1854. (A).

⁵⁶ De Smet à Beckx, January, 1855. (A).

should have at last a Church and House. Rev. Fr. Provincial with the Louisville Consultors and others thought it incumbent on us to accept the Bishop's offer. Following this new arrangement work was immediately begun on the steeple of the Cathedral and continued until the bloody riots of August. His Lordship and ourselves are now awaiting the good season of the Lord, he, to finish the cathedral steeple and we to make a beginning. The Residence and school of Louisville continue to prosper as before. The Bishop shows himself more and more favorable to us.

Since the recent riots, Louisville has lost a good number of Catholics, chiefly Irish & Germans, and for a long time to come, Catholic emigration from Europe will avoid this unfortunate and degraded town. Even today a large number of corpses lie under the ruins of the houses that were burnt down; the instigators of the riots continue to rule the town and exercise a sort of reign of terror over the Catholics. However, the opinion is that this state of affairs cannot last long and is now drawing to an end. A religious establishment is certainly necessary for putting on a firmer basis the college of Bardstown, which could easily furnish financial help towards building the Residence.⁵⁷

As the property which Father Murphy had acquired as a site for a church and residence had become undesirable for such purpose in consequence of the Know-Nothing riot of August, 1855, it was determined not to build until a more suitable location could be secured. That the Jesuits had as yet no intention of leaving Louisville appears from a report of De Smet to the Father General, dated the following year: "For some years back, Rev. Father Provincial and all his Consultors have been of one mind regarding the necessity of this establishment [Louisville]." ⁵⁸ Within a year, however, of this report of Father De Smet an entirely different view was taken of the Louisville situa-

⁵⁷ De Smet à Beckx, January, 1856. (A). "I only add that in the course of time the College of Bardstown will probably be transferred to Louisville. It is especially in a large town that a college with a good personnel can do most good in America —by its church, scholasticate etc." De Smet à Beckx, August 4, 1856. (A).

⁵⁸ De Smet à Beckx, May 13, 1856. (A). Opinion on the Louisville affair among the vice-provincial consultors was not always unanimous. In 1854 Gleizal and Druyts were both advising withdrawal from Louisville in favor of Milwaukee, to which Bishop Henni was then inviting the Jesuits. But both Murphy and his assistant, De Smet, were always of one mind in believing that the Jesuits should retain a foothold in Louisville, the chief reasons for doing so which they alleged being identical, viz. the great prospect of promoting the interests of religion in that field and the proximity of the Kentucky metropolis to Bardstown college. "It will be a house in which Ours in their travels can be received and business affairs of Bardstown College attended to with convenience. But these are little more than human considerations. What is of prime importance, much will be done there *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. Souls there are in a very miserable condition as many admit; there, as elsewhere where Ours have a church, a fountain of salvation will at last be opened up to many a man." Murphy ad Beckx, September 19, 1855. (AA).

tion. In August, 1856, Father Murphy was succeeded in office as vice-provincial by Father Druyts, a former president of St. Louis University. Father Druyts, after a visitation of the Kentucky houses of the vice-province in January, 1857, took counsel with his advisers in St. Louis on the perplexing Louisville problem with the result that a decision was reached to withdraw definitely from the field in July, 1857. Permission to take this step had already been obtained from the General, who, however, gave his consent with some reluctance. "My own mind is," he wrote to Druyts, May 28, 1857, "that we ought to follow the plan of which I wrote to you in my letter of January 7 of this year."⁵⁹ However, if the plan is impracticable and if the Consultors of the Vice-Province agree unanimously that the Residence in question ought to be suppressed, I am not unwilling that measures be taken to that effect and I authorize you to close the Residence provided this can be done without offense to the people. I consent indeed with reluctance, for it may be that in the course of time, with a change of circumstances and persons, the situation there may develop more in accordance with our wishes and in such event it would be greatly to our advantage to have a foothold."⁶⁰

At length, in June, 1857, Father Druyts notified Bishop Spalding of his set purpose to withdraw from Louisville. The fathers in charge of the free school were yet without adequate means of support though they had at their command the revenue of the pay school containing, in the Bishop's own words, "the children of the greater portion of the wealthier Catholics of Louisville." Nevertheless the attendance at the pay school was slender and the revenue therefrom proportionately small. At the same time, the Bishop was ready to pay one hundred and fifty or even two hundred dollars annually for the support of the fathers should the subsidy be required by them. In any event, he required six months previous notice of the Jesuits' withdrawal from Louisville, should this step be actually determined on. Druyts again informed the Bishop that the decision for withdrawal had been definitely taken but that, not to embarrass him in his administration of affairs, the measure would not be carried out before a year. In a final communication to Father Druyts the Bishop wrote:

True, the site purchased by Father Murphy in consequence of the riots which supervened and what followed them—for which I am surely not responsible—is not so favorable now as it was then; and I am still of opinion

⁵⁹ The plan, as proposed by Father Druyts and approved by Father Beckx, was to station only one father and one brother in Louisville as sufficient for the needs of the place.

⁶⁰ Beckx ad Druyts, May 28, 1857. (A).

and I think time will prove that I am correct—that a very large Catholic congregation will, in less than five years, be established in the upper part of the city.

The peculiar shape of Louisville, which is very long and very narrow, makes it impracticable and *impossible* that there should be more than one English church—the Cathedral—in a central position; and your two predecessors in office readily perceived and candidly admitted this. The only position which was practicable was towards one end of the city, where a church was, moreover, much needed. The principal difficulty was to reconcile the two—the church and the college—in the same location. All this was fully considered and calmly discussed and the result was Father Murphy's purchase.

I write this on the feast of your holy Founder and with the best feelings towards his children, barely observing in conclusion that as I consider your withdrawal from Louisville after a year as *final*, I am not to be blamed in future for any arrangements predicated on this fact, which I may deem it necessary for the good of religion to make. I thank you for the signal service rendered by your Fathers in giving retreats.⁶¹

At the period of this correspondence Father Peter De Meester was at the head of the Jesuit residence of St. Aloysius in Louisville, assisted, in the direction of the schools, by Father John Beckwith and Brother Thomas O'Neill. The close of the session 1857-1858 found Father De Meester the only Jesuit priest at the residence, with Brother Robert Robinson assisting as teacher in the schools. When these reopened in the following September, they were under the management of Reverend H. J. Brady, one of the priests attached to the cathedral. The Jesuits had retired from Louisville in the summer of 1858, the work of the vice-province of Missouri in the chief city of Kentucky having lasted a decade.⁶²

The Society of Jesus on its withdrawal from Louisville found itself in no unfriendly relations either with Bishop Spalding or the diocesan clergy. The Bishop in his communication of July 31, 1857, to Father Druyts, expressed his thanks, as was seen, for the "signal service" rendered by the fathers in giving retreats. This was a ministry which they were to continue to exercise in the diocese of Louisville even after the summer of 1858. The following September Father Ferdinand Coose-

⁶¹ Spalding to Druyts, July 31, 1857. (A).

⁶² The Louisville property purchased by Father Murphy was subdivided into lots and disposed of in 1859 through Judge M. B. Murphy of that city at a net return of \$6543, the purchasers paying one-fourth in cash and the remainder in time-notes running one, two or three years. The property had a frontage of 315 feet on Walnut Street. All the eleven purchasers bore German names, the property being probably in the vicinity of the present St. John's Church at Walnut and Clay Streets.

mans conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese at St. Joseph's College, Bardstown. Bishop Spalding with thirty-one of his priests was in attendance. All the retreatants, so we are told in a contemporary account, "admired and felt the unction with which he [Coosemans] rendered the spiritual exercises believed to have been divinely taught to St. Ignatius in the solitude of Manresa. Simple and unaffected in his style and manner, he was solid in his matter, adhering closely to the method of St. Ignatius, planting in faith and trusting to God to give the increase. . . . The retreat has given a new impulse to piety and zeal in the diocese."⁶³ In October of the same year, 1858, Coosemans, assisted by Father Cornelius Smarius then a young pulpit orator rapidly rising to distinction, preached a mission in the Louisville cathedral. Great crowds were in attendance, the seven or eight confessionals being thronged with penitents from morning to night. Coosemans was also called upon to preach the jubilee in the new Church of St. John, which was solemnly blessed October 31, 1858.⁶⁴

Nor did the Jesuits on leaving Louisville sever all connection as educators with Kentucky. They continued to hold the Bardstown college though they found it necessary to close it the first year of the Civil War, not subsequently reopening the institution, but restoring it with all its appurtenances to the diocese on December 15, 1868. Though the issue between the Society of Jesus and the diocesan authorities of Louisville over Bardstown originally concerned the title to the college property, which the Society held in trust only and not in fee-simple, this point of difference was in time more or less lost sight of, the decisive reason that ultimately led the Jesuits to decline reopening St. Joseph's College after the Civil War being the practical impossibility under the circumstances of supplying the necessary personnel. Meantime, Bishop Spalding's successor in the see of Louisville, Bishop Lavialle, had offered the Jesuits St. Patrick's Church in that city. Writing to Father Beckx on August 2, 1867, which was subsequent to the death of Bishop Lavialle, Father Coosemans, now the Missouri provincial, outlined a proposition that might be made to Bishop Lavialle's successor as a possible solution of the Bardstown problem:

I would suggest proposing to him, in case he should be unwilling to hear of our leaving the diocese, to transfer the Bardstown personnel to Louisville, with the object of beginning there a Residence and day-school of two or three classes, which, despite our lack of subjects, could be done by means of lay-professors. During the life-time of Mgr. Lavialle we were offered by him the church and Residence of St. Patrick, which would suit us well

⁶³ *Catholic Guardian*, September 11, 1858.

⁶⁴ *Idem.*, October 30, 1858.

enough for the present, though the house is very small. Thereby we should prove that it is Bardstown and not the diocese that we wish to quit; that it is because we are not in a position to reopen the boarding-school at Bardstown. By the adoption of this plan the province would suffer no harm and the diocese would gain by it since a greater number of Catholics than at Bardstown could enjoy the spiritual service of our Fathers, while the youth of the diocese and not a youth from outside of it, would be receiving the benefits of a Christian education.⁶⁵

Father Coosemans's idea of a house in Louisville in lieu of the one in Bardstown met with the hearty indorsement of the Visitor, Father Sopranis, who with the Missouri provincial saw in it a means of relieving the Catholics of Kentucky of any suspicion they might have entertained that the Jesuits were not disposed to labor under any circumstances in their beloved state. "And so let our men," Sopranis wrote, "reside and gather spiritual fruit in Louisville, but by no manner of means in Bardstown."⁶⁶

The Jesuits definitely withdrew from Kentucky in the December of 1868. In 1870 Bishop McCloskey was holding out inducements to them to return to Bardstown, making very liberal offers and proposing among other things to allow them to establish a church and college in Louisville. The answer from St. Louis was that the Society could not return to Bardstown but would accept a suitable site for a church and college in Louisville.⁶⁷ McCloskey thereupon offered the Jesuits a location at Twenty-fifth Street and Broadway, on the outskirts of the city and in the neighborhood of the Convent of the Good Shepherd. The location appeared to be a promising one for a church but not at all for a college, presumably as not being accessible enough to the prospective students. The Bishop's offer was accordingly declined and no further negotiations on this head appear to have passed between him and the Jesuits of St. Louis.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *De Negotio Bardensi*. (Ms.) (A).

⁶⁶ *Idem*. (A).

⁶⁷ *Liber Consultationum*, December 28, 1870. (A).

⁶⁸ *Idem*, March 7, 1871.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, BARDSTOWN

§ I. THE COMING OF THE JESUITS

In 1848, two years after the withdrawal of the French Jesuits from Kentucky to New York, where at the invitation of Bishop Hughes they took over St. John's College, Fordham, their brethren of the Vice-province of Missouri entered Kentucky to assume the direction of St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, seat of Nelson County and forty miles southeast of Louisville.

Bardstown lies on an elevated plain three quarters of a mile north of the Beech Fork of Salt River. Inconspicuous enough today, this Kentucky town once lifted its head high among the centers of civilized life in the Middle West. The legislature of Virginia chartered it in 1788, naming it Bairdstown (later changed to Bardstown) after David Baird, one of the original proprietors of the hundred acres on which the settlement was laid out. To this forward-looking inland town came lawyers in great numbers, many of them, as Judge Rowan, Benjamin Hardin, Charles Wickliffe, John Pope and John Hays attaining such distinction in their profession that the Bardstown bar became the most brilliant west of the Alleghenies with the possible exception of that of Lexington. It is told of Benjamin Hardin, whom John Randolph of Roanoke, called "Kitchen Knife" for his inelegant, but trenchant and incisive oratory, that when a young lawyer living in Elizabethtown he was engaged by a murderer to look after his case "until the big lawyers came down from Bardstown." The insinuation was not lost on Hardin, who said to his wife, "come, let us pack up and move at once to Bardstown or else I shall never be called a big lawyer." To Bardstown he accordingly went, realizing there in the course of time his youthful dream of forensic eminence.¹

¹ Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 644-647. "It [Bardstown] was early known as a mart of trade and as a social, educational, political and legal centre. . . . Its members [Bardstown bar] were the leaders of the profession for many counties around. No bar in the State was equal to it—none surpassed it west of the Alleghenies. To associate and compete with such men was (as the phrase goes) a liberal education. These legal Goliaths were the awe and terror of neighboring bars." Lucius P. Little, *B. Hardin, His Times and Contemporaries* (Louisville, 1887), pp. 27, 170.

As in the early civil, so in the pioneer Catholic history of Kentucky, Bardstown was long a center of importance. More precisely, it was the actual cradle of Catholicism in that state. Among the first Catholic settlers, mostly all emigrants from Maryland, to arrive in Kentucky were George Hart and William Coomes, who entered the state as early as 1774 or 1775, settling first at Harrodstown and later in or near Bardstown, where numerous Catholic families had already made their home. In Bardstown itself, at the time of its incorporation, November 4, 1788, there was not, it is believed, a single Catholic resident. Two years later there were but two, Anthony Sanders and Nehemiah Webb, a convert from Quakerism, both of them young unmarried men. For the rapidly growing congregation in and around Bardstown was built in 1798 the first St. Joseph's Church, of logs, about a mile southwest of the town, in the middle of the graveyard where most of the early Catholic settlers of Bardstown and its vicinity lie buried. The line of pioneer priests, nearly all of them sent by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, was led by Father C. Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, who reached the Pottinger Creek settlement near Bardstown in the early summer of 1787. He was followed three years later by Father William de Rohan, who built Holy Cross Church, the first erected in the state. Then in 1793 came Father Stephen Theodore Badin, followed in later years by other missionaries, of whom the most notable was Father Charles Nerinckx, a commanding figure at the threshold of Kentucky Catholicism and a pioneer and pathfinder deserving of record in any adequate list of the makers of the American West.²

Religious orders and congregations established themselves in the state in the first decades of the last century, all within a radius of some twenty or thirty miles of Bardstown. In 1805 came the Trappists and in 1806 the Dominicans, the first settling on Pottinger's Creek in Nelson County and the latter at St. Rose's near Springfield, in the present Washington County. In 1812 two congregations of nuns were founded in Kentucky, the Sisters of Loretto by Father Nerinckx and the Sisters of Charity by Father, subsequently Bishop, David. The Sisters of Loretto opened their first convent in 1812 at St. Charles, their mother-house being later established some eleven miles west of Lebanon in Marion County, while in the same year the Sisters of Charity opened a convent, likewise their first, at St. Thomas, Nelson County, their mother-house being at a later period fixed at Nazareth, two miles northwest of Bardstown. Nowhere in fact in the West in the opening years

² Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, 24-27, 57-67; Sister Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier: 1785-1812* (Washington, 1936).

in number and greatly in demand for the ministerial needs of the diocese presented grave difficulties, which Bishop Flaget sought to solve by transferring the institution to the Society of Jesus. To the fathers of the province of France he made an offer of it as early as 1827 through the agency of Father Robert Abell of the Bardstown diocese, then travelling in France. Within a year or two the offer was provisionally accepted by the French Jesuits. In 1831 two of their number, Fathers Petit and Chazelle, reached Bardstown, where, however, a reorganization of St. Joseph's College with a staff of professors recruited from the diocesan clergy had been recently effected and with such prospects of success that the immediate transfer of the institution to the Jesuits was under the circumstances deemed inadvisable. No blame for the situation that had thus developed attached to Bishop Flaget as the definite acceptance of the college had not been signified to him by the Jesuit superiors before the arrival of the two fathers at Bardstown. To relieve the latter of the embarrassment in which they were placed, the pious Bishop, it is recorded, turned to prayer, proposing to join them in a novena to their founder, St. Ignatius. Before the end of the novena there came to the Bishop most unexpectedly a proposal from the Reverend William Byrne, founder of St. Mary's College near Lebanon, Marion County, to turn over this institution to the Jesuits. The proposal was accepted by the French fathers of the Society, who remained in charge of St. Mary's College until their withdrawal from Kentucky in 1846. Meantime, in 1842, another offer of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, had been made tentatively to the French Jesuits, this time through the vicar-general of the Bardstown diocese, Reverend Ignatius Reynolds, the future Bishop of Charleston.⁴ The offer was repeated on several occasions in the course of the next few years, but always declined. Finally, after the departure of this Jesuit group from Kentucky, Bishop Flaget, still seeking to put the Society of Jesus in control of St. Joseph's College, addressed himself to the Missouri vice-provincial, Father Van de Velde, with a proposal to transfer to him not only the college and college property, but also the church, formerly the cathedral of the see of Bardstown.

On May 27, 1848, the vice-provincial laid the question of accepting St. Joseph's College before his consultors, Fathers Van Assche, O'Loughlen, Druyts and Gleizal, who, in view of the gravity of the matter to be discussed, were reenforced by Fathers Verhaegen and Elet. The consultors asked time for deliberation before expressing an opinion; but in the meantime Van de Velde was to inform Bishop Flaget at once

⁴ Reynolds to Chabrat, January 14, 1842. Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky.

great experience and success in the training of youth and the government of Colleges. Who amongst the Patrons of Letters in our country is unacquainted with the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen, so long and favorably known to the citizens of the West and South as the distinguished President of the University of St. Louis? What friend, therefore, of St. Joseph's will not rejoice to hear that he is to be my successor? With him, as its President, it is impossible that the institution should not flourish and merit the confidence of the public. His name is also a sufficient guarantee to its Patrons, not only of the character of those who are to be associated with him, but likewise of the ability with which the college will be conducted. A reference to the names of the Faculty given in the "Commencement Pamphlet" is a convincing proof of the first, and his great success whilst President of the University of St. Louis is a satisfactory evidence of the second.

Father Verhaegen, who thus brought to his new duties much ripe experience in education gained in positions as important as those of rector of St. Louis University, and provincial superior in Missouri and later in Maryland, was in Bardstown early in June to accept the college from its former proprietors and take its management in hand after the commencement exercises. On July 5 he signed on behalf of the Jesuits an agreement with Bishop Flaget and his trustees covering the terms of the transfer. A debt of twenty-two thousand dollars was assumed by the Jesuits while the buildings and property were deeded to them for educational purposes, but in trust only and not in fee-simple, as the document clearly states:

All which property, lands and estates herein described are to be held, owned, used and occupied by the party of the second part, their heirs and assigns, in trust however, forever, or so long as the same may be used for or devoted to educational purposes; but should the said college and its property hereafter, at any time, be diverted from the purposes of education, then it is fully understood and hereby provided for, that the same together with all the appurtenances now thereunto pertaining, shall fall to and be invested in the Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Louisville, State of Ky. and his successors in the Bishopric of said diocese.

This clause in the contract, apparently not adverted to at the time by either of the contracting parties as opening the door to future possible complications, was to prove in the end a source of trouble and an important contributory cause to the dissolution of St. Joseph's College as a Jesuit institution. At any rate, what seemed an especially promising opportunity for Jesuit educational enterprise had been seized, and Father Verhaegen could write to the General, November 6, 1848: "Whatever is to be said about the extinction of our debt, the acceptance

of this college seems to me one of the best things ever done in the Vice-Province." ⁷

Father Verhaegen was followed to Bardstown by a party of his confrères, who left St. Louis, July 24, on the steamer *Ocean Wave*, under the conduct of Walter Hill, a scholastic novice. Only late in the evening of the day before had Mr. Hill been informed by the master of novices that he was to leave in the morning for Bardstown College, which had recently come into Jesuit hands. He was accompanied to St. Louis by the scholastic, Ferdinand Garesché, who had but lately returned from Rome and was now destined for service in Cincinnati. Mr. Hill learned to his surprise that though still a novice he was to be conductor of the Jesuit party bound for Bardstown that very day, a responsibility placed on him no doubt in view of his presumed acquaintance as a native son of Kentucky with the details of the journey. Then, too, he was fairly advanced at the time in early manhood, being in his twenty-seventh year. Companions with him on the journey to Bardstown were Fathers Nicholas Congiato and Andrew Ehrensberger, the scholastics Peter Van den Hurck and Joseph Keller, and Brother Gaspar Wohleb. Leaving St. Louis at four p.m., the party travelled for three days without incident to Louisville, where they landed at the Portland wharf, going thence to a hotel on Main Street. As they were to remain over night in the city, they availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the venerable Bishop Flaget. What occurred on the occasion Walter Hill put on record in later years:

⁷ The deed was drawn up, as Bishop Spalding wrote to Father Beckx, August 18, 1862, on the model of the deed (one of trust only) by which the Jesuits held the property of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. In view of Bishop Spalding's statement in the same letter that Fathers Elet and Verhaegen both "approved" of the new deed, it does not appear to be correct, as related by Father Hill in his *Reminiscences* that Verhaegen himself drew it up without the assistance of a lawyer. Moreover, the legal phraseology of the document and its minute technical description of the property make such supposition unlikely. The deed, more properly "indenture" or "document of agreement," was signed for the college by Bishop Flaget (moderator) and Rev. Edward McMahon, Rev. B. I. Spalding, Rev. John B. Hutchins, Edward B. Smith, Thomas H. Crozier and John F. Queen (trustees) and for the Society of Jesus by Fathers Elet, Verhaegen and Van de Velde. It conveyed to the latter "St. Joseph's College together with all the ground, buildings, improvements and appurtenances thereunto any wise pertaining together with the College furniture including the College Library, cabinet of Natural History and the Physical and Chemical Apparatus all of which are to be held and used by the party of the second part and said persons as they invest with the title or control thereof for educational purposes." The board of trustees, consisting of six members, was appointed by the Bishop of Louisville, the names having been previously submitted to him by the rector of the college. There is extant the record, under Flaget's signature, of the appointment, October 1, 1849, of the members of the board for the session 1849-50. Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, Ky.

We were conducted to his private room; we found him seated in an arm-chair; he rose to receive us, but tottered on his feet. His niece, an elderly maiden, was in the room; when we announced ourselves as Jesuits on our way to St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, he made an exclamation of thanks to God; his voice grew tremulous and from feebleness and emotion rose to a falsetto or soprano tone. Now laughing, now weeping from great joy, he embraced each one of us, and on my turn coming, I said to him that I was his own child, being a native of his diocese; he repeated to me several times, "My Kentucky child, my child, welcome home; welcome to all the dear Jesuits. During the two last years, since the Fathers left St. Mary's, I have scarcely prayed for anything else than to see the beloved Jesuit Fathers return to my diocese before I depart from this world; my prayer is granted, I have lived to see that day; *nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.*" He then sank down into his chair quite overpowered by his feelings. My companions, who then saw this saintly old prelate for the first time, were much struck with his simple manners and his great sanctity no less than by his great affection to our Society. We knelt to receive his blessing, which he gave, scarcely able to utter the formula for his sobs from joy; and we departed, all deeply affected.⁸

Leaving Louisville at 5 A.M. on the day which followed their interview with Bishop Flaget, the Jesuit party arrived at Bardstown between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. As they were not looked for on that day, their unannounced arrival caused something of a sensation both in the town and at the college. The following morning the scholastics were installed as prefects to a group of students numbering about forty and chiefly from the southern states, who were spending the vacation period at the college.⁹ Father McMahon, the former president, left before the resumption of classes to attach himself to the diocese of Pittsburg, while Bishop Flaget's seminarians as also Father Benedict Spalding, in the capacity of pastor, remained at St. Joseph's a year longer. At the end of August, 1848, the personnel of the new college staff was reenforced by accessions from Cincinnati and Grand Coteau College, which last institution had just been relinquished by the Missouri Vice-province into the hands of French Jesuits of the province of Lyons. In September the new session opened with the following staff of officers and professors: Father Peter J. Verhaegen, rector; Father John B. Duerinck, minister and procurator; Father Francis di Maria, pastor of the church and professor of the seminarians; Father Nicholas Congiato, spiritual father; Mr. Joseph A. Fastré, Latin, Greek and French; Mr. Walter Hill, prefect of studies, English, mathematics and

⁸ Walter Hill, S.J., *Reminiscences*. (Ms.). (A). Webb, *op. cit.*, 433.

⁹ Hill, *Reminiscences*. (Ms.).

catechism; Mr. James Converse, first prefect, English and arithmetic; Mr. Joseph Keller, second prefect, Latin, Greek, English and Spanish; Mr. Paul Schuster, third prefect, French and German; Mr. Peter Van den Hurck, algebra and penmanship. In addition to the foregoing, all Jesuits, the college staff counted five seminarians and one layman as assistant-teachers. The students' dining-room, kitchen, dormitories and infirmary were for a while in charge of six Sisters of Loretto, who continued to exercise their duties, assisted for heavy drudgery by Negro slaves, until the summer of 1851.

The session 1848-1849 opened with a fair number of students, most of the boarders coming from Louisiana and Mississippi. Southern patronage continued as before to be the main prop of the institution. At the outset some difficulties were experienced in effective control of the student-body, but these were gradually overcome largely through Father Verhaegen's kindness and tact. The students or some of them were not without certain prepossessions against Jesuits and Jesuit education; but the prepossessions wore off as they daily came into more intimate touch with their new professors. Efforts were made by the faculty, and not without success, to develop more of a religious spirit in the student-body. But here there was need of caution. An impression, a groundless one, became current that the Jesuits cared for little else than to promote religious piety among their students and were wont to annoy them with endless prayers and devotional practices. It was thought in this situation that suggestion would accomplish more than formal regulation. Results confirmed the wisdom of the policy. Whenever it was thought desirable to introduce a practice customary in other Jesuit colleges, the faculty had only to bring it in some informal way to the notice of the students and the latter were not slow to come forward with a request to have it introduced. Thus, when the students heard that the recitation of the rosary was in vogue in Jesuit boarding-schools, a committee of them waited upon the rector with a petition that this custom be also introduced at St. Joseph's. The problem of the attendance of the students at daily Mass was solved in a similar way. At the opening of the session they were exhorted to attend Mass daily. On the morrow of the opening-day sixteen of their number were present in the chapel. The attendance went on increasing until, at the close of the session 1848-1849, the great majority of the students were hearing Mass daily of their own volition for they were not held to this practice by any strict rule of the institution.¹⁰

A favorite society in the Jesuit parishes and colleges of the Middle

¹⁰ *Litterae Annuae*, 1849. (A). The Bardstown practice on this point seems to have varied. Cf. *infra*, note 25.

West at this period was the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners. This was now established among the Bardstown students. The members were required to say the Angelus daily together with a prayer to the Mother of God to procure the return of sinners to the path of duty as also the grace of Catholic faith in favor of those who had never known it. Scarcely were these practices taken up than a desire to look into Catholic teaching was felt by some of the non-Catholic students. One in particular, a youth of unusually good moral character, who had previously felt no curiosity in regard to the Church, began to read Catholic books and was in the end baptized. Four other Protestant boys soon followed his example. A fifth, Rufus Garland by name, of Washington, Arkansas, was also converted. To the Catholic students his conversion seemed nothing less than miraculous. He was preparing to take his bachelor's degree at the end of the session 1848-1849, being in his nineteenth year, and as an occasional relief from the grind of study dipped into Catholic books. In intelligence and capacity for study he easily led the other students. But he knew nothing of the Catholic Church except what he had derived from inherited prejudices. The students were accustomed to say that others of their non-Catholic associates might find their way into the Church but that Garland never would. The members of the Confraternity began to pray earnestly in his behalf. Soon Rufus Garland was seen to make an intimate of the individual who was the first member of the student-body to be converted. He read still further in the catechism and before graduation-day arrived was baptized a Catholic. Such were some of the results attributed to the presence among the students of Bardstown of the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners. Prayer had been the only instrument employed.¹¹

To finance the college was a problem that steadily taxed the resourcefulness of its Jesuit managers. A debt of some twenty-two thousand dollars had been assumed when the college was taken over. Moreover, as the buildings were greatly out of repair, no little expense had to be incurred in putting them again in fit condition, to meet which a loan was obtained from E. Baker Smith, a Catholic resident of Bardstown. To Father Duerinck, as minister of the house, fell the duty of

¹¹ *Idem*. The names of the non-Catholic students who became Catholics in the session 1848-9 were Rufus Garland (Washington, Ark.), Samuel Reid (Nelson Co., Ky.), Nathaniel Johnson (Boston, Nelson Co., Ky.), James K. Montgomery (St. Joseph's, La.), L. Lee Philip (Shepherdsville, Ky.), Granville C. White (Pulaski, Tenn.), and John Grundy (Franklin, Tenn.). For the religious confraternity mentioned, cf. *supra*, Chap. XXXIV, § 2.

superintending the repairs which it was found necessary to make in the college buildings during the summer of 1848. He wrote to a friend:

We have an immense establishment, but it is sadly out of repair. We have gone through a great many parts of the house and yet I am frequently bothered when I have to decide what job we have to undertake first. We have no less than $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. irons in the fire, but it would appear that the more improvements we make, the more we find the necessity of adding to the number. The College is doing well in my estimation. We have 73 boarders and some 50 odd day scholars. The best kind of spirit prevails among the students and, I believe, also amongst the members. Father Verhaegen is very active and goes through more labor and drudgery than I thought him capable [of]. The brothers are kept busy in their trades. Brother Barry whitewashes and builds stone walls. Brother Ryan paints and glazes. Brother Tom roots and digs. Brother Morris trims lamps and attends to our Refectory. Brother Gaspar, Hendricks' assistant clotheskeeper, is sacristan. Brother Joseph Tschenans [Tschenhens] is cook for the present; we hope to get a Sister to superintend the kitchen. The black boys sweep the house and mind the boys' refectory. We have two horses, Succarella and Charlie. We have also eight milch cows and some 100 head of hogs.¹²

Efforts made by farmers living in the vicinity of Bardstown to find a market for their produce at the college added to the cares of Father Duerinck:

We live in a healthy and rocky place, surrounded by a set of customers, farmers and farmers' negroes that never cease to pester us about buying and trading. There is eternally somebody about the premises that wants to sell a doz. eggs, a pound of butter, a bushel of cornmeal or some corn brooms. When you tell them "I guess I do not want any," they then offer to sell low for cash, or they will take coffee or sugar in payment. Think of me, minister and procurator, two classes to teach, an hour of studies to keep, and to be factotum about the wide extended premises and be bothered about these farmers that try to beset my room, talking, smoking, chewing, obtruding their market stuff on the agent. Think how we manage to get along. However, as I have frequently said in your own hearing, the day is long and with good health, activity and despatch, it is *toch wonderlyk*, as Brother Van der Borgh says, what a sight of cabbages one can hoe.¹³

Together with the college the Jesuits assumed charge of the parish-church of Bardstown, formerly the cathedral of the diocese. It stood almost immediately adjoining the college building on the south and its walls were hung with paintings of rare value, some of them gifts from Louis Philippe of France. The first Jesuit pastor was Father Francis di

¹² Duerinck to Druyts, Sept. 2, 1848. (A).

¹³ Same to same, June 11, 1849. (A).

Maria, who had come to St. Louis from his native Italy in 1841 to lend his services as a professor of theology. Later, he was engaged in the ministry, first in Marshall, Missouri, and now in Bardstown, where in addition to his pastoral duties, he taught moral theology to the Bishop's seminarians. The church was distinctly in need of repair when Father Di Maria arrived on the scene. By June, 1849, he had spent two thousand dollars in improvements and repairs, the money having been raised entirely by subscription. Three hundred dollars went for the furnaces, "built according to the new system of Mr. A. Lotne of Cincinnati in order to prevent people from being killed by the severest cold imaginable in this otherwise fine church." Moreover, the choir was enlarged to make room for a new organ, built at the cost of fifteen hundred dollars and put in place September 1, 1849, the builder being the same who had made the organ in the new cathedral of Cincinnati. "I like this part of Kentucky very well," De Maria confided to a correspondent, "though the weather this season, or rather since we moved to Kentucky has been very changeable. Storms, tornadoes, etc. have been the cause of a great many losses of property and sometimes of life, too. I think that the *aereae potestates* have been at work a great deal on account of some Jesuitical scent somewhat disagreeable to their *fire-burnt* nostrils. Indeed, people here remark that before this year they had never [known] such change and commotion in the climate and atmosphere of this part of Kentucky." ¹⁴

On March 23, 1849, occurred the death of Father Charles Louis Elet, brother of the vice-provincial, John Elet, and the first Jesuit to die at Bardstown, where he was discharging the duties of minister in succession to Duerinck. The Sisters of Loretto nursed him in his last days, during which his remarkable patience under suffering elicited the admiration of the non-Catholic physician, Dr. Harris, who attended him. To his brother, the vice-provincial, Bishop Spalding, Coadjutor Bishop of Louisville, promptly sent a word of sympathy:

My dear Father Elet:—Allow me to unite my voice to that of those numerous friends, who will offer you their sympathy on the occasion of the melancholy event, which this day's post will inform you. I mean the death of your very holy and amiable brother. Providence permitted me to be here at the moment. I had the happiness of visiting him twice. On these occasions I gave him with my whole heart the episcopal benediction. He devoutly kissed my pectoral cross, which contains a relic of the Holy Cross. I cannot tell you how much he edified me by his mild tranquility under the most painful agony. He showed every mark of an elect of God—and if God loved him more than you did, resign him cheerfully into His adorable hands.

¹⁴ De Maria to Druyts, 1849. (A).

Is it not better to have a brother in heaven than on earth? I hope to be able to attend his funeral and will offer the Holy Sacrifice for the repose of his soul. In the midst of the sorrow caused by this mournful and mysterious decree of Providence I congratulate myself that Kentucky possesses the mortal remains of your holy brother.¹⁵

Of the religious morale of the Bardstown student-body during the first year of Jesuit management a glimpse is got from a letter written to a St. Louis Jesuit by Father Jamison, a diocesan priest attached to the college staff:

I had the happiness the day before yesterday, Quasimodo Sunday, to baptize three of the large students of our college. They were all three Protestants. They are very fervent and are preparing to make their first Communion on the feast of the Ascension. They came to my room every evening for instruction and within the last few days they have been joined by two others of the large boys, one of them originally baptized a Catholic, the other not yet baptized. Pray for them all and ask Father Damen to recommend them to the Arch Confraternity. There is, generally speaking, a fine spirit prevailing amongst our 180 students. Nearly all the Protestants attended the retreat. All the Catholics in the house went to confession. The Sodality is quite flourishing. Communions are frequent, and I think fervent. So you see there is some little consolation for us poor sinners in this our land of exile. Will you not pay us a visit in the vacation? Come and see something of old Kentucky and its Religion and Religious establishments. The Dominicans, Trappists, Loretines, are all within 15 miles of us, and Nazareth within three miles; and then there is St. Thomas, 3 or 4 miles distant, where rest the relics of good, pious Father Elet. So you see we have Nazareth, Bethlehem, Holy Cross, Loretto etc. etc. all around us like so many Angel Warders. "Come and See."¹⁶

Mr. Walter Hill, appointed prefect of studies of the college on its opening under Jesuit auspices, filled that position with one year's intermission during the seven years he was attached to the institution. He was still but a novice of the Society when he arrived at Bardstown, taking his first Jesuit vows only on March 9, 1849. He records of himself that at first he was too abrupt and severe in his dealings with the students. On occasion he resorted to ridicule, not without effect, as once in an attempt to wean away some soft-mannered southern youths from an extravagant use of perfumes and pomata. He addressed the student-body, informing them that certain of their number were under the necessity of using these things presumably as a remedy for some bodily distemper, but that their fellow-students were not to think any

¹⁵ De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, p. 488.

¹⁶ Jamison to Druyts, April 24, 1849. (A).

worse of them on that account. The method of attack proved effective, the effeminate practices becoming forthwith ludicrous in the eyes of the students so that they were entirely discontinued.¹⁷

Commencement exercises of the first session of St. Joseph's College as a Jesuit institution were held July 18, 1849. Eight of the students received the degree of bachelor of arts, among them Augustus H. Garland, afterwards attorney-general in a Cleveland administration, while the premium of good conduct by a majority-vote of the students was awarded to Thomas H. Miles, a future president of Creighton University, Omaha, and St. Ignatius College, Chicago.

§ 2. A DECADE OF GROWTH, 1849-1859

The session 1849-1850 passed without incident though the increasing number of non-Catholic students was adding to the difficulty of maintaining discipline at a proper level. The attendance at Nazareth Academy, the institution for young women conducted by the Sisters of Charity two miles from Bardstown, was recruited largely from the daughters of Protestant families in the South. The sons were at the same time sent to Bardstown to be within easy reach of their sisters, so that the proximity of Nazareth was perhaps the chief circumstance accounting for the large number of Protestant youths at Bardstown. Yet the Catholic students at St. Joseph's always outnumbered the Protestants, in the session 1849-1850 in the proportion of two to one. Later the proportion became much greater, the Catholic boarders in the session 1855-56 numbering one hundred and thirteen out of a total registration of one hundred and forty-three. Nevertheless, though always in the minority in St. Joseph's College, the non-Catholic students, in many cases superior in years and so in assertiveness to their Catholic comrades, appear to have exercised at times an ascendancy over the latter and in fact to have determined more or less the morale of the entire student-body. With a view to reduce the proportion of non-Catholic boys, whose age on matriculation was often above the average, Father Verhaegen announced at the commencement exercises July 17, 1850, that no applicants over sixteen years of age would thereafter be admitted. On the same occasion announcement was made that the use of tobacco would no longer be permitted and that no applicant would be admitted who was unwilling to abstain from its use. This regulation resulted in only a slight ripple of excitement among the students though some of the faculty had looked for a rather violent expression of disapproval at its announcement.¹⁸

¹⁷ Hill, *Reminiscences*. (Ms.). (A).

¹⁸ *Litterae Annuae*, 1849-50. It appears that this regulation began to be enforced



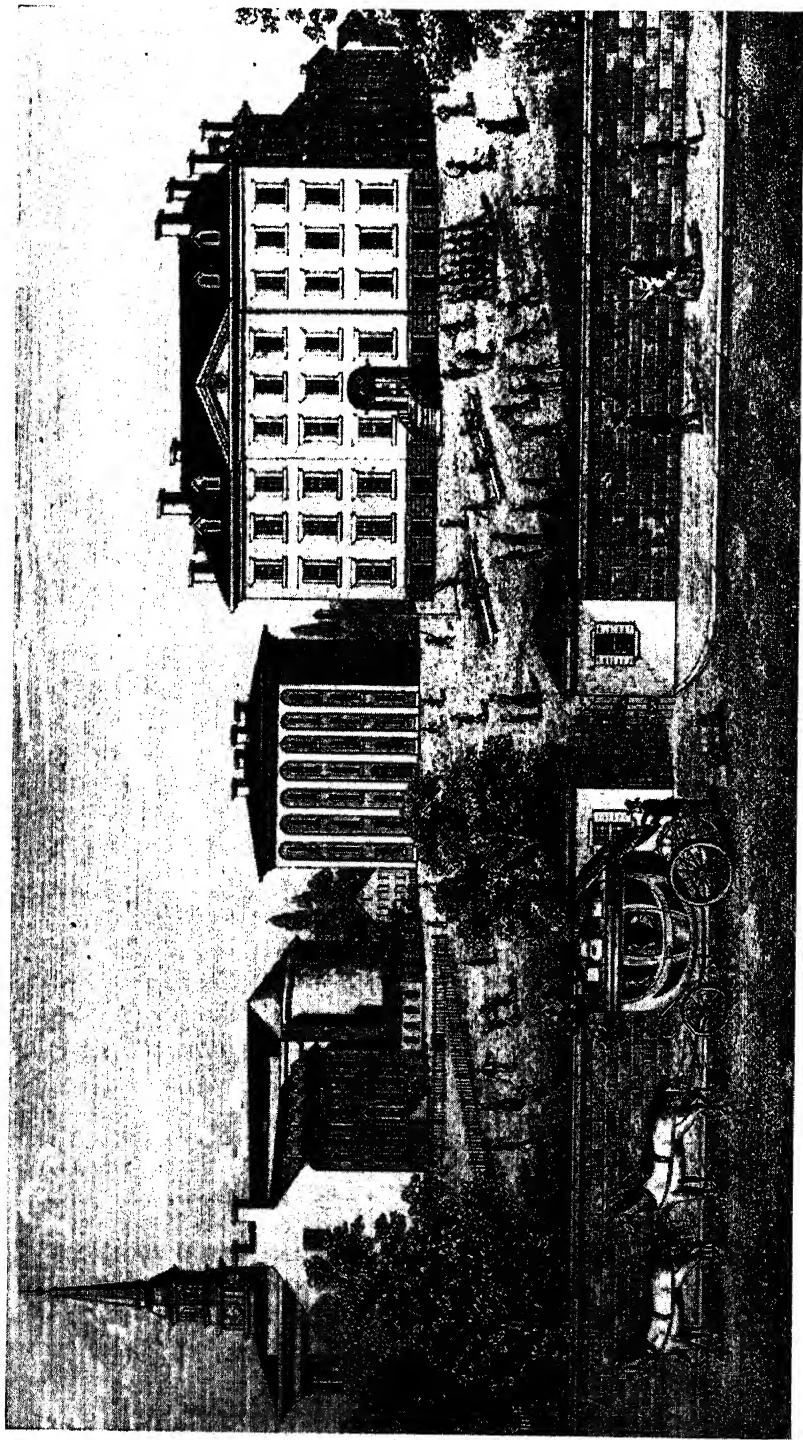
+ Bp. Spalding
Louisville
Louisville - Feb. 11. 1851.

Very Res & Dear Friend.

I address your Reverence on a matter of great importance to Religion, the promotion of which is the leading object of your Illustrations Society. Nothing more is needed to bespeak your Reverence's attention & favorable consideration.

For some time I have been thinking seriously of offering St. Mary's College to your Society. The fervor of my secular Class, the pressing wants of the mission, & the superior adaptation of your Order for the purposes of Christian education, are among the leading motives which induce me to make the offer. In your hands that institution might be a support to St. Joseph's, & it should be, as I have all along endeavored to make it, a strictly Catholic College. Situated in the center of the Catholic population, with fine buildings recently repaired, & about 300 acres of good land, it would, in your hands, be a means of doing immense good to our holy Religion. Having it, your

First page of a letter by Bishop Spalding of Louisville to John A. Elet, S.J., February 11, 1851, offering him St. Mary's College, Lebanon, Ky. General Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome.



St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., in the fifties. Left to right: St. Joseph's Church (formerly cathedral of the diocese of Bardstown) with pastoral residence adjoining; infirmary and class-room building erected in 1852; original building. Contemporary print.

In the summer of 1851 a number of scholastics from the colleges of the vice-provinces with two young fathers, Isidore Boudreaux and Cornelius Smarius, journeyed from Bardstown to Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. The visit was arranged through Father Verhaegen, who encouraged excursions of this kind, often saying that in the study of Nature's wonders, "in order to learn you must see."¹⁹

An offer of St. Mary's College near Lebanon, Kentucky, made at this time to the St. Louis Jesuits was declined by them on the ground of lack of men. To an inquiry from Father Benedict Spalding, brother of the Bishop and vicar-general of the diocese of Louisville, as to whether any stipulations were made between the contracting parties with regard to St. Mary's when St. Joseph's College was transferred to the Jesuits, Verhaegen replied:

As to your Reverence's queries contained in the postscript to your letter, I answer that I do not recollect that while the arrangements for the transfer of St. Joseph's College to our Society were pending, any mention was made of St. Mary's and the deed of said transfer plainly shows that no stipulations of any kind were entered into by the contracting parties. In my opinion, after your Rt. Rev. brother had explicitly stated to me that St. Mary's would not injure St. Joseph's, because it was a school for Catholic boys only, *un petit séminaire* for such as might have a mission to the ecclesiastical state, it was not necessary to allude to an institution which met with my cordial approbation; . . . I must add that from the beginning of the transaction, I considered your Right Rev. Brother as the representative of Right Rev. Bishop Flaget.²⁰

In 1851 Bishop Spalding's offer of St. Mary's was definitely declined, Father De Smet, as assistant vice-provincial, addressing him on the subject:

Rev. Father Provincial [Elet] has been seriously indisposed for some-time past and unable to answer your last favor. He requests me to write to your Lordship that with regard to St. Mary's College, he thinks Very Rev. Father General will not agree to the proposition because we are not at this moment prepared to accept of it for *want of members*. Father Provincial feels, however, very grateful for your kind affection towards the Society.²¹

only with the session 1851-1852 when Emig became head of the college. Four Louisiana students left the college, July-Sept. 1851, "on account of the tobacco-law." The first announcement of the "tobacco-law" in the college catalogue occurs in the issue for 1852-1853. The catalogue for 1857-1858 omits any mention of the regulation, which was probably repealed about this time.

¹⁹ Hill, *Reminiscences*. (Ms.). (A).

²⁰ Verhaegen to Benedict Spalding, December 5, 1849. (A).

²¹ De Smet to Spalding, April 12, 1851. (A).

"In regard to St. Mary's," Bishop Spalding wrote in reply, "as you are not able to take charge of it 'for want of members,' I shall be compelled immediately to make other arrangements. The offer will show how great is the confidence I have in your illustrious Society."²²

Father Elet's apprehension that the General would not countenance his taking over St. Mary's College was borne out by the event. Father Roothaan wrote to him:

I have seen the letter of the Rt. Rev. Bishop who offers you St. Mary's College which the French Fathers had to give up only a few years ago. I am astonished that you should even have given this matter serious consideration, as though there were any possibility of your assuming new obligations when those you already carry are so overwhelming, and when enterprises engaged in beyond all measure threaten nothing less than the utter ruin of the Province, as I warned you repeatedly before this. . . . For those well-meaning Bishops who make demands on us, we have a ready excuse, *hominem non habeo*.²³

The session 1850-1851 opened with the number of non-Catholic students notably below that of the previous session, only thirty-four being registered in October as boarders. Unfortunately the presence of even this comparatively small number became the occasion of an unpleasantness that for the moment stirred the usually placid waters of Bardstown student-life to their depths. A regulation dating from the first days of the institution required all students, non-Catholic included, to be present at chapel exercises and in a kneeling posture when the ritual required it. The non-Catholic students had previously made no difficulty about conforming to the regulation, which they regarded as imposing only a mere external observance in the interest of uniform order and discipline. But one day in October, 1850, nine of the Protestant boarders led by a stalwart youth of six feet-two, Jackson Smith, of Simpsonville, Kentucky, sat one morning all through Mass in open disregard of the rule.²⁴ A concession made by Father Verhaegen to the non-Catholic students which required of them merely respectful attendance at Mass without kneeling did not placate the malcontents, who to the number of eighteen left the college on the same day, October 10, 1850. A note in explanation of the affair written by Father Jamison was inserted by the college authorities in the Louisville papers while Father Verhaegen addressed a circular letter to the parents and guardians of the students.²⁵ The stand taken by the president appears to have been

²² Martin Spalding to De Smet, April 26, 1851. (A).

²³ Roothaan ad Elet, April 9, 1851. (A).

²⁴ Walter Hill, S.J., in *WL*, 26: 96.

²⁵ Father Verhaegen's circular, which is dated October 12, 1850, says in part: "In the year 1826 the board of Trustees of St. Joseph's College enacted the By-

indorsed by public opinion when the real circumstances became known. No loss of prestige was felt by the college over the incident and during the interval that followed up to commencement day the names of sixty new students were entered on the roll.

During the greater part of his administration at Bardstown Father Verhaegen was under the disadvantage of ill-health. At one time his condition became so critical that his life seemed to be in jeopardy to the great alarm of Father Elet, who felt what a harassing problem he should have on his hands were he required to find a new president for St. Joseph's College. A trip to Louisiana had beneficial results and Verhaegen returned to Kentucky in September, 1850, with health to all appearances quite restored. Then followed within a month or so the dramatic display of insubordination on the part of the non-Catholic students. The incident while not impairing the prestige of the institution before the public was to have unpleasant reverberations within its walls. Within a few weeks of its occurrence Father Verhaegen was disclosing to the General that even the Catholic students were beginning to give indications of a refractory frame of mind. The mental strain incident upon the numerous vexations he was beset with induced frequent headaches and in his distress he sought to be relieved of office. "After twenty-nine years spent in this country amid discomforts of every sort

Laws by which, *ever since*, the students have been governed, and when treating of Religion and Piety they express themselves in these words:

As prayer is the ordinary means of obtaining from God the graces which are necessary to us, the scholars shall consider it as a conscientious obligation to perform it well, in the Morning and in the Evening, reflecting if it is important to advance in the sciences, it is still more so to acquire the virtue of a true Christian. To aid themselves in the proper discharge of this duty, they will pray on bended knees and in an erect position of the body, avoiding distracting looks from one side to the other, and every exterior indication contrary to a spirit of piety and recollection.

This rule, relating to morning and evening Prayer, was incorporated in the general duties to be performed by all the Boarders, and as such enforced by every President of the Institution, down to the time when the office was confided to me. I frequently read the Rule to the Boarders, and not infrequently called their attention to the necessity of its punctual observance for the sake of order and uniformity. No objection was ever made to the rule on the ground of its prescribing a mode of worship exclusively Catholic, nor did I anticipate that such would ever be the case. . . . Actuated by these sentiments, they [a large number of Catholic boarders] drew up a Petition and presented it to me with the request that its contents should be instantly perused and acted upon. The Petition entreated me to rescind the Rule, as far as Protestant Boarders were concerned. I immediately assembled the Board and laid the Petition before them. The result was, that, since the Rule was viewed by the objectors to it, as an enactment interfering with their Religious principles, the Protestant Boarders should not be compelled, during the present session, to observe it, and that nothing more should be required of them than a respectful attendance."

I have not the strength for teaching the higher classes or governing a boarding college." He suggested that the management of a smaller institution, for example, the Louisville day-college, would be more within the compass of his present powers, but he had no desire to be a judge in his own case.

That a change of administration at Bardstown was desirable in view of the decline of discipline and morale that seemed to be gaining ground among the students was a view likewise shared by the vice-provincial. Father Verhaegen's position was admittedly a trying one. He had taken over an institution with its own established traditions, among which was apparently not to be found one in favor of a firm and steady discipline. The custom among others obtained of allowing the students unaccompanied by a faculty-member to enter the town-limits of Bardstown to purchase books or other necessities. A similar practice prevails today in many Catholic boarding-schools without untoward results. But at Bardstown a visit to town meant an opportunity to the student to purchase the popular Kentucky commodity of strong liquor and strong liquor, so Father Emig avowed, was the fountain-head of whatever evils in the student-body the managers of St. Joseph's College were called upon to correct. Moreover, studies had become disorganized. Only a small percentage of the registrants were taking the classics, the students being apparently free to withdraw at their option from classes in which they were entered at the beginning of the term but for which they subsequently developed a dislike. Conditions had thus arisen which for the moment needed to be dealt with firmly and even drastically; but ill-health, probably also his somewhat easy-going, indulgent temperament, rendered Father Verhaegen unequal to the task. He himself realized it and asked for a successor.

By a happy circumstance a successor qualified to meet the exigencies of the situation was on the ground in the person of Father John Emig, the minister of the college. Before his arrival at Bardstown in January, 1851, he had won distinction in Louisville where with paltry resources of men and money to draw upon he had with admirable output of energy set an incipient college on its feet. At Bardstown his position as minister brought him into intimate relations with the students, whose good-will and confidence he continued to win and over whom he soon exercised an obvious control. His influence in this regard was recognized by no one more readily than by Father Verhaegen himself, who observed in a letter to the Father General that when the religious spirit had declined not a little among the students it was restored through the efforts of Father Emig. The latter took over the management of St. Joseph's College in the spring of 1851. Meantime, Father Verhaegen had been summoned to St. Louis where he was made assistant to the

vice-provincial and also lecturer on moral theology, which offices, however, he held for a brief spell only, being shortly appointed superior of the residence in St. Charles, Missouri. This post he continued to hold with a year's intermission up to his death in 1868.

The session 1851-1852 opened with a registration on the first day of one hundred and six boarders and sixty-four day-scholars, the largest in the history of the college up to that date. Emig's success in restoring discipline had been complete. The Jesuit, Bishop Miége, after a visit to Bardstown in the summer of 1852 wrote to the Father General:

All agree in saying that Father Emig has set the boarding school on its feet again and that they don't know any one else who could keep it going. He is a master-hand, this man, at making the children get along. In less than a year he had restored order and regularity where before his time one saw nothing but disorder and insubordination. What makes the good fortune of Father Emig with these children is to be recognized by them as severe, just, broad-minded and without rancor; he seems to me in fact to be a man precisely of the type of those boarding-school prefects that we have in Switzerland and Savoy. Individuals of this sort will get on everywhere with children whatever their disposition, but perhaps not always equally well with our own men, all of whom do not accommodate themselves to a certain peremptory tone and the somewhat brusque ways which one picks up in boarding-school life.

Father Emig himself in a communication to Father Roothaan pictures in detail the vigorous display of firmness with which he inaugurated his rectorship at Bardstown:

Four of the boarders having refused to obey the rules, I very readily and with great pleasure gave them as they requested certificates of dismissal from college. Thereupon I was charged by certain of Ours with rashness and imprudence. But their empty fears disappeared the next day when experience had taught a lesson. The same youths who today had turned their backs on the college would gladly have submitted tomorrow to any punishment if only they were allowed to come back. After a short interval eight others, for various reasons, drunkenness, immorality, blasphemy, followed in the footsteps of the first. It was an efficacious remedy. When all other means had failed, the only one left was to inject into the boys a salutary fear. The tree had to be completely pruned lest the branches perish and the trunk die. Some of our men on one day counting up twelve boys that had been expelled were seized with alarm and became convinced that the collapse of the college was right at hand. But their fears were not well grounded. The policy I followed was by no manner of means one of rashness. By inquiry I had come to know the good qualities and dispositions of many of the boys. Very frequently, also, they themselves while chatting with me in a confidential sort of way remarked that it would be a very good thing if such and such of the

boarders were to leave the house or be made to leave, the sooner the better. Moreover, nothing could have turned me aside from my determination to establish good order and discipline this year, not even the withdrawal of fifty boys. To begin with a small number and these few with virtue and sound morals was better, so I thought, than to go on with a school well-attended, but difficult to manage, bothersome, dissolute and inclined to all sorts of evil.

Scholastic conditions in the college were dealt with in a similar spirit of reform. In the session 1850-1851 scarcely thirty students were registered for Latin and Greek; in the following session the number rose to eighty and no one pursuing these studies was permitted to relinquish them before the expiration of the school-year. Requirements for graduation and other academic honors were vague and shifting; Father Emig urged that they be fixed. Moreover, while strengthening the curriculum on the side of the classics as befitted a Jesuit school, he made effort to place science and the mathematics on a proper basis:

More system has been put into the studies of Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics. We bought mathematical instruments to the value of three hundred dollars and spent a like sum of money on the museum [physical cabinet] while the Library was increased by almost 500 volumes. The school of Chemistry and Physics is attended this year by thirty boys, each of them paying ten dollars a year for the use of the museum. Moreover, every new pupil on the first day of his entrance into college pays ten dollars (matriculation-fee, as we call it), which money is applied exclusively to the use of the Library. This custom of paying ten dollars at the time of entrance obtains throughout all America; this circumstance, so I judged, gave me the right of exacting the same sum of money. At least fifty boys enter college every year and, with the blessing of God on our labors, in ten years the museum and Library will be in a very flourishing state.

Not all of Father Emig's ample fund of energy was expended on problems of discipline and studies. Material improvements received a due measure of attention. At some distance to the south of the main college building on ground lying between the latter and the church, he erected a spacious three-story structure sixty-four by forty-two feet, with rooms fourteen feet high. The estimated cost of the building was only two thousand dollars; in the event it cost several times that sum. De Smet was at Bardstown in December, 1852, when the infirmary building, as it was called, was about to be roofed. To Father Druyt in St. Louis he wrote: "The new building is ready to receive the roof. It is no picayune affair. Worth \$2500, it will certainly approach the round sum of eight thousand! perhaps a little more—O! those villains of architects have cheated the Rector! You, Rector, take heed before you

commence building and enlarging your University and don't suffer yourself to be fooled after the Kentucky fashion."²⁶ The new building was to prove a notable help in meeting the growing needs of the institution. The department of physics occupied the first floor, a junior study-hall, the second, and the infirmary, the third.

It was during Father De Smet's stay on this occasion at Bardstown, whither he had accompanied the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, for a canonical visitation of the college, that he received news of the death at St. Charles, Missouri, of Mother Duchesne, the saintly nun who established the first house of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the United States. To Father Druyts he wrote from Bardstown: "I expected the news of Madame Duchesne's death for she announced it to me a few days before I left St. Louis. Yesterday and last Friday I said Mass for her according to agreement. I have assuredly the best of the bargain and I have full confidence that she will intercede for poor me in heaven, according to her written promise—that she is in heaven I have not the least doubt."²⁷

Though at different periods in the past the middlewestern Jesuits had found it possible to maintain for one or more years a regularly organized seminary or scholasticate, with the young Jesuits in attendance relieved of other duties, the growing demand for professors in the colleges made it necessary in the early fifties for the scholastics engaged as instructors to pursue their divinity studies at the same time.²⁸ In the session 1851-1852 a class in moral theology was conducted at St. Louis University and a class in philosophy at Bardstown. Attending the latter class, which was taught by Father Francis Nussbaum, were Cornelius O'Neil, Thomas O'Neil, James Hayes, Walter Hill, John F. Diels and John T. Kuhlman. In the session 1852-1853 besides the class in philosophy, which still continued to be taught by Father Nussbaum, there was a class in moral theology in charge of Father Peter Tschieder with two auditors only. To the latter Father De Smet addressed in September, 1852, a letter in which with characteristic versatility he suggests solutions for the difficulties that faced the teacher of divinity at Bardstown:

Father Provincial requests me to say to you that F[r]. Emig proposes you should leave the Philosophy class of Ours to F[r]. Nussbaum and take

²⁶ De Smet to Druyts, November 24, 1852. (A). The new building, considering its dimensions and solid construction, would appear to have been cheap even at eight thousand dollars. It is giving good service today for class-room purposes to the present proprietors of the college, the Xaverian Brothers.

²⁷ De Smet to Druyts, November 28, 1852. (A).

²⁸ The scholasticate or seminary of higher studies conducted at St. Louis University during the thirties and forties had been discontinued.

the moral Theology class. F[r]. Wipperfurth found by experience last year that it was hard to form a class, owing to the difficulty of having all the students at one particular hour, and 2ly, because they had studied different portions already, one one treatise and another another; hence he adopted the plan of assigning to each a number of pages to be accounted for to him once a week—this plan worked pretty well—you have so few, it will be easier for you. The study of Latin will be much promoted in regard to Converse and Hill, by requiring that they should learn by heart the definitions and pronounce each word properly. The catechetical form of questioning will by degrees accustom them to speak latin. F[r]. Emig writes as follows to Revd. F. Prov.: "From the distribution of officers, your Rev. will see that all the scholastics have more time to study this year, than if they were in the scholasticate, where besides Philosophy or Theology, they have always to apply themselves to Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Literature and not infrequently other studies. After your Rev. has inspected the accompanying list, I would be glad if you were to write a few lines to them (addressing them to P. Minister) and encouraging them to apply to their studies of Philosophy and Theology, as now sufficient time had been granted them. Some of our young men are under the impression that in the scholasticate, Philosophy or Theology is the only branch to be studied; and this wrong notion caused an immense waste of time during last session." This is to be understood *cum grano salis*; at all events it is plain that our young men must accommodate themselves to circumstances. I found several that study sufficiently under circumstances much more unfavourable. Others, because things are not regulated as they wish, neglect to do even what they can—say to them what Rev. F. P[rovincial] says sometimes to timid preachers,—“you may not succeed as well as you wish, but you will succeed much better than you think—so go ahead.”²⁹

Meantime the college continued to flourish under Father Emig's management. From Bardstown De Smet wrote in November, 1852: "St. Joseph's college is truly beating the University [of St. Louis] in numbers at least and has a fine and pious set of boys."³⁰ On occasion, however, undesirable characters found admission into the school, giving serious trouble to the officers. The instance is recorded of four brothers who entered college together, having come from the Arkansas shore of the Mississippi where the rough environment of a wood-yard for river-steamers, their parental home, had left its impress on them in certain lawless, undisciplined ways. Father Emig, at risk of physical harm to himself, forcibly ejected one of the number from the college

²⁹ De Smet to Tschieder, 1852. (A). Emig's optimistic view that the Bardstown scholastics engaged in teaching had sufficient leisure for their divinity studies was very probably without warrant.

³⁰ De Smet to Wipperfurth, November 3, 1852. (A).

premises; the other brothers thereupon, probably under compulsion, returned to their Arkansas home.³¹

Morale and discipline among the students were largely in the hands of the prefects, whose efficiency in this regard became a leading factor in the prosperity of the college. How valuable an asset to Bardstown were competent officers of this class is emphasized in lines addressed by De Smet to Father Nussbaum, who, though professor of philosophy to the scholastics, was at the same time employed as a prefect:

Your letter of the 7th instant to Revd. F[r]. Provincial was received. You will soon receive a letter from his Rev. which certainly will comfort and console you—it is what all of us need occasionally in the midst of our various occupations. As to Fathers being made prefects, of which you make mention in your letter, this matter was discussed some time ago and approved of—the same exists in other Provinces. F[r]. Emig no doubt acted under the conviction that your Rev. alone could best manage those young Kentucks. I think that were you now in Missouri your services might have been enlisted under the same title and capacity—few indeed, succeed in that line and Rectors will always try to preserve such treasures; for on them truly the success and welfare of a college often depends. We sincerely rejoice at the great success of St. Joseph's college—you appear bound and determined to beat St. Louis—to go to it.³²

Immediately after the commencement exercises of July 8, 1852, Father Nicholas Congiato and Mr. Walter Hill left Bardstown to conduct the southern students to their homes. On reaching Louisville, they found the city heavily draped in mourning for Henry Clay, whose remains had just been carried through Louisville to be interred at his home in Ashland, Kentucky. Bishop Spalding was very kind to the party, seeing them well provided with prophylactics against the cholera, which seemed to be reaching the epidemic stage. The boat on which they took passage, the *General Tweed*, carried a full quota of passengers including several members of Congress and Governor Jones of Tennessee, wearing a mourning badge for Henry Clay. An excellent impression was made on all aboard by the Bardstown college group, who conducted themselves as well-bred gentlemen throughout the trip of fourteen hundred miles. The Louisville and New Orleans packets of the ante-bellum period were, after the fashion of the first-class ocean liners of today, great floating hotels handsomely appointed. Music of the best quality added a charm to the evenings as the stately vessels steamed down the broad and rushing Mississippi. At Vicksburg Mr. Hill left the boat with the Mississippi students while Father Congiato remained

³¹ Hill, *Reminiscences*. (Ms.).

³² De Smet to Nussbaum, September 3, 1852. (A).

on board with the students returning to points lower down. A stay of three weeks in Mississippi enabled Mr. Hill to secure a number of registrants for the next session of St. Joseph's College. He rejoined Congiato in New Orleans, where the two spent a part of their vacation, going thence to Baton Rouge, where, as at New Orleans, they enjoyed the open hospitality of the fathers of the Jesuit mission in the South. Visits were likewise made to the homes of students living along the "coasts," as the shores of the Mississippi are locally styled. A stay at Spring Hill College was marked by the capture in Dog River near Mobile Bay of an alligator, which was taken alive to Bardstown to be mounted for its museum. Finally, after acquainting the students with the schedule of the return trip, Father Congiato and Mr. Hill started with them up the river, arriving at Bardstown early in September. At about the same date as their departure from New Orleans Fathers Maurice Oakley and Florian Sautois left the same city with parties of students in their conduct, the first for St. Louis University and the other for St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. Very few of the boarders of this period at St. Louis, Cincinnati and Bardstown were registered from the northern states; the great majority came from the South, where a large quota of Catholic families were well circumstanced in a financial way and able to meet the expense of a college education for their sons. The greater number of southern students were Creoles of French or Spanish stock. In 1856 a young Louisianian withdrew from Bardstown, alleging as reason that there were too many Creoles in the school; the real reason, an official record notes, was that the rules of the institution were too heavy a burden for him to carry. During the session 1851-1852, of the one hundred and fifty-one boarders, seventy were from Louisiana alone.³³

On the whole St. Joseph's College in all that regarded the moral and academic aims of the institution, prospered under the administration of Father Emig. At the same time, as showing the abnormal situation from the standpoint of usual Jesuit practice that was obtaining at this period among the middlewestern Jesuits, it may be pointed out that Emig had already served twice in the capacity of rector, first at Louisville and now at Bardstown, before having had opportunity to pass through the tertianship or third year of probation. This year of retirement spent in exercises of piety and constituting a final trying-out process was meant in the mind of St. Ignatius to follow shortly after the Jesuit's ordination to the priesthood and the completion of his theological studies. Though some twelve years had elapsed since Emig became a priest, the chronic shortage of men in the vice-province had made

³³ *WL*, 26: 96.

it impracticable for him to take this important step in the spiritual training of a Jesuit. The circumstance that he was thus in a sense still an unformed Jesuit had no doubt much to do with the determination taken by the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, to relieve him of the Bardstown rectorship. Immediately on the close of the scholastic year, 1852-1853, Murphy on his own responsibility, as there was no time to arrange the affair by letter to Rome, temporarily substituted Father Nicholas Congiato, a member of the Bardstown faculty, for Emig in the management of the college. The latter thereupon left immediately in the summer of 1853 to take up the exercises of the tertianship at Frederick in Maryland while in November of the same year Father Congiato was formally installed as rector. The vice-provincial in a letter to the General comments on the edification given to the Jesuit community at Bardstown by Father Emig as he stepped down to the ranks at the call of obedience, adding significantly: "I flatter myself that the change will hurt only slightly the prosperity of the boarding-school."

Father Nicholas Congiato, Italian-born and now in his thirty-seventh year, had seen only five years of residence in America. But the process of adjustment to his new environment had been a rapid one, and when the five years had lapsed he found himself in a position to administer an American college with efficiency and success. In the January following his appointment as rector he wrote to the Father General: "The spirit of the community is excellent on the whole. Charity, union and obedience reign among us. The Lord blesses us also in the affairs of the boarding-school. We have from 130 to 140 boarders and should have from 160 to 170 were it not that the yellow fever is raging so badly in the southern states, from which we receive every year a great number of boys. The spirit of the boarders, I should say, could scarcely be better. They study with remarkable earnestness and conduct themselves well. Some thirty of them are Protestants, all the rest Catholics."

On starting for the South with the students after the commencement of July, 1853, Mr. Hill was under instructions from Father Murphy that when their boat, the *Empress*, reached Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee, he was to announce to the students that Father Congiato had succeeded Father Emig in the office of president of the college. This he did though without any marked effect on the students, who, while esteeming Emig highly were also very well affected towards Congiato. The *Empress* had just left the Ohio and was headed downstream on the Mississippi when an incident occurred in the ship's cabin which brought into relief one of the student's militant Christianity. He was seated with some of his companions and a group of passengers in the cabin when in the hearing of the whole company a non-Catholic clergyman began to speak irreverently of the Blessed Virgin. This

stirred to such a degree the indignation of a bright, alert lad of thirteen, Alexander T. Bidault of New Orleans, that he stood up before all present and rebuked the clergyman with so much earnestness and set forth the Catholic position on the Virgin Mother with so much intelligence that the offender was glad to escape from his discomfiture by leaving the cabin. On the return trip to Bardstown the students had to face the perils of yellow-fever, the frequent recurrences of which added a serious hazard to travel in the South. Their boat left Baton Rouge late in August, Father Parret of the Jesuit house in that city bidding them God-speed and making a jest of their fears over the prevailing epidemic. When the boat reached Cairo, Mr. Hill and the students read with amazement in the St. Louis newspapers which were brought on board the news of the death by yellow fever of Father Parret on the very day after they had left him in good health at Baton Rouge. There were several deaths from the same disease on the boat which carried the students before it reached the mouth of the Ohio. One of the victims was a Catholic, who begged piteously for a priest, but none happened to be on board.⁸⁴

Father Congiato's brief administration passed without untoward incident, the college pursuing a uniformly prosperous course while he managed its affairs. He was particularly at pains to advertise the college widely, sending Mr. Hill, the scholastic, to Baywick, Kentucky, to engage his brother, Dr. Robert Hill, to publish some articles in the Louisville papers. A piece of property was bought adjoining the college premises, the students were organized into junior and senior divisions, strict separation being maintained between the two, "Christian Doctrine" began to be taught in English and French every Sunday, and a new system of examinations was introduced. A group of professors were seated in the study-hall, each before a table, and the student going from one professor to another was examined by them severally for a period of ten minutes on the various subjects of his schedule. The system made for diligent preparation on the part of the students; in the quaint wording of a contemporary account: "There was no means to look in a book nor to be prompted. The student feared it like anything."

Student-entertainments and exercises for the Bardstown public occurred periodically and were marked by elaborate decorative detail. In this connection the linguistic resources of the faculty, strikingly ample, were sometimes called into requisition. At the Washington Birthday exercises of 1854 the walls of the entertainment-hall were hung with polyglot inscriptions in praise of the first American president, the languages in evidence being English, Hebrew, Greek, Latin,

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 26: 101.

French, Spanish, Italian, Flemish and Dutch. As the Catholic educational center of Kentucky, Bardstown often attracted visitors of note. Orestes Brownson lectured at the college in 1854. Only a few months before his visit elaborate preparations had been made to receive the Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Bedini, but in consequence of unfriendly demonstrations made against him in certain American cities the Delegate was constrained to change his itinerary and thereby forego the pleasure of a visit to Bardstown.³⁵

Father Congiato had been president of St. Joseph's College a little over a year when he received instructions from the General to proceed

³⁵ *Litterae Annuae*, 1853-54; Hill, *Reminiscences*. Under the caption "Toasts and Sentiments Read at St. Joseph's College on the late Anniversary of Washington's Birthday," the Bardstown *Family Gazette* of March 4, 1857, devotes a liberal allowance of space to the college exercises of February 22. As a once popular form of academic diversion, these "toasts and sentiments" deserve record in a history of the evolution of college life in the United States. The phrasing, apart from an occasional lapse into the flamboyant, is on a high level of dignity and impressiveness. The topics cover such subjects as George Washington, the companions of Washington, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the constitution, the Union, civil and religious Liberty, the American flag, the press, education, etc., and, among living celebrities of church and state, Pius IX, Bishop Spalding, Father Coosemans, President Buchanan, Chief Justice Taney, ex-Gov. Wickliffe of Kentucky, Hon. John C. Breckenridge, Gov. McRae of Mississippi, Gov. Willard of Indiana, *et al.* Here are some specimen "toasts." "The Union—the seal and sanction of our social bond; whoever breaks the seal, annuls the bond and leaves but ink and parchment." "M. Clarken—St. Joseph's College—The abode of virtue and learning; it needs no other praise than its Alumni, who have entered upon the busy walks of life. Pointing to them, St. Joseph's may say with the mother of the Gracchi, 'these are my jewels.'" "James McGee—Louisiana—the most liberal patron of our institution; may her sons prove themselves worthy of their noble parent." "Dr. E. Miles Willet—The United States. In their municipal [*sic*] sovereignty may they ever be as distinct as the rivers, yet one as the ocean in their Federal Union." Student organizations at Bardstown went by such high-sounding, pseudo-classic names as the Eurodelphian, Eucherophradic, Philharmonic and Sophopoian Societies. Of these the Eurodelphian, which was for the senior students and had in view principally their improvement in public speaking, was the oldest, having been introduced in the pre-Jesuit period. Mr. Hill wrote regarding this association that it was "originally too independent" and "was oftentimes simply a nuisance instead of a benefit to the students or the college." In fact, "it was hardly ever reduced to proper subjection so as to be a means of good to the students." The Eurodelphian appears to have been supplanted towards the end of the fifties by the Sophopoian Association, the object of which was "eloquence and the promotion of useful knowledge." The Eucherophradic Society, for the cultivation of French literature, had a good working library of books in that language. That it was thought worth while to present a French translation of the prospectus in some of the issues of the college catalogue (1851-1853) indicates that interest in this language at Bardstown was not merely academic. The students' library was established by Mr. Hill in the autumn of 1852. A voluntary military company known as the Union Cadets flourished during the Jesuit period. "In lieu of the blue cloth-cap with spread-eagle,

to California and there take up the duties of superior of the Jesuit mission which had just been organized in that state as a dependency of the province of Turin. On receiving the summons he assembled his community, exhorted them to the practice of Jesuit obedience at whatever cost or sacrifice and then left Bardstown, which had become very dear to him, to begin a long journey around Cape Horn to the Pacific Coast.³⁶ During his stay at St. Joseph's he had won the affection of student-body and his confrères alike and all felt keenly his departure from their midst. He was a vigorous administrator and used his authority both over the students and faculty discreetly, effectively and without offence to anyone. His place in the management of St. Joseph's was filled October 2, 1854, by Father Ferdinand Coosemans, who discharged the duties of vice-rector during the three succeeding years.

During the summer of 1855 Mr. Hill was again in the South conducting parties of students to and from their homes. Yellow fever had broken out with greater violence than in past years and, what was said to be unusual, native-born inhabitants of the cities along the Mississippi were to be found among its victims. In Baton Rouge on August 15 and 16 eleven Jesuits were seized with the dread disease, Mr. Hill among them. Two of the number died, the others recovered, and Mr. Hill was able to conduct the students back to Bardstown though he arrived there only on September 24, by which time the session had begun.

Father Coosemans was only in his thirty-second year when he entered on his duties as president of St. Joseph's College. The uneasiness among Catholics caused by the Know-Nothing movement and a too keen consciousness of his inexperience and unpreparedness for the responsibility placed on his youthful shoulders tended to depress him in his first months of office. In February, 1855, Father Murphy sent him some encouraging lines:

Disturbances often occur after Christmas—but spring always restores a good feeling. The Know-nothing paper of Bardstown, if indeed it should be started, would infallibly sink money and then sink itself. Purely Know-nothing papers meet the same fate everywhere. As to the apprehensions expressed by Mr. N——, I think you of Bardstown are safer than others. It is not probable that there will be a universal attack upon the Catholics, but it is not unlikely that in some large cities violence will be employed.

The omission of the Pius IX toast is not advisable, nor is its admission likely to produce bad consequences. You must celebrate the 22nd as usual. The toasts may be few, which will be a great improvement, and if published,

they have a broad-brimmed black hat looped on the left side surmounted by a tall white plume; the captain and lieutenants wore two epaulets." *Catholic Advocate*, July 5, 1858.

³⁶ *Litterae Annuae*, 1854-55. (A).

should be examined beforehand. Last year there was an objectionable one. The circumstance of boys being kept away from college by protestant opposition is an habitual thing and for one case that comes to your knowledge (thousands) take place unknown to you. It is probable, if times continue as they are, that there will be a decrease of scholars, but also it is probable that next year will be an abundant one, and owing to the scarcity of money everything will be cheap.

As to your own feelings, misgivings, shortcomings, etc. 1st reflect little on them even in prayer. 2nd beware of communicating them. Your inferiors will probably detect your weakness, but if you keep silent and cool, a thousand deficiencies will escape their notice. You must act like Virgil's hero after the shipwreck. *Spem voltu simulat; premit alto corde dolorem.*³⁷

During the scholastic year 1855-1856 an improvement was made on the college premises consisting in a stone wall five feet in height, two in width and two hundred and twenty in length. A rather pretentious entrance in the middle with an iron gate was flanked by two neatly constructed cottages, which served as tailor-shop and porter's lodge.

The edifying death of Richard Semmes, a boarder, on February 10, 1856, is recorded in the college annals. His earthly span of life was brief, but in growth in virtue he had covered a much wider compass of time. Born in Washington, Wilkes County, Georgia, in 1840, he died at sixteen. A genial disposition and a frank unaffected piety made him an attractive figure among his associates. A loyal sodalist of the Blessed Virgin, he daily recited the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception in her honor. One day while playing on the campus he suddenly collapsed and fell to the ground. Thereafter a mysterious malady preyed upon him, paralysis of all the limbs and faculties set in, and after two months of acute suffering borne with a patience very beautiful to behold he found a merciful release in death.³⁸

At intervals during Father Coosemans's administration there were signs of disaffection among the students. During his first year the prefects managed them with difficulty. Mr. Walter Hill, prefect of studies, was inclined to put the blame for the unpleasant situation on the prefects, declaring that they were "too sharp, too watching, and too exacting." In the winter of 1855-1856 the boys appeared to be particularly out of sorts, partly as a result of the influence of a group of older students recently registered, who being unused to the restrictions of college-life fell into discontent and communicated it to others. Other contributing causes were the prolonged period of confinement in the playroom on account of prevailing wintry weather and the dismissal of some of the students for the use of liquor. But with the departure of

³⁷ Murphy to Coosemans, February 11, 1855. (A).

³⁸ *Litterae Annuae*, 1857-1858. (A).

the malcontents and the return of spring the students, as Father Murphy had predicted, were in better mood. The session 1856-1857 passed without incident. The succeeding one 1857-1858 opened under unfavorable circumstances. During the vacation certain students who had been requested not to return for the new session spread false reports against the college while a fatal accident which occurred on the grounds was unreasonably imputed by ill-informed or ill-affected persons as a matter of blame to the authorities of the institution. A group of youths who were spending the vacation-period at the college had obtained permission to recreate themselves in a lot to the rear of the college buildings. Contrary to a regulation which forbid the carrying and use of firearms of any kind, they had with them a pistol, with which they amused themselves by shooting at a target. Tiring of this sport, they were lying on the grass when one of their number, Aldigee Joffrion, of Avoyelles, La., playfully attempted to wrest the pistol from a companion. In the scuffle which ensued, the weapon, a self-cocker, was discharged, Joffrion receiving the bullet in his right breast. He survived only till midday of the following day, but kept his senses all the time and prepared for the end with complete resignation to the divine will, meeting thus with the grace of a happy death that perhaps might not have been his under other circumstances. This and other occurrences reacted unfavorably on the registration for the new session. At evening of the first day only ninety-five students were enrolled and these seemed to have grievances against the president, Father Coosemans, whom they thought too rigorous a disciplinarian. A few additional boarders came in during the following days while the discontent tended to become general. The students were not refractory or rebellious, so the college chronicler observes; but they moped in a depressed sort of way around the premises with no heart for games or diversion of any kind. On October 2, 1857, came the announcement that Father Coosemans had been succeeded in the office of president by Father John De Blicck. The students promptly recovered their spirits at the news and the disaffection that had obtained speedily melted away.

To Father Druyts and his counselors in St. Louis no other course seemed to be open than thus to relieve Father Coosemans of the management of affairs at Bardstown, a measure that was taken without the concurrence of the Father General, as a crisis had developed and immediate action was necessary. The measure taken did not, it would seem, imply censure of the policy pursued by Father Coosemans as president. No one could have brought a greater fund of good will and prudence to the tasks of administration than this humble and spiritual-minded Jesuit, who was later to fill with visible success the post of first provincial of the Jesuits of the Middle West. But he dealt firmly,

possibly a bit too drastically with offenders against the more important of the college-regulations, and the resentment of these over the summary punishment meted out to them appears to have spread to the student-body generally with the result that his administration became entangled in misconceptions and prejudices which no amount of good will on his part could serve to dissipate.³⁹

Father De Blicek presided over St. Joseph's College a little over a year and a half. During this period two of the students received baptism, one of them conditionally. This was a lower average for converts than had obtained during the years immediately preceding. In the session 1853-1854 five of the students had entered the Church; in 1854-1855, six, and in 1855-1856, four. The reception of the sacraments at frequent intervals continued to be urged by the faculty as a recognized practice of Jesuit student-life though the occasions on which the students communicated were rare compared to the frequency with which Catholic college-students do so today. A few figures for the session 1855-1856 are extant. The boarders this session numbered one hundred and forty-three, all of them Catholics except thirty. Students not belonging to the sodalities no doubt partook of the sacraments less frequently than those who did. The sodality of the senior students counted fifty-eight members and twelve postulants, of whom about one-half received holy communion once a month, about one-third twice a month and the rest oftener. Of daily communion, not an uncommon practice among students of Catholic colleges since the great change inaugurated by Pius X, nothing at all is heard. The Bardstown chronicler for 1854-1855 notes it as a sign of fervor among the sodalists that scarcely a Sunday or holy day of obligation passed without many or at least some of their number approaching the Holy Table.⁴⁰

On June 25, 1859, Christian Zealand, a promising scholastic of the Bardstown faculty, met death by accidental drowning, having ac-

³⁹ *Idem*, 1857-58. (A). In later years Coosemans was to object to the proposed removal of the Jesuit boarding-school of St. Louis to Bardstown on the ground among others "of the almost inevitable opportunity which the students would have to learn to drink owing to the proximity of the village of Bardstown and the facility of obtaining whiskey, an intoxicating drink which is made in large quantities in Kentucky. Drunkenness has always been one of the great miseries of that locality. While I was Vice-Rector there, I was very severe in this matter and heedless of intercessors or parents, I inflicted without mercy the penalty provided for by the rule; so that, if I mistake not, in the course of a single year 10 or 12 pupils were sent away for having drunk to excess, though I had often warned the students that such would be the fate of all such as should be caught and had begged them not to expose themselves and their families to the disgrace that would result from this punishment." Coosemans ad Beckx, August 2, 1867. (A).

⁴⁰ *Litterae Annuae*, 1854-55-56. (A).

accompanied the students to bathe in a near-by river. The body was recovered within an hour and interred the following day in the little cemetery adjoining the college. The records of the college note Mr. Zealand as a man of generous impulses and exemplary fidelity in the observance of the Jesuit rule.⁴¹

An official college register rarely takes on the character of a human document. Yet a Bardstown registrar contrived to enliven the deadly dullness of his records by marginal comments, which in many cases furnish interesting side-lights on the student-life of the day. The comments in most cases regard reasons for the withdrawal of students from the institution. "Left in November, cause—a desire of enjoying more freedom in Nelson County." "Left the day after his entrance. He preferred fox-hunting to study." Examinations were apparently no perfunctory affair at Bardstown, at least in the eyes of Charles La Place of Natchitoches, who "left in June, 1855, because he feared to fail in his *examen ad gradum*." A Protestant youth from distant Liberty, Missouri, leaves because the regulations were too strict; on the other hand, a youth of twenty from Nelson County, Kentucky, also a Protestant, who apparently had his own ideas on discipline, left because the regulations were not strict enough; on which the registrar is moved to exclaim "*O Superi!*" In the course of 1851 three students were dismissed "being proved to be of mixed blood." The color-line had to be drawn as an alternative to having the body of the students pack up and leave. Dismissals for intoxication were of frequent occurrence, the penalty being sometimes administered for a single lapse into the offence. In one year Father Coosemans dismissed ten students on this head. Non-Catholic boys found it difficult at times to adjust themselves to their environment. Dismissals are on record for "bigotry," "for cursing and persecuting Catholic boys," "for interfering with the President's duties and blaspheming." Extremes of disorderly conduct led at times to dismissal, as in certain recorded cases of "riotous conduct," "maliciously throwing at the windows in the infirmary," "threatening a prefect, knife in hand to stab him." Of a certain student the register records, "recalled, his progress not keeping pace with his expenses"; and of another, "recalled by his Father for having been feruled." In 1859 a youth is sent home "for having sent a challenge to a student." Francis O'Brien, fifteen, of Bedford Co., Kentucky, left college in 1852 "because he was not allowed to study latin without greek." Finally, there is the case of Henry Lawler, the last but one student to be registered at Bardstown, who in September, 1861, "took his trunk and walked off, reported that the college had broken up on account of the War."⁴²

⁴¹ *Idem*, 1858-1859. (A).

⁴² Bardstown Register of Students, 1848-1861. (A). The first student regis-

§ 3. BARDSTOWN AND THE CIVIL WAR

On May 22, 1859, Father Thomas O'Neil became rector of St. Joseph's College in succession to Father De Blicke. A resolute, strong-minded personality, he was in later years as provincial to administer the affairs of the midwestern Jesuits with a vigorous hand. Entering at thirty-seven on his rectorship at Bardstown, he brought to his new duties no more helpful experience than that which he had acquired as a scholastic in the same institution which now he was called upon to direct. His theological studies he made at Fordham, New York, and the year immediately preceding his return to Bardstown he passed in lecturing on dogmatic theology in the scholasticate at the College Farm near St. Louis. His bent of mind was always scientific rather than literary, the scholastic theologians with their orderly and analytic exposition of Catholic doctrine being an attraction for him down to his latest years.

The administration of Father O'Neil at Bardstown was coincident with the outbreak of the Civil War and the closing of the college in consequence of that event. The commencement exercises of 1861 were set at an early date, June 21, as the southern students were eager to reach their homes before such tightening of the military lines as might intercept their return altogether. It was the last commencement in the history of St. Joseph's College as a Jesuit institution. One master's degree and seven bachelor's degrees in arts were conferred, among the recipients of the latter being Julius S. Walsh of St. Louis, later a leading financier of that city.

The opening of the Civil War found Kentucky in a position of the utmost difficulty. The majority of its people were probably Union sympathizers; but its Governor, Beriah Magoffin, leaned to the side of the secessionists and refused to answer President Lincoln's call for troops. The Governor bent every effort to maintain Kentucky at least for the moment in a position of neutrality; he declared that while he had no thought of taking the state out of the Union he would countenance no attempt on the part of the federal authorities to coerce the seceding states. Both Confederate and Union armies were accordingly warned to keep off Kentucky soil. This they first agreed to do; but the neutrality of the state was not respected long. In September, 1861, Columbus on the Ohio was seized by Confederate troops; as a counter-measure, Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of the district of Cairo, took military possession of Paducah in western Kentucky and the state

tered at St. Joseph's during the Jesuit régime was Hippolyte Templet of Napoleonville, Indiana, who entered July 10, 1848; the last was Thomas Howard of Louisville, Ky., who entered September 13, 1861. During this period the names of 1103 students were entered on the roll.

was thereupon given over to the horrors of invasion and civil conflict. In September, 1862, the Confederate General, Braxton Bragg, moved up into Kentucky from the South with a large army, having been preceded by an advance detachment of eight thousand under General E. Kirby Smith, who made his way as far north as Covington on the south side of the Ohio opposite Cincinnati. Falling back thence, Smith joined Bragg at Lexington, from which point the Confederates advanced to Frankfort, installing there a secessionist governor, and then moved towards Louisville, passing through Nelson County and Bardstown on the way. Louisville seemed to lay an easy prize before them and their pickets advanced within six miles of the city. But General Don Carlos Buell with a Union force of sixty thousand men drove back the Confederates, engaging them October 2, 1862, at Perryville, Boyle County, in the greatest battle ever fought on Kentucky soil. Bragg's men were so roughly handled that they fled in disorder into Tennessee and the last serious effort of the Confederacy to win Kentucky by force of arms was at an end.⁴³

Bardstown, only forty miles southeast of Louisville, was crossed and recrossed by both belligerents. Father O'Neil, rector of St. Joseph's College, was at Frederick, Maryland, going through the exercises of the third year of novitiate prescribed by the Jesuit rule, and his duties at Bardstown were being temporarily discharged by Father John Verdin, a former rector of St. Louis University. The college made bold to reopen on September 2, 1861, with the small registration of thirty-eight boarders and twenty-nine day-scholars. Only eight students, all boarders, were subsequently received. To conduct classes with any profit to the students was impossible under the circumstances. The martial sights and sounds that became familiar to them with the presence of Union troops in the vicinity, the news of military victories and defeats that came in as the war progressed, and the alarming reports of impending battles in the very neighborhood of the college kept the students on edge and drove all thoughts of study from their heads. Meantime, the institution was being run at a financial loss as there was no means of collecting the bills of the southern students. It soon became necessary to obtain a loan of three thousand dollars to meet running expenses. Under the circumstances it was therefore determined to suspend classes with the beginning of the Christmas holidays, the date of which was fixed for December 21. Seventeen of the boarders, penniless and unable to cross the military lines to their homes in the South or Mexico, remained at the college. The younger of them, mostly Mexicans, set out on December 30 under conduct of Father Verdin for St. Louis Uni-

⁴³ Lossing, *Cyclopedia of United States History*, 1: 737.

versity where they were registered for the remainder of the academic year. The other five, older boys, sought to earn their support in Bardstown but without success as no employment could be found for them. Three of the number then made their way to St. Louis where they continued their studies at the University. The two others with one Ashton, a young resident of Bardstown, determined, as a desperate measure, to work their way South through the military lines. They had proceeded a considerable distance and were in a fair way of effecting their escape when a too audible conversation over the impending success of the adventure led to their arrest by Union soldiers, who imprisoned them in Louisville. Their release was obtained, but only at considerable expense, and they returned to Bardstown. Later, one of the two attempted again to cross the lines southward and this time succeeded. Early in April, 1862, by which time all the students had departed, the establishment at Bardstown ceased to be a college and became what is technically known in Jesuit parlance as a residence. Thereupon the college buildings for about half the period of the war served the purposes of a military hospital.⁴⁴

The educational activities of the St. Louis Jesuits centered at Bardstown during the previous thirteen and a half years had thus been brought abruptly to an end. The college had been growing steadily in public favor and, enjoying the good will and confidence of parents and their sons, gave promise of a career of increasing usefulness in the field of Christian education. It is a circumstance worthy of record that the relations between teaching-staff and student-body were marked by a notable degree of cordiality which one-time members of the faculty found it pleasant in later years to recall. Disagreeable episodes occurred indeed at intervals, resulting, most of them, from the firmness of the college administration in enforcing some very necessary regulations; but they were of passing moment only and left the main currents of student-life at Bardstown undisturbed in their even and placid flow. The atmosphere of the college, it may be repeated, was at all times distinctly southern. In the last double session 1860-1861 one hundred and eighteen students registered from Kentucky, eighty-two from Louisiana, twenty-two from Mississippi and seventeen from Missouri. The southern states, together with the border states, Kentucky and Missouri, contributed practically all the students. In the session 1860-1861 registrants from the northern states numbered only fourteen out of a total registration of two hundred and eighty, being six from Ohio, six from Indiana and two from Illinois.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Litterae Annuae*, 1861-1862. (A).

⁴⁵ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, 1860-1861*. "You should not send your sons and daughters to the abolition regions;

It remains to recount what befell the Jesuit occupants of the college during the period that followed the suspension of classes. About the middle of September, 1861, the 10th Indiana Infantry went into camp at Bardstown. As there was much sickness in the regiment, the officers in charge petitioned the college authorities toward the end of October to furnish fresh bread to the soldiers, flour for the purpose being offered out of the army stores. This service was promptly rendered. In the beginning of November, by which time the number of sick soldiers had reached seventy, petition was made to the college that it dispose of its mattresses by sale for the use of the patients, the army supply of these articles falling short of needs. Mattresses were accordingly furnished, no compensation being asked in return. About the middle of November the 10th Indiana Infantry shifted quarters from Bardstown while other regiments moved in, as many as eleven being encamped in the locality in December. As the winter wore on sickness increased greatly among the soldiers, whose only protection against the severity of the weather was the covering of their tents. On Christmas Eve petition was made by the military authorities to the rector to permit certain rooms in the college to be occupied by the sick soldiers, a monthly rent for the same to be paid by the government. The petition was favorably received and on Christmas day the first sick case was brought to the college. Before long one half of the available space of the college buildings had been given up to the sick and disabled soldiers, who with their nurses and attendants numbered between three and four hundred. Besides the army nurses, twelve women were in constant attendance on the soldiers. At evening they returned to their homes in town with the exception of three, who were provided lodging at the college. The name of one of these devoted women, a Mrs. Hays, has been preserved. The patients were for the most part backwoodsmen from the western states, grossly ignorant of all things Catholic and steeped in appalling prejudices against the Church. At Father Verdin's suggestion, Mrs. Hays gave these men what spiritual solace she could as opportunity afforded. Her presence soon became a delight to the occupants of the sickrooms. She was especially tactful in bringing before the dying the necessity of safeguarding their interests in eternity and many of them as a result of her zealous attentions sought admission into the Church and were baptized.⁴⁵

you should encourage Southern institutions of all kinds and particularly Southern schools, and if you have not such in Mississippi, remember that Kentucky has plenty. If you want your sons to get a good education send them to St. Joseph's or to St. Mary's." Bardstown *Family Gazette*, April 8, 1857.

⁴⁵ *Litterae Annuae*, 1861-1862. Thomas Miles, S.J., in *WL*, 26:105. According to Barton, *Angels of the Battlefields—A History of the Labours of the*

By the early months of 1862 the one-time St. Joseph's College had thus taken on every aspect of a large-sized military hospital. All day long groups of convalescent soldiers and their friends strolled along the corridors of the buildings, while without was heard the rumble of army-trucks and other conveyances arriving with supplies or wounded men from the battlefields. In January, 1863, on request of the military, the college bakery was called into requisition for the baking of bread, not only for the sick, but for all the troops in the neighborhood. For the use of the buildings and bakery the government was paying at the rate of one hundred and ninety-one dollars a month.

On the departure of the students most of the priests and the two scholastics on the college staff had been assigned to other Jesuit houses in the Middle West. In the fall of 1862 the Jesuit community at Bardstown numbered four priests, Father Verdin, vice-rector, Father Thomas Miles, minister, Father Charles Truyens, prefect of the church, and Father Theodore De Leeuw, spiritual director. There were, besides, five coadjutor-brothers. This total of nine was a considerable reduction from the staff of thirty or thirty-five found necessary in past years to man the college. To the few priests who thus remained at Bardstown after the suspension of classes the presence of so many sick and wounded soldiers under their own roof and in the other military hospitals maintained in town offered endless opportunities for ministerial zeal. Of the soldiers, as many as one hundred and eighty were baptized, a large number of them dying from wounds or disease. On January 13, 1862, one of the Bardstown Jesuits went to Louisville to attend the patients in the four or five military hospitals of that city, in which ministry he remained employed for four months. On January 2, 1862, Father Charles Truyens left Bardstown for Columbia, Adair County, Kentucky, to take up his duties as chaplain of the 12th Kentucky Infantry. His stay with the troops was brief, the exposure and privations of camp-life having brought on an illness which made it necessary for him to return in the middle of March to the college.⁴⁷

Early in September, 1862, word reached Bardstown that the Confederates had invaded the state and were marching towards Louisville. The federal sick lodged at the college were thereupon moved to Louisville, the buildings being left without military occupants for two entire weeks. On September 21 General Bragg, the Confederate leader, appeared at Bardstown with the main column of his army, about forty thousand strong. On the 23rd he asked for the use of the college on

Catholic Sisterhoods in the late Civil War (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 147, the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth were employed for a time as nurses to the Confederate soldiers in St. Joseph's College, Bardstown.

⁴⁷ *Litterae Annuae*, 1861-1862. See Chap. XXII, note 22.

the same terms as those accorded the federals, the rent being fixed at one hundred and seventy-five dollars a month. In the Confederate ranks were numerous former students of Bardstown, and these were now delighted to renew acquaintance with such of their old-time Jesuit teachers as still remained at the college. With the opportunities thus afforded for the exercise of some timely ministerial service on behalf of their former pupils, these visits were highly welcomed by the fathers. Father Verdin was particularly successful in inducing these Bardstown alumni of a past day to prepare their souls by confession for the dread uncertainties of war. It was obviously a token of divine mercy in their regard. Not many days after their visit to Bardstown a number of Verdin's penitents made the supreme sacrifice on the sanguinary field of Perryville, among them General Sterling A. Ward of Alabama.

The stay of the Confederates at Bardstown was a brief one, lasting only from September 24 to October 4, on the morning of which latter day they moved their sick, with the exception of some sixty extreme cases, to Danville while the troops moved off in the direction of Springfield. General Don Carlos Buell was now leading his northern army from Louisville in hot pursuit, his right wing on the Bardstown pike. An advance guard moving into Bardstown on October 4 was ambushed at the Fair Grounds and driven back by General Wharton's Confederate cavalry, which had been left behind by General Bragg as a rear-guard with instructions to hold the town until the evening of that day, when the federals moved in.⁴⁸ The college was at once commandeered for a hospital, the sick southern soldiers who had been left behind being placed under parole. The next day, October 5, saw Buell's army of sixty thousand pass through Bardstown in pursuit of Bragg, leaving two hundred of his sick at the college. On October 7 the 78th Indiana Regiment was surprised and disarmed in the neighborhood of Bardstown by Confederate troops and the men put on parole.⁴⁹ By October 12, fifty additional Union soldiers had been received at the college so that the number of men housed in it now numbered three hundred and ten, of whom sixty were Confederates. The days between October 5 and 17 were the most trying period experienced at any time during the war by the Jesuit group still resident at the college. There was much wrangling, at times even blows between the soldiers of North and South thus forced by the fortunes of war to live together under the same roof. To the unpleasantness arising from this situation was added the annoyance caused by the conduct of some Union men who, it was reported, had feigned sickness so as to be left behind at Bards-

⁴⁸ Collins, *op. cit.*, I: 113.

⁴⁹ *Idem*, I: 113.

town when their regiments passed through the town. They drank and quarrelled with one another, rode roughshod over all the hospital regulations, stole the college poultry and vegetables and made their way uninvited into the private apartments of the fathers, the officers, so it seemed, being powerless to control them. A sigh of relief was breathed by the Jesuit inmates when on October 17 some sixty or seventy of these undisciplined guests received their discharge from the hospital. In the interim the number of the Confederate sick had grown smaller, some of the group left behind by the retreating southerners having died and others having been sent for convalescence to their homes.

The closing days of 1862 witnessed still another shift in the military situation at Bardstown. A report having been received that the Confederates were in the neighborhood, the federals on December 28 evacuated the town and withdrew to Louisville, taking with them as many of their sick as could travel. The next day, towards evening, General Morgan, the Confederate cavalry leader, entered the town with a force of eight thousand men. The college was immediately occupied and the federal sick who had been left behind, about one hundred and fifty in number, were taken prisoners and put on parole. The Confederates remained only a few days in Bardstown. On January 15, 1863, a Union regiment of Tennessee cavalry appeared in the town and asked permission to use the church as a barracks. This was refused as other quarters, the college for instance, were available for the soldiers. Notwithstanding the protests of its pastors the church was seized by the military and occupied by them, but for two days only. On January 17 the Tennessee cavalry proceeded on their way leaving the church quite undamaged. In the meantime, the number of soldier-patients at the college kept steadily declining until towards the end of March only twenty-four remained and these were on the 26th and 27th of that month moved to Louisville on word being received that the Confederates were again invading the state. On May 2, 1863, the federal authorities delivered over to the Jesuit owners the section of the college buildings that had been requisitioned for a hospital. Everything had been made clean and put in the best of order and except for a few broken window-panes the buildings were perfectly intact. The stipulated rent was duly paid and the military and the Jesuits of Bardstown parted in a spirit of friendliness and mutual satisfaction over the experiences they had shared together during eighteen historic months. Thereafter the college buildings do not appear to have served at any time during the Civil War the uses of a military hospital.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *Litterae Annuae*, 1861-1863. (A).

With the closing of what may be called the military chapter in the history of the Society of Jesus in Bardstown, the energies of the few fathers still resident there became restricted to the placid channels of the parochial ministry. For the Negroes of recent emancipation an attempt was made to provide more immediate spiritual attention than they had formerly received. Already in 1862 the discovery was made that mere catechetical instruction, unsupported by other appeal, made but a feeble impression on the Negro mind. It was only with difficulty that the small number of ten or twelve blacks could be got together for catechism classes, and these showed but slender interest in the proceedings. Then, in June, 1863, the singing of Catholic songs and hymns was introduced into the classes. The vitalizing element seemed to have been found. The Negroes began to frequent the classes of catechism in ever increasing numbers until as many as sixty or seventy were in attendance. "Singing," comments the Bardstown chronicler, "seems to encourage them and stirs them to pious rivalry." In 1866 steps were taken with the Bishop's approval towards providing the Negroes with a church and school. One of the pastors went up to Chicago where he collected fifteen hundred dollars, which sum was increased by an additional hundred dollars gathered from various sources. Within a year or so property was bought for sixteen hundred and fifty dollars, the church and school being, however, erected at a much later period.⁵¹

On August 16, 1865, Father John Schultz, an Alsatian, a one-time superior of St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission and rector of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, during the Civil War, became vice-rector at Bardstown. He remained at this post until the retrocession in December, 1868, of St. Joseph's College to the diocese. Associated with him at this juncture, when the Jesuit province of Missouri ceased to count the venerable Kentucky town among its centres of apostolic endeavor, were Fathers John O'Neil and Theodore De Leeuw and the coadjutor-brothers Dohan, Lawless, Dougherty and O'Rourke.

§ 4. THE CONTROVERSY

On July 23, 1860, Father Felix Sopranis of the province of Naples, appointed by the General, Peter Beckx, to the post of Visitor of the Society of Jesus in the United States, arrived in St. Louis to discuss with the Missouri vice-provincial the question of a scholasticate in common for the American divisions of the Society.⁵² In the fall he had entered on the visitation of the vice-province, being at Bardstown in November. There he found the college prospering, but handicapped in

⁵¹ *Idem*, 1864-1866. (A).

⁵² *Liber Consultationum*, 1860. (A).

its educational work through lack of adequate quarters for students and faculty. New buildings were imperative, but these, according to the instructions issued by the General to the Visitor were not to be erected unless the Society secured from the Bishop a title in fee-simple to the college property, which, according to the terms of the deed of transfer of 1848, it was holding in trust only. In November, 1860, Sopranis was received with marked hospitality by Bishop Spalding at the episcopal residence in Louisville, but owing to some or other circumstance was prevented from taking up with the prelate, as it was his intention to do, the question of a more favorable tenure of the college property. From Santa Clara College in California he wrote to the Bishop April 3, 1861, advising him that the existing inadequacy of the Bardstown buildings could not be allowed to continue. Otherwise "the Fathers of our Society could not answer before men, nay, I would say, before God, for the happy issue of their labors in behalf of the youth there confided to their care. A new building, therefore, capable of affording sufficient room for a students' dormitory, chapel, study and refectory, leaving the existing college exclusively as a domicile for the Fathers, is, in the judgment of all, an absolute necessity, while on the financial side there would be no difficulty at least in beginning the work and that immediately." Sopranis then proceeded to say that the only difficulty in the way was the circumstance that the building would have to be erected *in fundo alieno* ("on another's property"), seeing that the Jesuits held only a trust-deed to the college grounds; and against building under such circumstances the Father General had expressed his mind clearly and unequivocally.

And here it is, Right Reverend Bishop, that your cooperation is wholly necessary since to your Lordship belongs the absolute proprietorship of the land in question. If only it pleased your Lordship to convey to our Society in fee-simple, as they say in English, the entire ground on which the present College, together with the dependent buildings, is located, reserving to your Lordship that on which the parochial church is standing, every inconvenience would be at an end. . . . This, then, is what the Father General flatters himself he will obtain of your Lordship; wherefore he writes to me that he will give his consent to the construction of the building just as soon as he can approve articles of agreement safeguarding the interests of the Society and signed by the Right Reverend Bishop and the Rector of the College.

Father Sopranis concluded his letter by expressing the hope that he might hear on his way through St. Louis at the end of June that every difficulty had disappeared and that he might even be himself the bearer to the Father General of the stipulated agreement. In the interval Father Thomas O'Neil, rector of Bardstown College, was authorized

to deal with the Bishop of Louisville concerning the affair, all necessary powers to that effect being placed in his hands.⁵³

In the summer of 1861, with Bishop Spalding still unheard from in regard to the Bardstown affair, Father Sopranis returned to Europe to report to the Father General in Rome on the condition of Jesuit affairs in America. Though he considered the commission assigned to him as in a sense discharged, he foresaw the probability of his returning again to America with instructions to execute the important decrees which it was understood the Father General would issue on the basis of his report. And so it turned out to be. In 1862 Sopranis was back again in the United States in the continued capacity of Visitor to the houses of his order. The controversy over Bardstown now entered on a new phase. Father Beckx in a letter to the Visitor, after observing that the suppression of a college was a matter of the utmost gravity from the view-point of the Jesuit constitutions, authorized him to return St. Joseph's College to the Bishop of Louisville provided that no serious impediment stood in the way. But it was first to be verified that the Society of Jesus was under no legal or moral obligation arising from the contract made with the Bishop in 1848, when the college was accepted, to continue its educational work at Bardstown; and to this end the opinion of competent persons, including attorneys-at-law and the Jesuit fathers who negotiated the contract, was to be ascertained.⁵⁴ With Sopranis it was now no longer a question of obtaining from the Bishop a title in fee-simple to the college-property, as the only step to be taken before erecting a new building and thereby insuring the continuance of St. Joseph's College under Jesuit control. New circumstances were to be reckoned with since he first broached the matter to Bishop Spalding in the spring of 1861. The Civil War had broken out and classes at St. Joseph's had been suspended and the buildings diverted to hospital use. Moreover, a more intimate acquaintance with conditions in the vice-province of Missouri had revealed to him a surprising inadequacy of personnel for the activities in which it was engaged. To start up anew at Bardstown after the war was over would require the withdrawal of men from posts where they were indispensably needed in default of substitutes and would thus entail hardship on the vice-province generally. As to the obligations incurred by the Society by the contract of 1848, Father Sopranis after a careful study of that document was led to conclude, a view in which he was sustained by Catholic lawyers to whom he submitted the document for examination, that no argument could be drawn from it prejudicing the

⁵³ Sopranis ad Spalding, April 3, 1861. (A).

⁵⁴ Beckx ad Sopranis, 1861. (A).

liberty of the Society under the circumstances to surrender the college if it saw fit.⁵⁵

From the first Bishop Spalding challenged the right of the Jesuits to surrender Bardstown. To a communication from Father Sopranis of July 25, 1862, he first replied August 1 following, by submitting a *prævia quaestio*, which he believed should be resolved before advancing any further in the controversy. This question regarded the right of the Jesuits to give up the college in view of the 18th decree of the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati of 1855, according to which religious congregations or orders might not lawfully withdraw from a diocese without previous knowledge and consent of the Ordinary. "The present difficulties are essentially temporary," the Bishop said in conclusion, "and cannot last long and to me it would seem unwise to base upon them a *permanent* arrangement involving such serious consequences to Religion and to your Society. Perhaps in a year or two old St. Joseph's will again emerge from the cloud as bright and prosperous as ever and then your Reverence might regret that you had abandoned it in the hour of its adversity, leaving its friends and its Bishop in trouble. At least it would be wise to await the issue."⁵⁶

Writing briefly to Father Coosemans August 10 the Visitor pointed out that the Cincinnati decree appealed to by Bishop Spalding regarded only the removal of pastors of churches in charge of religious. Such

⁵⁵ Of course, even if free by civil law to surrender the college, the Jesuits did not consider themselves at liberty to do so unless canon law also placed no obstacle.

⁵⁶ Spalding to Coosemans, August 1, 1862. (A). Most of the correspondence between Bishop and Visitor was carried on indirectly through Father Coosemans. The 18th decree of the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati as cited by Spalding reads: "Cum neminem lateat quanto cum studio fructuque animarum curam egerint collegiaeque regenda susceperint viri Religiosi diversorum Ordinum in hac provincia et quanto cum scandalo et Religionis detrimento Missiones et Instituta ipsis commissa insciis seu invitis Ordinariis locorum relinquere et alias se transferrent haud inopportunitate esse censuerunt Patres quae bona sunt firmare, quae autem mala avertere providentes, in mentem revocare decretum Summi Pontificis Bonifacii VIII (de Excessibus Praelatorum tit. vi cap.) et S.C. de prop. fide 3 Junii 1822 a Summo Pont. Pio VII die 21 Julii ejusdem anni approbatum, ex quibus constat Societates Religiosas a conventionibus cum Episcopis initis resilire non posse, nec pastores et rectores Religiosos ab Ecclesiis et locis quibus propositi sunt a Superioribus suis removeri, nisi iis alii Societatum sodales cum consensu Ordinarii subrogentur. His sapientissimis Summorum Pontificum decretis omnes morem gerere obsequiumque praestare in Domino monemus." A similar provision is now embodied in the new code of canon law introduced by Benedict XV (Canon 498), according to which religious orders and congregations once established in a diocese may not withdraw from it without permission of the Holy See. Its embodiment in the new code is meant to obviate just such complications as the one here discussed.

pastors might not be removed by their superiors without a substitute being appointed in their place and such substitute must obtain episcopal approbation before exercising his pastoral duties. This interpretation of the decree, so the Visitor declared, had recently been rendered by certain theologians in Rome. Moreover, it seemed borne out by the tenor of the papal documents cited in the decree. The Visitor further emphasized the fact that since the college ceased to be a place available for the education of youth, owing to military occupation, and after such occupation was over, would still cease to be so available owing to the inability of the Jesuits to provide teachers, the latter were bound in conscience, according to the terms of the contract of 1848, to deliver the institution back to the diocese. Bishop Spalding's answer to this communication from Father Sopranis is reproduced in substance, the original being in Latin:

I have received the letter of date New York, August 10, which you have forwarded to me and in which Very Rev. Father Sopranis, Visitor of the Society of Jesus in America, signifies to me the reasons on account of which he wishes to surrender the college and church of St. Joseph at Bardstown. I have thought it opportune to make the following observations upon this letter and I beg your Reverence kindly to transmit the same in my name to the aforesaid venerable Visitor of the Society.

1. As to the legal title by which the Society holds the property of the aforesaid college—

I observe 1° that this title was approved and accepted by the Superiors of the Society in the month of July, 1848, fourteen years ago, without any protest ever having been made against it almost up to the present, at least as far as my knowledge goes. I observe 2° that said title, which is in the form of a trust in perpetuity for the good of education, is precisely the same as that by which the Society holds the property of the college and church of Cincinnati and that the legal instrument by which it was delivered to the Society in perpetuity with the agreement and approval of Very Rev. Father Elet, Vice-Provincial of Missouri, and Rev. Father Verhaegen, who was sent hither by the former, was drawn up precisely according to the pattern of the Cincinnati instrument, concerning which, as far as I hear, no complaint has ever been entered by the Superiors of the Society. I observe 3° that the said trust is intrinsically and *per se* a bilateral *contractus onerosus*, from which neither party ought to retire without the consent of the other, and as the Bishop could not according to law, whether civil or canon, eject the Society from the aforesaid property without the consent of the Superiors of the same, so neither on the other hand ought the Superiors to recall their men from the same without the Bishop's consent. I observe 4° that when there was question of erecting a new college building I readily put my signature to a written instrument which had been drawn up by a competent lawyer and in which the difficulty over the title of the ground on which it

was to be built was satisfactorily met according to the mind even of the aforesaid Rector.

2. As regards the second argument of the distinguished Visitor consisting in the circumstance that the aforesaid College, as having been occupied for some months back by troops as a hospital for their sick, is no longer a suitable place for education, which was the principal object of the said trust:

I observe 1° that such occupation is by its very nature temporary and as it were, *per accidens*, and therefore cannot render invalid a contract which was perpetual and onerous on both sides.

I observe 2° that said military occupation in no wise affects the church of St. Joseph but only a part of the college itself.

I observe 3° that for an occupation of this nature to affect a perpetual contract it would have to last for some years, a thing which, to say the least, is very improbable.

I observe 4° that this temporary occupation has come about by reason of the times, not through any fault of mine.

3. As the meaning of the 18th decree of the First Council of Cincinnati now approved by the Holy See,

I observe 1° that this decree is directed against the relinquishing not only of churches but of *colleges* and *institutes* in the hands of religious societies—*"in sc̄is seu in v̄itis Ordinariis locorum cum scandalo et Religionis detrimento, et tam de Collegiis quam de Ecclesiis idem decretum clare praevidere, Societates Religiosas a conventionibus cum Episcopis initiis resiliere non posse etc."* ["without the knowledge or against the wishes of the local Ordinaries with resulting scandal and harm to Religion and that, as well in the case of Colleges as of churches, the same decree provides that Religious Societies cannot go back on agreements made with Bishops, etc."].

I observe 2° that so far I have heard nothing of a rescript having been issued in Rome interpreting the sense and scope of this decree according to the opinion of certain theologians; furthermore, nothing of this sort is found in the authentic acts of the above mentioned Council, which contain a formal Instruction of the Sacred Congregation de Prop. Fide. Besides, the theologians' opinion referred to does not touch the principal issue here in dispute, the right namely to withdraw over their protest from contracts of this nature made with the Ordinaries.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Spalding ad Coosemans, August 18, 1862. (A). In referring to a "rescript" the Bishop was under a misapprehension. Soprani in his letter of August 10 had merely written, "*rescriptum est Roma*," i.e. "it was written from Rome" that the decree in question had met with a certain interpretation. In regard to his letter of August 18 Spalding wrote to Archbishop Kenrick August 31, 1862: "The J. [Jesuits] are an extraordinary body of holy men. They have never assigned to me the reason which you allege—that they cannot support themselves at St. Joseph's. The chief reason of the Venerable Visitor is the *title* to the property, which is a Trust Deed in perpetuum. I have answered this document in a letter of eight pages in Latin to which I have as yet received no reply. They will find it difficult to answer. I think that the Bishops of our Province should insist on their compliance with their contract according to the *clear provisions* of our *first* Provincial

In a letter addressed to Father Coosemans, Father Sopranis commented on the foregoing communication from Bishop Spalding:

It is clear to me beyond doubt that the Vice-Province of Missouri owing to lack of suitable personnel cannot, as the obligation assumed in the agreement of July 5, 1848, would demand of it, use its exertions for the success of St. Joseph's College as a permanent institution of education. Moreover, it is expressly stipulated in the same agreement: "but should the same College and its property hereafter at any time be diverted from the purposes of education, then it is fully understood . . . that the same . . . shall fall to and be invested in the Right Rev. Bishop." From the foregoing I must, so I judge, reason as follows: the Vice-Province of Missouri is in such a condition that it is forced to divert St. Joseph's College from the purpose for which it was delivered since it can no longer properly provide therein for the education of youth. But this is the case in which according to agreement the College and all its appurtenances ought to revert to ('fall to and be invested in') the Right Reverend Bishop. Therefore equity requires of the Vice-Province of Missouri that it withdraw from possession of the college and freely renounce it in favor of the Right Reverend Bishop.

The writer next appeals to the general principle of equity and natural ethics that an obligation assumed ceases to exist if means of fulfilling it are no longer at hand.

And from this I conclude as beyond all doubt that the Fathers of Cincinnati, whatever be the meaning of the 18th decree of the 1st Synod, had no mind to include this case any more than the Roman Pontiffs and Sacred Congregation de Prop. Fide cited therein, were minded to do so. Nay, I would dare say they could not have had any such intention; for it would be a thing contrary to the natural law itself and to suspect even that anything of this sort could have proceeded from such authority were preposterous.

It has accordingly been clear to me that I can *validly* and *licitly* make renunciation of the College of Bardstown with its adjuncts into the hands of the Right Reverend Bishop of Louisville. But I should wish to do so *honorably*, to wit, with the honor of either party unimpaired and without offence to any one. A highly opportune occasion for doing so seems to present

Council of Cinti [Cincinnati] at which they were fully represented and did not protest. I will send you all the correspondence in a few days. I do not know whether I will insist on the appeal to the judgment of the Holy Congregation de Prop. [agenda], which I have already proposed to the Visitor. I will be guided by my Metropolitan and brethren." (I). Spalding had written shortly before (August 18) to Archbishop Purcell: "I mean to test the matter at Rome and have this day informed them [the Jesuits] of my intention to appeal. Will you support me as my metropolitan?" (I). As a matter of fact the question of the title to the Bardstown property did not particularly enter into the Jesuit contention at this stage; the Society now took its stand on the moral impossibility of continuing the college for lack of men.

itself in the present state of the country. For while in consequence of the latter the Fathers of Missouri have ceased though it be only temporarily to educate youth in the aforesaid College, it would be without prejudice to their honor were they to cease educating youth in the same College even for a greater period, as long, namely, as the Missouri Vice-Province suffers from lack of men or even *in perpetuum*; nor would any serious harm be done to the diocese of Louisville, since the Right Reverend Bishop would be in a position to provide in some other and better way for the institution in question according to the title by which he himself holds the property.

For influenced by a sincere zeal for souls, that is to say, not to deprive his flock of the men of the Society, he [Spalding] sets himself against this determination and refuses to consent to it in any way, wherein I cannot help commending the zeal of the Right Reverend Bishop and tendering him my thanks for the esteem in which, as he shows, he holds our least Society. Now I think this inference must be drawn from the above: if charity that is genuine can in no wise be at odds with charity, then in charity itself a way must be found for settling things amicably. This way, so it seems, can be found if both sides make some concession. Let the Right Reverend Bishop concede to the Fathers of Missouri that the affairs of St. Joseph College remain in the same state in which they are at present as long as the national situation be unsettled and peace not restored, and the Fathers of Missouri will not cease (on their part) to render every service they are rendering now. Then, when order shall have been reestablished in the country and peace restored, let the Vice-Province of Missouri canvas its resources and if it finds them equal to shouldering the burden, it will keep the college of Bardstown; but if it finds otherwise, which will undoubtedly be the case if the situation clears up in a very short time, the Right Reverend Bishop will release them from the obligation of keeping the College.

For the rest, if the Right Reverend Bishop wishes to appeal to the Sacred Congregation de Prop. [aganda] Fide, I am not a person who either can or ought or should wish to oppose the Rt. Reverend Bishop, for there is a duty incumbent on me to follow and defer to him.⁵⁸

There was no disposition on the part of the Jesuits to press the controversy to a hasty issue, the more so as they were dealing with so sympathetic and high-minded a prelate as Bishop Spalding. In a letter of this period addressed to Father Coosemans he witnesses to the esteem and affection which he had entertained from youth for the Society of Jesus. "Certainly it is no inclination of mine, for I am averse to contentiousness of any kind, but my very esteem for the Society and my fear of losing its Fathers from the diocese committed to my care, together with the dictates of my conscience, that have led me, much against my feelings, to enter this controversy, which I certainly did not begin, but merely prolonged by replying to the arguments advanced by

⁵⁸ Sopranis ad Coosemans, August 27, 1862. (AA).

the distinguished Father Sopranis."⁵⁹ As previously stated, a compromise was now proposed to the Bishop by the Visitor, who still maintained that the Society could validly, licitly and honorably (*valide, licite, honeste*) withdraw from Bardstown. The fathers would keep church and college *in statu quo* while the war lasted and after the war would continue holding them should they be able to do so; but if unable, then they would surrender the same to the Bishop, the latter releasing them from whatever obligations they might be under to retain them. Bishop Spalding signified his acceptance of the compromise, with the proviso, however, that a third party be appointed to arbitrate the issue, suggesting for this function either Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati or Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis. Moreover, "to demonstrate more clearly his esteem for the Society," Spalding engaged to go as far as the civil law allowed in giving the Jesuits a more satisfactory title to the college property.

With the proposal made by the prelate that an arbiter be appointed to decide the issue at stake, including the question of the Jesuits' ability to reopen the college at the end of the war, the Visitor was in full accord; but he suggested as a preferable choice for arbiter the Jesuit Father General as it was the latter alone who was in a position to reopen the college by furnishing the necessary personnel. To this last suggestion Bishop Spalding generously assented, stipulating, however, at the same time that no new houses were to be opened by the vice-province before the final decision was rendered. Father Sopranis hastened to express his satisfaction over the provisional settlement which had thus been reached. As to not undertaking new enterprises of moment pending the final settlement, that was a matter of course, sincerity and good faith requiring that such understanding exist between the parties to the controversy. As to the Bishop's offer to give the Jesuits a satisfactory title to the college property, Sopranis had for the moment nothing to say, since he rested his case for the permanent closing of the college entirely on the inability of the Society of Jesus to provide it with the necessary staff of teachers.

Important events were to occur before Father Beckx was to pass judgment on the perplexing question. In 1864 Bishop Spalding was transferred from Louisville to the metropolitan see of Baltimore, in the April of 1865 the Civil War was over, and in the following September the Reverend Peter J. Laviaille was consecrated Bishop of Louisville. The newly consecrated prelate had no desire, any more than had his predecessor, to see the Jesuits detach themselves from Bardstown. "He has told a gentleman of Bardstown," wrote Coosemans, September

⁵⁹ Spalding ad Coosemans, September 2, 1862. (A).

13, 1865, "that with the help of the Jesuits he will make St. Joseph's College one of the most flourishing in the United States. He does not know, the good Bishop, of the impossibility of our reopening this College for lack of professors." On October 2, 1865, Coosemans laid before his consultors the Bardstown affair in all its phases with a view to determine the line of action to be taken concerning it with the new Bishop of Louisville. He informed them of the number of men lost to the province as also of the number of accessions during the preceding four years. Thirty members had been lost, these including fathers and scholastics dead, dismissed or transferred to other provinces. The accessions during the same period numbered only seventeen, fifteen of these being scholastic novices while two were priests from the province of Galicia. When Father Sopranis discussed the surrender of the college with Bishop Spalding, the chief argument alleged to justify the step was a scarcity of men. If men were lacking at that period, much more was this the case now. Nor was there anything in the suggestion that the province could with a very limited staff carry on at least a *collegium inchoatum*, consisting of a few classes only. This would be possible in the case of a day-school, but not in the case of a boarding-school, where students, once they take up their studies, ought to find the opportunity to pursue them to graduation. The consultors, accordingly, one alone excepted, gave it as their opinion that the college ought to be restored to the Bishop, adding that the business could be conveniently transacted with him by letter. A few days later, however, Father Coosemans, accompanied by his assistant, Father Keller, was in Louisville to negotiate the affair personally with Bishop Lavielle. The interview with the prelate appears to have been unsatisfactory as regards any progress made towards a solution of the problem; but he engaged to write promptly to the Father General, presenting the case from the viewpoint of the diocese. An account of the conference was communicated to the General by Father Coosemans:

The Bishop, who is very much attached to the Society and very zealous for the good of his diocese, would not hear of our going away. While fully agreeing that it is difficult in view of the losses we have sustained to meet the situation properly, he kept on begging me to do something for St. Joseph College, were we only to begin with two classes. He appealed to me in the name of his saintly predecessor, Bishop Flaget, who had done everything to have the Jesuits in his diocese, and in the name of his people, who were so anxious to have the Jesuits and who would certainly be scandalized to see them withdraw again. Moreover, he was ready, so he said, to do everything in his power to satisfy the Society in regard to the property; it was his desire, too, that the Fathers have a church and residence in Louisville. I recalled to him our poverty, the small number of our subjects and consequently the

impossibility of our undertaking anything new. I suggested several orders and congregations who might be able to take over Bardstown College, but all was useless.^{59a}

Shortly after his return to St. Louis Coosemans proposed to the Father General, as a likely avenue of escape from what was becoming a painful situation, the transfer of the Jesuit boarding-college in St. Louis to Bardstown, a day-college only to be maintained in the former city. In December Father Beckx was still pondering on the perplexing issue, unable and unwilling as yet, so he declared, to say the final word. Had the province the men, the college could be opened to advantage. As to the proposal to transfer the St. Louis boarding-school to Bardstown, there was much to recommend it. An exclusively Catholic boarding-school could be built up or at least one which counted few non-Catholics and a stricter discipline could be enforced than was possible in St. Louis. Moreover, there was the hope that candidates in considerable numbers might be secured from this quarter for the Society. At length, in February, 1866, Father Beckx, after waiting vainly for months for word from Bishop Lavialle, issued a decree discontinuing St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, as a Jesuit institution.⁶⁰

In view of the arrangement between Bishop Spalding and Father Sopranis constituting the Jesuit General sole judge in the controversy with power to render an authoritative decision, the long-standing dispute would seem at last to have been definitely brought to an end. Yet such was not to be the case.

^{59a} Coosemans ad Beckx, October 17, 1865. (AA).

⁶⁰ Beckx ad Coosemans, December, 1865; February 27, 1866. (A). Father Beckx's Latin letter of February 27, 1866, addressed to Father Coosemans, runs as follows in translation: "After the close of the Civil War, which ravaged your country for so long a period, the college at Bardstown has frequently been under discussion and inquiry has been made as to whether our Society can reestablish it in a becoming manner or whether it ought to give it up altogether. It is indeed a trying experience for us to relinquish houses in which it was once permitted us to promote the interests of Church and State and in which we enjoyed the confidence of numerous friends and especially that of the first pastor of the diocese. But considering the condition of your Province and the meagre number of properly trained men; considering, too, that there is little or no hope of increasing the number of properly trained members for some years to come, you easily see for yourself that your Province cannot take on itself the burden of reopening the college in question and that accordingly nothing else remains except to restore it definitely to the most Reverend Bishop. Your Reverence will therefore kindly inform his Lordship to this effect, making whatever explanations may be necessary and not failing to present to him the sentiments of my sincere respect.

Should we be in a position later on to render any service on behalf of his flock, it will be our greatest joy and consolation to do so."

On April 4, 1866, Fathers Coosemans and Keller were in Louisville to acquaint Bishop Lavalie with the General's decision. On hearing it the Bishop showed himself deeply moved, saying he had not expected the issue of the affair would be such. He declared again his intention of writing to the Father General, from whom he confidently expected a favorable response. He had sounded the sentiments of his clergy and people on the issue and wished to be in a position to assure them that he had petitioned the General to have the Jesuits retained in the diocese. Finally, he wished it understood that if the Jesuits left his diocese they would thereafter be debarred from it for any kind of ministerial work. "I have learned since that his desire to have us at Louisville is only conditional, that his determination to keep us at Bardstown is such that he would write directly to the Pope to realize it. . . . It appears also that he does not consider himself bound by the engagement of his predecessor or by the arrangement made in this matter between Bishop Spalding and Father Sopranis." (Coosemans ad Beckx, April 8, 1866.) So great was Bishop Lavalie's emotion on the occasion of this interview that Father Coosemans did not venture to communicate to him at once his purpose to put Father Beckx's decision into execution. This he did by letter from Bardstown two days later after Father Keller, the bearer of the letter, in another meeting with the prelate, at which the vicar-general, Father Benedict Spalding, was present, vainly endeavored to have the two accept the settlement decreed by Father Beckx. The Bishop, however, reiterated his willingness to have such change made in the title to the college property as would render it satisfactory from the Jesuit standpoint and he declared again his intention to take up the whole affair within a day or two with the Father General.

In November, 1866, at which time no communication from the Bishop of Louisville on the subject in hand had come into his hands, Father Beckx made known to Father Coosemans that he was still of the opinion that the college should not be reopened and that the decree of suppression should accordingly be put into execution. At the same time, however, were it possible to transfer the boarding-college from St. Louis to Bardstown and were the Bishop to give the Society a title in fee-simple to the Bardstown property, he was ready to revoke the decree suppressing the College. But on no condition would he allow the Society to build on property which was not its own (*in fundo alieno*). Again, in March, 1867, Father Beckx, after noting that no communication had been received from the Bishop of Louisville and that it seemed in vain to expect any, again set the Bardstown affair before Father Coosemans, asking whether it would not be expedient to transfer the St. Louis boarding-school to Bardstown, in which contingency the Bishop could be advised of the willingness of the Jesuits

to reopen St. Joseph's College, provided, however, that the difficulty regarding the title could be overcome.⁶¹ But Coosemans, though the

⁶¹ Beckx ad Coosemans, November, 1866; March, 1867. (A). The stand taken by Father Beckx that there was to be no building at Bardstown at Jesuit expense unless title in fee-simple to the property be first obtained (*ne in fundo alieno aedificetur*) appears for the first time in contemporary correspondence about the middle fifties. As far as can be ascertained, the question of revising the title was not raised at all in 1852 when Emig's building was erected. The new structure, while bringing relief, did not by any means solve the housing problem and the sentiment began to be expressed that an additional structure ought to be raised or the college abandoned altogether. As it was, both faculty and student-body were housed in the original building, the narrow dimensions of which made it equally difficult to enforce student-discipline and insure the Jesuit professors the means of living in harmony with their religious rule. The vice-provincial was requested by the Father General, January 30, 1858, to make inquiry together with the consultors 1° as to whether any arrangement were possible by which "the Society could acquire full dominion over the college buildings and property or at least have the right if at any time it were forced to give up the college, of reclaiming expenses incurred for new buildings." 2° "If neither arrangement could be made, should the number of students and officials be reduced so that the quarters of the existing buildings now in good repair might answer to the needs of the College?" Finally, 3° "should the College be given up?" The question of a new building having been taken up afresh in view of Beckx's letter, the college authorities obtained from Spalding a legal instrument, signed by him March 28, 1858, according to which, in the contingency of the Jesuits leaving Bardstown, the Bishop was either to purchase the prospective building or allow the Jesuits to sell it to others on his being reimbursed for the value of the property. For some unexplained reason, probably because it was looked upon as only a personal concession from the Bishop and therefore not necessarily binding on his successors, this settlement, though embodying a suggestion made in Beckx's own letter of January 30, 1858, did not prove decisive in the controversy. Two years later, in 1860, the rector of Bardstown was petitioning the Bishop of Louisville for an absolute title to the property on which it was hoped to build, while Father Sopranis on his arrival in the country in the same year was under explicit instructions from the Father General to accept nothing short of a title in fee-simple. Eventually the opinion seemed to prevail that the particular tenure under which the Jesuits held the Bardstown property could not be legally altered, as being in the intention of the founder of the college (Bishop Flaget) a perpetual trust for educational purposes. An interesting sidelight on the dispute about the title is found in a letter addressed January 30, 1856, to the General by Father Converse, treasurer of Bardstown college. He observed that the objection raised in connection with the title proved too much. If the Jesuits could not make the improvements necessary to keep the college up to standard, they ought to abandon it or should never have accepted it. The particular clause regarding the tenure of the property was incorporated by Bishop Flaget in the deed with a view, so he declared, to prevent the Jesuits from leaving the college, or if they left to require them to restore the property to the Bishop free of debt. Though Bishops Spalding and Lavalie had both engaged to do what they could to have the title to the property amended so as to meet the wishes of the Jesuits, nothing was actually done on this head probably owing to legal obstacles. "According to fresh informa-

first to propose to the Father General the transfer of the boarding-school from St. Louis to Bardstown, was now firmly set against the measure as were also his consultors. Accordingly no action was taken on the General's suggestion that the question, which had now dragged its weary length through some seven years, be taken up again with Bishop Lavialle. Probably the illness from which that worthy prelate suffered during the greater part of his incumbency of the see of Louisville kept him from communicating to the Jesuit General the diocesan side of the question as he had several times engaged to do. At all events, he was soon to pass from the scene, death overtaking him May 11, 1867.

A few months before the end Bishop Lavialle had offered Bardstown College to the Fathers of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Indiana, writing to the venerable Father Sorin:

The Fathers of the Soc[iety] of J[esus], having lost more members than they have received for the last 6 years and being urged in consequence by their General rather to restrict and narrow down for a while their sphere of labors in teaching for which they are not able to provide according to the rules and general custom, are anxious not to reopen St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, which they closed at the opening of the war. They have had no difficulty whatever either with clergy or the people, and they say themselves that Bard. is one of the very best places for a boarding-school. Could you take that institution and reopen it next September or sooner if you should choose? The buildings are very valuable and well adapted to college purposes and they are surrounded with beautiful grounds well enclosed. There is a very fine parochial church, the first cathedral of Bishop Flaget. The old name of the college, the salubrity of the site, and close proximity of the Nazareth Academy, the R. Road connecting Bardstown with Louisville seem to warrant the certain expectation of a steady large patronage; and what we hear of the anxiety of many in the South in regard to this favorite college can but confirm the same. There is no doubt that your Society would have here a distinguished and splendid field for ever, with a good chance of recruiting itself.⁶²

And now a fresh turn was given to the controversy and from an unexpected quarter. The Reverend Francis Chambige, rector of the diocesan seminary of St. Thomas near Bardstown, made representations

tion received from Bardstown, it seems that the Bishop hasn't any more the right to put us into full and entire possession of this college with its landed property, seeing that the intention of the donor of the land was that it should be employed for the education of youth." Coosemans à Beckx, May 18, 1867. Bishop McCloskey, though anxious to retain the Jesuits at Bardstown, appears to have been reticent throughout on the subject of the title.

⁶² Lavialle to Sorin, January 29, 1867. (I).

to Father Beckx to the effect that the Jesuits were under strict moral obligation to reopen St. Joseph's College in virtue of the original contract of 1848. Though from the Jesuit viewpoint this phase of the question would seem to have been long since satisfactorily disposed of, Father Beckx appears to have been impressed by Father Chambige's contention, and this to such a degree that he cabled to St. Louis directing Father Coosemans to come to Rome immediately, bearing with him all the documents pertinent to the case, or else to dispatch Father Keller, the assistant-provincial, in his place. Coosemans at once took the matter up with his consultors. It was first agreed that Keller should undertake the mission. Later, it was thought better under the circumstances for Coosemans himself to answer the summons. This he did, arriving in Rome in the summer of 1867. In November he was again in St. Louis reporting to his consultors that the Father General's mind was still for suppressing St. Joseph's College, but that no action was to be taken pending an expected decision from the Congregation of the Propaganda, to which the question had been submitted by the Louisville diocesan authorities. A decision favorable to the Society might be expected, so declared the General, with whom Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Congregation, had communicated the preceding May, expressing the hope that the Jesuits would find it possible to remain at Bardstown and reopen the college. No decree touching the Bardstown affair was issued at any time by the Sacred Congregation.⁶³

While in Europe Father Coosemans drew up for the General a memorial on the Bardstown question, which had now become, in Father Keller's words, "a matter of life and death for the Province of Missouri."⁶⁴ The question was dealt with very thoroughly and from every angle, the contents of the document resolving themselves into four well-reasoned conclusions: 1. That the Jesuits were not obliged to remain in Bardstown in virtue of the contract made with Bishop Flaget in 1848. 2. That even though such obligation arose from the contract named, Bishop Spalding had released the Jesuits from the obligation alleged by accepting the compromise of Father Sopranis, which stipulated that the Jesuit General was to be the judge in last instance of the dispute. 3. That it was not possible, while continuing the boarding-school at St. Louis or some place in Missouri, to reopen the college of Bardstown without inflicting a grave injury on the province. As to securing a title in fee-simple to the college property, Father Coosemans still entertained doubts whether this could be done, though Father Benedict Spalding, administrator of the Louisville diocese after the death of

⁶³ *Liber Consultationum*, 1867. *De negotio Bardensi*. (Ms). (A).

⁶⁴ Coosemans ad Beckx, August 2, 1867. (A).

Le 2 Aout 1867 P. Coosemans

Monseigneur R^{ev} P^{re} négotium Bardense

P. C.

Permettez moi de remettre à v^{otre} Paternité quelques points au sujet du Collège de Bardstown, qui serviront, j'espère, à débrouiller un peu la question.

1 En premier lieu pour ce qui regarde l'obligation de garder le collège pour l'éducation de la jeunesse en vertu du contrat fait en 1848 entre Mgr Flager et des Trustees d'une part, et la Province du Missouri de l'autre, je lis qu'un examen impartial de la lettre et de l'esprit du ce contrat suffira pour faire voir clairement que une telle obligation ne peut pas en être induite légitimement. Voici les mots mêmes du Contrat: "..... All which property, lands and Estates herein described are to be held, owned, occupied and used by the party of the second part, their heirs or assigns, in trust however, forever or so long as the same may be used for or devoted to educational purposes; but should the said college, and its property hereafter, at any time, be diverted from the purposes of Education, then it is fully understood and hereby provided for, that the same together with all the appurtenances now thereunto pertaining, shall fall to, and be invested in the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flager, Bishop of Louisville, State of Ky., and his successors in the Bishopric of said Diocese."....

Il est évident que for ever, (in perpetuum) ne peut pas être pris dans un sens absolu, de manière que la Compagnie serait obligée de maintenir le Collège de Bardstown pour l'éducation de la jeunesse.

Bishop Lavialle, had assured him that the diocese would make this concession if Rome entered no objection. Commenting on Coosemans's memorial, Sopranis, who was now residing in Italy and to whom the memorial had been submitted by the Father General for an opinion, declared his judgment in the matter to be that under no circumstances or conditions ought the Bardstown college be reopened. Nor did he think that the Father General should decide the question in any other way. Passing over the arguments advanced by Father Coosemans as in keeping with the facts and not to be minimized, Father Sopranis maintained that the one solid foundation of fact on which the General might and should take his stand for the closing of the college was the shortage of men in the Missouri Province and the impossibility of securing reinforcements from outside. As to the softening measure proposed by Coosemans, namely, the opening of a residence in Louisville with a view to turning it some day into a day-college, Father Sopranis heartily endorsed it. Among other advantages to be hoped from it was this, "that it would guarantee the good name of the Society in that state. For since the Society (the Fathers of New York) withdrew from Kentucky once before, were it to withdraw a second time it would look as though the Society had a dislike for that State." And Sopranis concluded in his facile Latin, "*Ludovicopoli igitur Nostri immorentur et fructificent; Bardipoli vero nullo modo.*"⁶⁵

Meantime, the Rev. William George McCloskey, rector of the American College in Rome, had been named Bishop of Louisville. After his consecration in Rome, May 24, 1868, Father Beckx approached him on the Bardstown affair. He found him sympathetic and ready to appreciate the Jesuit side of the question, but unwilling to take a stand on it before reaching his diocese and taking counsel concerning it with his clergy. As regarded Beckx himself, the issue was definitely settled, as he informed Coosemans. On November 1, 1868, Bishop McCloskey was in St. Louis to confer with the Father Provincial, who two days later announced the outcome to Father Beckx:

He [Bishop McCloskey] came here expressly to treat about the Bardstown affair. He asked me quite simply whether there was any way of keeping us there. I recalled to him the decree of your Paternity and the reasons we have for not reopening the college, reasons which were known to him already. He did not insist, but asked to be given in writing some points in connection with the college. He remarked that our leaving would occasion a great storm against him, but that he did not wish to quarrel with the Jesuits. He told me that after having read in Rome the instrument of agreement between Bishop Flaget and our Fathers in 1848, and then the letter I left

⁶⁵ Sopranis ad Beckx, August 6, 1867. (A).

with your Paternity, he saw at once what course he should have to take, but prudence required him not to declare himself before reaching his diocese so as not to give umbrage to his diocesans. In order not to expose himself without means of defence to the blame of those who might claim that he let us withdraw in spite of Rome and the appeal made to the Propaganda, he wishes to write immediately to Cardinal Barnabo to cancel any appeal that may have been made and to be in a position in case of necessity to show the Cardinal's answer. So it will not be possible to abandon the college until about the middle of December. In the meantime he wishes that absolute silence be kept on the subject of our departure until the moment it is to take place. Bishop McCloskey is full of benevolence and good will in our regard. Still it is evident he has no intention of offering us a residence in Louisville. The present moment is not propitious and he would encounter too much opposition. Consequently in quitting Bardstown, we quit the diocese of Louisville.

No reference to the subject of the title to the Bardstown property was made by Bishop McCloskey on this occasion; but he had acquiesced in Father Coosemans' declared determination not to recede from his previously announced intention to give up the college. It only remained to settle what disposition was to be made of the property. After consultation with his advisers, Father Coosemans proposed to the Bishop certain terms which the latter found acceptable, declaring that on his return to Louisville, he would send the fathers their formal release from the college. The terms submitted by Coosemans were detailed by him in a letter addressed to Bishop McCloskey after the latter's return to Louisville:

St. Louis University,
November 2, 1868.

Right Rev. dear Bishop.
P.C.

After having conferred with my consultors on the points your Lordship desired me to give you in writing regarding the St. Joseph's College property in the event of our leaving Bardstown, I beg leave to submit the following to your consideration:

1. No compensation is to be asked for any improvements which the Society made on the college premises.
2. All vestments etc. belonging to the parochial church, likewise all physical and chemical apparatus, all articles of furniture, all beds and bedding, as at present existing, and also the library, *as existing when we accepted the college*, (to go to the diocese) without compensation.
3. All the books which were bought by the Fathers, together with the paintings, vestments etc. of the *Domestic chapel*, likewise all debts due to the college, in so far as the same shall be collected, and the stocks, horses, cows etc. now on the premises are to be regarded as the property of the Society.
4. If the college be not in debt and the Very Rev. Father General does

not object, which I am confident he will not, then the several lots adjoining the property which were bought by our Fathers are to be donated in fee simple to your Lordship. But if the college be in debt, then it is proposed that the aforesaid lots be accepted by your Lordship for what they are worth in part payment of said debt and the balance of that debt to be assumed by the Society.

Before signing my name to this paper, allow me, Rt. Rev. dear Bishop, to transcribe here the last words of Father General's Decree of Suppression—words which are not without meaning, but truly express the disposition and feeling of our hearts: *Si postea eidem aliquod servitium pro salute gregis ejus præstare possumus, maximo nobis gaudio et solatio erit tale servitium præstare.*

Begging your Lordship's blessing for me and mine, I remain, with sentiments of sincere esteem and devotedness,

Right Rev. dear Bishop

Your humble servant in Xt

Ferd. Coosemans, S.J.⁶⁶

Bishop McCloskey in his answer to the foregoing communication signified his approval of the terms therein submitted as also his consent to the Jesuits leaving Bardstown any time after November 25. On the 24th of the same month Coosemans in consultation with his advisers designated December 15, 1868, as the day on which St. Joseph's College would be formally restored to the Bishop of Louisville. This arrangement was carried out, the negotiations being in the hands of Father John Schultz, the last Jesuit superior at Bardstown. The connection of the Society of Jesus with St. Joseph's College had lasted twenty years.

The surrender of the college to the diocese was now an accomplished fact. Yet during the years immediately following the departure of the Jesuits from Bardstown efforts were made at intervals to induce them to return. In 1869 such an effort was made within the Society itself. An appeal made in that year to Father Beckx by Father Damen, the missionary, in favor of reopening St. Joseph's College under Jesuit auspices so impressed the Father General that he referred it to St. Louis for an expression of opinion.⁶⁷ But Coosemans and his consultors stood firm in their judgment that the question should not be reopened. Only one boarding-college could possibly be maintained by the province, and that was to be in St. Louis or its vicinity. In December, 1870, Father Chambige and a number of Bardstown residents were urging Bishop McCloskey to make every effort to recall the Jesuits. But the answer from St. Louis was again negative, though one consultor favored the

⁶⁶ Coosemans to McCloskey, November 2, 1868. (A).

⁶⁷ *Liber Consultationum*, September 4, 1869. (A).

proposal, provided a satisfactory title to the college property could be obtained. Finally, in 1870, Bishop McCloskey himself held out inducements to the Jesuits to return to Bardstown, proposing among other things to allow them to establish a church and college in Louisville. They declined to return to Bardstown, but were ready to accept a suitable location for a church and college in the Kentucky metropolis. The Bishop thereupon proposed a site at Twenty-fifth Street and Broadway, towards the western limits of the city; the site was thought to be unsatisfactory for the purpose intended and was not accepted.⁶⁸ Attempts to reopen the Bardstown question were probably made even subsequently to this date; but as a practical issue it ceased from this period on to have any weight in the affairs of the Jesuits of the Middle West. New centers of educational and ministerial endeavor, as Milwaukee, Chicago, Omaha and Detroit, were to enlist the energies of their men as the exceedingly meagre personnel of the fifties and sixties began to grow with the influx of new members. No merely human considerations had led to the surrender of the Kentucky field of labor. The decision was taken only after mature deliberation and conscientious weighing of reasons *sub speculo aeternitatis*. Whether subsequent developments have justified the step is a matter only for idle speculation, the aspect of the long-drawn out controversy most pleasant to record being that the principals to it, however much at variance in their opinions as to the question at issue, were one in their honest endeavor to promote the best interests of the Church.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, Dec. 28, 1870; March 7, 1871. Cf. *supra*, Chap. XXXV, § 5.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE ORIGINS OF MARQUETTE COLLEGE, MILWAUKEE

§ I. ECCLESIASTICAL BEGINNINGS IN MILWAUKEE

For three days, from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh of November, 1674, Father Marquette, while pursuing his journey from Green Bay to the land of the Kaskaskia, camped at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. It was the first recorded visit of a white man to the site of the metropolis of Wisconsin. A few touches in the missionary's journal emphasize the bleakness of the scene that met his gaze on the occasion. It was bitter cold, a foot of snow was on the ground, and as he strained his gaze over the blue waters of Lake Michigan he noted that there were "great shoals over which the waves broke continually." Having thus lifted the site of Milwaukee out of prehistoric darkness into the light of written record, Marquette pressed on in the eventful quest for souls that was to bring him to his grave. During his three days' stay at the mouth of the Milwaukee River civilization and that locality had met for the first time in mutual embrace.¹

Twenty-four years later than Marquette's voyage down the west shore of Lake Michigan a party of Canadian missionaries arrived at the Indian village of "Milouakik."² Of Fathers de Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme, priests of the seminary of Quebec, much of fascinating interest could here be written were this the place for it, so remarkable was the trail they blazed through early western history as they made their way from Canada to the lower Mississippi. In October, 1698, they were at "Milouakik," as St. Cosme tells us in his *Relation*, the next

¹ Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* (New York, 1917), p. 264.

² "We left on the 5th and after being windbound for two days, we started and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Renards and also of some Poux. We stayed here two days partly on account of the wind and partly to recruit our men a little because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river." Kellogg, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Claude Allouez, veteran Jesuit missionary, canoed down the west shore of Lake Michigan in the spring of 1677, passing the Milwaukee River, though there is no evidence of his having landed there. But his party probably went ashore at Whitefish Bay, a few miles north of Milwaukee. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 60: 155, 320.

white visitors after Marquette known to have set foot on the site of the future city, unless La Salle's party of 1679 were visitors there, which is uncertain.

Approximately a century after the passing of the seminary priests across the marshes where Milwaukee was to rise in later years arrived Jean Baptiste Mirandeu, the locality's reputed first white inhabitant. Solomon Juneau came in 1818 and in 1835, with his partners, Morgan L. Martin and Michael Dousman of Green Bay, laid out the village of Milwaukee on a government land-claim that lay between the Milwaukee River and the lake. In a clearing made in the dense tamarack-swamps that overlay much of the claim the first houses were built, somewhere along the line of the present Chestnut Street. Immediately west of the river, Byron Kilbourn, a New Englander, entered in 1835 three hundred acres of land, on which was platted the village of Kilbourn town, while south of the river George H. Walker, an Indian trader, erected a trading-post on land that became known as Walker's Point. The three settlements coalesced in time to form a single community, the names of Juneau, Kilbourn and Walker being sometimes linked together as co-founders of the city of Milwaukee. But to Solomon Juneau belongs by common accord the distinction of being Milwaukee's "first pioneer citizen." "It was he who made the first survey of the village, who became its first president, was the first postmaster, donated the first public square and later on, when the village had grown to a city, was its first mayor."³

As the civic, so the ecclesiastical beginnings of Milwaukee centre around the name of Solomon Juneau. Father Bernard Schaeffer, a priest of Alsatian birth resident in Chicago, was the first clergyman known with certainty to have visited Juneau's settlement.⁴ He baptized there, April 27, 1837, Matilda, a daughter of Juneau by the latter's wife, Josette Vieau. In August of the same year, the Reverend Fleuri-mont Bonduel, a missionary from Green Bay, said Mass one Sunday in Juneau's home on East Water Street where the Mitchell Building was later erected. The following autumn Father Patrick Kelly, under instructions from the Bishop of Detroit, arrived in Milwaukee to become its first resident priest. Before that same year, 1837, had run its course, Solomon Juneau had offered a property on Martin Street, near Jackson, on which was to be built the first church, St. Peter's, finished in 1839.⁵

³ *Memoirs of Milwaukee County* (Western Historical Association, Madison, 1909), 1: 239.

⁴ Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673-1871*, p. 98; Peter Leo Johnson, "Milwaukee's First Mass," in *The Salesianum*, 31: 74-81 (1936).

⁵ *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, 1: 331.

It remained the only Catholic church in Milwaukee until the building of St. Mary's in 1847 and for some years after the arrival of Bishop Henni served as his cathedral. Of Catholicism in Milwaukee, as he found it in 1842, the Reverend Martin Kundig left this pleasant account:

The Milwaukee parish (German and English); services for both classes, as I have already informed you. The French have now united with the English. The Boys' and Girls' Schools, the Church-building Society, the Sunday-School, the Temperance Union as well as the Men's and Women's Unions, witness to a zeal and self-sacrifice the superior of which you will find nowhere else. Oh, that you had been here on Christmas morning and seen the lighting-up of the church and the throngs of people. Everybody is longing for a new church as the old one can hold only a fifth of the congregation.⁶

Meantime a great tide of immigration, chiefly from Ireland and Germany, was gradually peopling the middlewestern states with Catholic settlers. Wisconsin Territory, attached to the diocese of Detroit on the erection of the latter in 1833, was now to be organized into a separate ecclesiastical unit. Together with those of Chicago, Hartford and Little Rock, the diocese of Milwaukee was erected November 28, 1843, and the Reverend John Martin Henni, vicar-general to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, named as its first incumbent. He received consecration in St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, at the hands of Bishop Purcell on March 19, 1844, there being in attendance at the ceremony the venerable Bishop Flaget, the "patriarch of the West" and the oldest living member of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States.

When Bishop Henni arrived in Milwaukee, May 4, 1844, there were but four priests in the entire range of his diocese, which counted about twenty thousand Catholics out of a population of seventy thousand for the state. St. Peter's was enlarged in the summer of 1844 to a length of ninety-two feet and its interior remodeled and renovated with such effect that, on the testimony of Father Heiss, the Bishop's secretary, the application to it of the term "cathedral" was not as incongruous as one might be tempted to believe. But a more seemly edifice for the most important church of the diocese soon became a necessity; and so, on December 5, 1847, Bishop Henni laid the foundation-stone of a new cathedral, to be erected under the title of St. John on property facing the court-house square. As planned, the structure was to be one

⁶ Dr. J. Marty, O.S.B., *Dr. Johann Martin Henni, erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee*, p. 151.

hundred and fifty-five feet long, seventy-five wide and fifty high, with a tower of two hundred and ten feet. It was useless to look to the struggling and for the most part poverty-pinched Catholics of his diocese to meet even a moderate part of the cost of this elaborate house of worship. The Bishop accordingly determined to avail himself of a projected visit to Rome to appeal to the generosity of the Catholics of Europe in behalf of his cathedral and the other needs of his diocese. Crossing the Atlantic, he reached Southampton in England, March 4, 1848. He found Europe ablaze with revolution. Louis Philippe was in exile, the republic had been proclaimed in Paris, Berlin and Vienna were in the throes of revolution and clouds hung menacingly over the entire continent.⁷

In the wake of the revolutionary disorders which had thus broken out and spread like wild-fire over continental Europe, numerous Jesuit houses were suddenly closed and their communities dispersed. The province of upper Germany, the houses of which were located on Swiss soil, was for the moment swept away. Forced on a sudden to make a summary disposition of his men, Father Anthony Minoux, the provincial, conceived the plan of sending his theological students with their professors to America, there to open a temporary house of studies. The episode of the flight of these Jesuit exiles to the hospitable shores of the New World, followed by the temporary sojourn of the majority of them in the Missouri Vice-province, has already been told (Chap. XVI, § 4). Suffice it to say that the first attempt, an abortive one, of the Society of Jesus to establish itself in Milwaukee was made by some of their number. Though mostly of German birth, the members of the province of upper Germany were often conventionally referred to as the "Swiss fathers" from the circumstance that most if not all of their houses at the time of the dispersion were located in Switzerland.

§ 2. THE DE BOEY DONATION

Meantime, despite the disturbed state of Europe that confronted him on his arrival there in 1848, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was moving about on the continent in his efforts to enlist clerical workers and gather funds for his poverty-stricken diocese. Having met Father Minoux, the Jesuit provincial of upper Germany, the prelate proposed to him the starting of a college in his diocese; but the latter declined the proposal as he lacked the necessary means for such a venture. Some time later a liberal financial offer to Henni from an unexpected quarter put a new color on the project of a college in Wisconsin. In the

⁷ Marty, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

mid-January of 1849 Father Minoux wrote from Munich to Father Elet in St. Louis:

Bishop Henni of Milwaukee has just announced to Father Muller, the chaplain, the good news that he has obtained at Antwerp from the Baron de Boey the sum of 70 to 75,000 francs with which to found a college in his diocese and that he is to return here to confer with me on the measures to be taken for realizing this important plan and to ask of me the men necessary for the purpose.

I have just now written to the Bishop that since I have entrusted my subjects to your Reverence as well as to Rev. Father Brocard, and since the establishment in prospect lies in your territory, it is to you that I must ask him to apply for a definite settlement of the affair in hand; and hence any interview between us (the Bishop and myself) for the purpose of discussing it, would be useless.⁸

I accordingly leave this affair, which appears to me providential, fully and entirely in your hands. It is yours to judge whether it be proper for me to undertake this new establishment, which, non-existent as yet, would leave me time to form my subjects in a way to enable them to begin work perhaps with their own resources and without calling on you for aid. You cannot fail to see how helpful it would be for me to have a temporary foot-hold for my province. I shall earnestly pray that the holy will of God be perfectly accomplished.⁹

The project of a college in Wisconsin, first conceived in the mind of Bishop Henni, had now found a material basis on which to rest. M. Guillaume Joseph De Boey, whose gift of seventy-five thousand francs was destined to become the starting-point on its material side of the future Marquette University, was born at Antwerp in 1769 of parents belonging to the "*petite bourgeoisie*."¹⁰ He was an instance of that typically modern product, the "self-made" man. A violin which he played with some skill earned him his first money. His love of the instrument was lifelong and when he was no longer young he continued to lend his services as violinist to the orchestra of the Antwerp cathedral. From the vantage point of a successful career in the world of business he was one day to look back with satisfaction at the experiences of an earlier day when he resolutely made his way forward as organist in churches and violin-player in theatres. But music was never more than a diversion for M. De Boey. Business in various forms became his normal occupation. He was successively clerk, insurance agent, and *receveur* for certain wealthy Antwerp houses, among others those of

⁸ Father Ignatius Brocard was superior of the Jesuit province of Maryland.

⁹ Minoux à Elet, January 18, 1849. (A).

¹⁰ In contemporary letters he is styled variously as chevalier, count, and baron, but in most cases as plain monsieur.

Baron Van de Werve and Madame Van der Borgt. The successful handling at Paris of a delicate transaction involving the De Baillet estate gave him prestige and his services as an executor of wills were often in requisition. As the result of steady industry, successful speculations and some legacies of value that fell to him, he amassed a respectable fortune, appraised at his death at 588,653 francs or \$117,730. Modest in manner and simple in tastes, this successful man of affairs taught by example the proper use to be made of superfluous wealth. The promotion of charitable and religious causes became a major interest with him. Both the secular and religious clergy were recipients of his bounty (*utriusque cleri fautor*) while generous aid was also extended by him to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. Finally, a form of benevolence inspired by his life-long taste for music, Antwerp churches were often provided with musical equipment at the expense of M. De Boey. While thus giving lavishly of his means to the charities and religious enterprises of his day, he did not neglect to show himself generous also to his immediate kin. Ten relatives, including all his nephews and nieces except one of the number, Benoit de Buck, were each remembered in his will by a legacy of thirty-five thousand francs. He died as he had lived, unmarried, and was survived by two sisters, Mesdames Van Alsenoy and Crabeels. De Boey's benefactions to the Church did not go unnoticed by the Holy See, which in 1838 admitted him to the Order of the Knights of St. Gregory. It was from this source and not from aristocratic birth that he derived the title of count, as he is often referred to in correspondence of the day.¹¹

With the Trappists of West Moll as also with the Belgian Jesuits M. De Boey was in intimate relations. Even before its reestablishment in Belgium in 1814 the Society of Jesus, so Father De Smet avers, was among his beneficiaries. The eminent missionary held a high place in his esteem. On a hillside in the gardens of De Boey's country estate at Moll, where De Smet was entertained on one occasion by his munificent friend, the latter had a little chapel built *in rei memoriam*. To his Jesuit countrymen of the Mission of Missouri De Boey gave with liberal hand, interested as he was in the various activities, especially educational, in which they were engaged in America on behalf of white and Indian alike. In a word, his benefactions in their regard were outstanding, of which circumstance De Smet made grateful acknowledg-

¹¹ *Procès De Buck contre Valentyns Plaidoirie de M^e Victor Jacobs avocat à la cour d'appel de Bruxelles, membre de la Chambre des représentants. Comptendu du Journal D' Anvers. Anvers (Antwerp) [no date]. Quelle est la Vérité? ou Les Jésuites et Benoit De Buck (Bruxelles, 1864). A suit (1864) involving the Belgian Jesuits and Benoit De Buck, nephew of M. De Boey, became a cause*

ment when he gave the name Lake De Boey to a fine inland body of water in the Pacific Northwest.¹²

As to the pledge of financial assistance made by M. De Boey to Bishop Henni to enable the prelate to build a college in his diocese, the earliest steps that led to the realization of this educational project are here set down. Minoux, provincial of upper Germany, had written to Elet announcing Bishop Henni's offer and leaving to the vice-provincial of Missouri the decision as to its acceptance. The latter answered him:

I think it my duty to observe to you: 1. That we doubt very much whether the prelate in question is a friend of the Society.¹³ 2. That the sum of 70,000 francs [\$15,000] would scarcely suffice to build a house for the

célèbre in Belgium. M. De Boey, who died February 25, 1850, was buried in his private chapel at Moll. His tomb bears the following epitaph:

Hic jacet in pace Christi
 Gulielmus Josephus De Boey
 Civis Antuerpiensis
 Gregoriani ordinis eques
 Torquatus
 Integritate fidei in Deum
 Conspicuus
 Qui in omne opus bonum
 Effusus
 Templis ornatibus, pauperes
 Alimentis, infirmos
 Hospitio
 Missiones longinquas
 Precibus et liberalitate
 Sospitavit
 Utriusque cleri fautor
 Munificus
 Obiit Antuerpiae anno aetatis LXXXI
 Die V Kal. Martias M.D.C.C.C.L.
 Locum quem vivens dilexit
 Incoluit, pauperibus
 Destinavit, in Sepulchrum
 Sibi delegit
 Haeres ex testamento
 P.C.
 R.I.P.

¹² De Smet à De Staercke, May 7, 1849. (A). In 1842 Father Van de Velde negotiated on behalf of the Missouri vice-province a loan of 100,000 francs. Dying in 1850 the lender in his last will and testament transferred his claim to Father Roothaan, who in turn remitted the debt in favor of the Missouri Vice-Province. For some of De Boey's benefactions to the Missouri Jesuits, cf. *supra*, Chap. XI, § 5.

¹³ An unfounded impression, as the event proved.

professors. 3. That the country is one where everything is still in its infancy, where the inhabitants in general are poor and where as a result a college without other pecuniary resource than tuition-money would have no means of subsistence. Twenty-seven years of experience have taught me that there are few establishments of this kind in the United States which do not begin without running into debt. Bishop Henni has found it necessary to go to Europe to obtain means to satisfy his creditors. During his absence we have advanced \$1,700 [?] to his Vicar-General [Kundig] to prevent the sale of one of his churches. If you are bent on getting a foothold in the United States, with permission of Very Reverend Father General, I will cede to you the college of Bardstown where there are at present eighty boarders and sixty day-scholars, and the Louisville day-school within the state of Kentucky. There you will have more work than enough to do in the beginning. . . . Very Reverend Father Van de Velde has just been consecrated Bishop of Chicago in Illinois and will offer us his college now directed by secular priests as soon as we shall have the professors to send. This would be preferable by far to Bishop Henni's offer.¹⁴

Meantime Father Roothaan had written to Elet urging him to make every effort to enable the Swiss Jesuits to settle in Milwaukee:

The object of my letter of today is this. Even before Father Minoux had sent off his subjects to America, Bishop Henni of Milwaukee had asked him for men with whom to start a college at Milwaukee. The plan, however, could not be put into execution because the Bishop was without sufficient funds for the support of the personnel. But now, according to a letter just received from Father Minoux, Bishop Henni has recently informed him of his having found a benefactor who promised the sum of 75,000 francs to carry out the project of the college in question. Fifteen thousand francs of this are already at hand to put up the necessary buildings.

As this place happens to lie within the limits of your province, Father Minoux will conclude nothing with Mgr. without your consent and even without your intervention. Moreover, as he cannot be present on the ground to examine sites and other things which prudence requires us to know before taking an establishment in hand, he will ask you to be so good as to negotiate this affair in his name.

Two things, therefore, it is expected you will be obliging enough to do: 1, to permit the province of upper Germany to acquire this new establishment and to hold it as its own; 2, kindly to lend your services to negotiate the affair in question.

In consequence of all ~~this~~ I must tell you, my dear Father, that my view

¹⁴ Elet à Minoux, March 1, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany. Van de Velde before leaving St. Louis to occupy his see in Chicago, requested Elet to inform the General that there were more Germans in his diocese than in Henni's. Van de Velde was evidently anxious to secure the German Jesuits for his diocese. "*Cela vaut mieux que Poffre de Monseigneur Henni.*" Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849. (AA).

[of the matter] and indeed my formal desire is that you put no obstacle in the way of the aforesaid acquisition in favor of the Province of Upper Germany, which has not a particle of ground left to it on the whole globe. The consideration of charity which engages you to make this concession is a very pressing one. I think I may dispense myself from enlarging upon it. You have only to put yourself in the place of Father Minoux with his ship wrecked and tossed about. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that almost the entire diocese of Bishop Henni is settled by Germans. Where will you find among your own subjects German workers for this business? For you are not unaware that the exiles, even though in the meantime they work under your authority, cannot be considered as properly belonging to your Province and as a consequence you cannot make use of them indefinitely and in such a manner as to render their recall impossible. Finally, you have a passable number of establishments for the small number of trained workers at your disposal, while the size of your Province is large enough to make it a matter of some trouble to you to visit and keep proper watch over your different houses; then, too, this trouble, which perhaps is the very thing that seriously compromises the welfare of the houses, would be increased by the house in Milwaukee, which is situated a great distance from the center of your Province.¹⁵

Father Elet's answer to this earnest communication from the Father General followed promptly:

I commence by assuring your Paternity that I shall do everything in my power to comply with your wishes and assure to the dispersed Swiss province a home of its own in the United States. I have already done more than was expected of me by offering to Father Minoux the Louisville day-school and the college of Bardstown, two establishments that prosper beyond all expectation and where they might by economizing provide for the support of a novitiate and scholasticate. As for professors of English, I would procure them some and, (provided they wished it) would take the same interest in these establishments after the cession as I take in them at present. . . . In the proposition I have just made relative to our establishments in Kentucky, I have two things in mind: 1, to assist the Swiss Province generously; 2, to be in a position to send some of our men to the scholasticate at the end of this year.

In the course of this letter Father Elet laid before Father Roothaan the same difficulties besetting the acceptance of Bishop Henni's offer which he had already made known to Father Minoux. However, while deprecating all thought of a college in Milwaukee, for which he saw no immediate prospect whatever, especially on account of economic conditions among the people and Henni's inability to furnish financial aid, he suggested the opening by the Swiss Jesuits in the chief city of Wis-

¹⁵ Roothaan à Elet, January 27, 1849. (AA).

consin of a residence to be served by two fathers "with good eyes and ears." Meantime he expected to meet Henni at the impending Council of Baltimore and would accompany him thence to Milwaukee with a view to investigating conditions there at first hand.¹⁶

To Elet's communication of March 1 on the Milwaukee project Minoux made reply:

I am infinitely grateful to you for the details which you had the kindness to communicate to me in regard to the Milwaukee affair and I congratulate myself that I did not enter at once into negotiations with Mgr. Henni, despite the most pressing invitation. I am entirely free in this matter as you are, for in my letters to his Lordship I constantly referred him to you. I thank you at the same time for the generous offer you make me of two houses in Kentucky and for the hopes held out to us by the new Bishop of Chicago. I have acquainted Rev. Father General with your proposals and shall await the expression of his will in the case, which I shall make known to you as soon as communicated to me. . . . What do you think of the health of good Father Friedrich? Will he stand the hot climate of St. Louis? Might it not be best to try a change of climate or perhaps to send him back to Europe? I also commend to your fatherly care the excellent Father Anderledy, whom I had to recall from Rome on account of the excessive heat, which he found insupportable.¹⁷

The proposal made by Father Elet that the exiled Jesuits from Switzerland take over the Bardstown and Louisville institutions was looked at askance by Father Roothaan. To the Missouri superior he wrote that "the Bardstown offer might be considered, but not the Louisville one," while to Minoux he pointed out that in accepting Bardstown he should at the same time have to assume its debts and other obligations.¹⁸ Moreover, the mind of the Bishop of Louisville and his clergy as to the transfer would have to be ascertained, while "one comes back again to the difficulty there will always be in having enough subjects who know English well enough to preach and to teach letters."¹⁹ Among the Jesuits of Minoux's jurisdiction who were then temporarily resident in St. Louis, Milwaukee was still preferred to Kentucky as a location for the projected college and seminary in view of the large German population of the Wisconsin city and Father Friedrich, one of their number, so advised the Father General.²⁰

Carrying out the intention which he had announced some weeks before to the Father General, Father Elet was in Milwaukee in June,

¹⁶ Elet à Roothaan, March 16, 1849. (AA).

¹⁷ Minoux à Elet, April 28, 1849. (A). Anderledy's return to Europe was delayed until 1850.

¹⁸ Roothaan à Elet, April 28, 1849. (AA).

¹⁹ Roothaan à Minoux, May 2, 1849. (AA).

²⁰ Friedrich à Roothaan, March 21, 1849. (AA).

1849, to study the problem at close range. The result of his visit was a complete reversal of mind on the question of a college in that city, the expediency of which he now hastened to urge upon the Swiss provincial:

In regard to the Milwaukee affair, to which town I proceeded after the Council of Baltimore, I must confess to you that I deceived myself or rather was deceived by others both as to the dispositions of Bishop Henni and the circumstances of the place. The Bishop gave me the best possible reception and showed himself disposed to do everything in favor of the Society in his diocese. 1. He offers his present cathedral as a quasi-parochial church, as soon as the new one shall have been finished.²¹ 2. He offers his seminary if we should care to undertake its direction. 3. He will buy an entire square with a pretty large brick house of recent and very satisfactory construction and with the possibility of enlargement. The house is situated very close to the church which he destines for us, only an eighty-foot street separating the two, and it overlooks Lake Michigan. It would do very well for a day-school.²² 4. He proposes buying some acres a short distance out of town, where a boarding-school might be placed later on. The tuition-money of the day-scholars would suffice for the support of the professors and later, say in two years, you would have the pew-rent from the church, the *jura stolae* [free-will offerings for ministerial services], etc., in a word, everything necessary for board and clothing. As to the climate, I think it pretty much the same as that of Belgium. Of all your Fathers that I am acquainted with, Father Anderledy would be the best fitted to manage an American college. This consideration as also the conviction that his health would pick up in a climate that resembles so nearly that of his own native country, have induced me to send him to Milwaukee, the more so as Father Brunner, whom Very Reverend Father General had appointed Superior, is so seriously indisposed that grave doubts are entertained of his recovery. Father Hubner has been named Procurator and must take his departure as soon as I find some one to replace him in the parish which he is attending to at present. Not to disarrange the studies of the scholastics, it will be better that one year be spent in making preparations. In this way several will be in a position to be able to teach English, which in all colleges of the United States must be the language of communication. There are 8000 Catholics in Milwaukee and as many Germans as of other nationalities; but there, as elsewhere in the United States, the children of German extraction speak English. The arrangement made with Bishop Henni is as yet only verbal, but everything will be put in writing. If you have the men to send to the dioceses of Milwaukee and Chicago, which embrace the two states of Wisconsin and Illinois, you will have in a few years one of the finest provinces in the Society. I have just

²¹ Old St. Peter's on Martin St. near Jackson.

²² This is apparently the property subsequently (August 5, 1849) purchased by Henni for a college. It consisted of eight lots with a substantial brick building on Van Buren Street about four blocks from St. Peter's Church.

told good Father Friedrich, with whom America, so it seems, does not agree, and whom for this reason you ask me to send back to Europe in company with Brother Perroud, to travel to New York by way of the Lakes and stop a few days in Milwaukee and Chicago so as to examine everything for himself and be able to give fuller details to your Reverence.²³

§ 3. FATHER ANDERLEDY IN MILWAUKEE

To break ground in the new field of Jesuit educational enterprise that thus lay open in Wisconsin, the Missouri superior was relying chiefly on Father Anthony Anderledy, then only thirty, but mature beyond his years. Giving every token of superior attainments of mind and heart, he was to advance through various positions of administrative trust in the Society of Jesus until he reached the generalate, which post he filled for many years with distinction. He was a native of Beresol, Canton Wallis, Switzerland, where he was born June 3, 1819. Not yet ordained when he reached St. Louis with his fellow-refugees in 1848, he was on September 27 of that year raised to the priesthood in the St. Louis cathedral by Archbishop Kenrick, after which he continued his theological studies at St. Louis University, discharging at the same time the duties of catechist and confessor to the students. While the cholera was raging in St. Louis in 1849, Father Anderley was daily at the service of the stricken people. "Scarcely had I put foot on the street, to visit one of the unfortunates," he wrote to his family, "than I was at once surrounded by a number of persons all pressing me to bring the holy sacraments as quickly as possible to their sick. Very often on entering a house I had almost to stumble over the dead who lay stretched out on the floor while others were waiting for death and still others were being attacked by the disease. I myself fell sick twice, but recovered so as again to be of service to the victims. I was assigned to the Spaniards [Creoles?] in particular. They often called for me from miles away. On one occasion I had to ride to a negro, who was near to death. I became heated to such a degree as a result that I contracted a fever which lasted six weeks. During my illness word came that my Superiors in Europe would like me to return."²⁴

The Swiss and German refugees residing for the moment at St. Louis and other points in the Middle West were, as far as was compatible with the jurisdiction temporarily exercised over them by Father Elet, under the superiorship of Father Joseph Brunner, who had come to America with a commission to that effect from the Father General.

²³ Elet à Minoux, July 15, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany.

²⁴ P. Anderledy an seine Eltern, Strassburg, October 14, 1850, in *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinz*, 2; 424.

He was the logical person to take in hand the enterprise in Milwaukee; but illness was detaining him in St. Charles, Missouri, and, besides, Elet deemed him less competent than Anderledy to transact the impending business with Bishop Henni.²⁵ He was accordingly to reach Milwaukee at a later date than Father Anderledy and his companion, Father Frederick Hubner, who left St. Louis for the northern city on the evening of August 18. They carried with them a set of instructions drawn up and signed by Father Elet under date of the preceding day, August 17, 1849.

A memorandum for Fathers Hubner and Anderledy on the eve of their journey to Wisconsin:

1. M. de Boey has pledged himself to give 75,000 francs for the future college in Milwaukee. This college is to belong to the Province of Upper Germany.

2. Rev. Father Brunner has been appointed Superior and Rev. Father Hubner, Procurator of the house by Very Rev. Father General. For the first-named I substitute, for the present, Rev. Father Anderledy in everything regarding studies.

3. With the sanction of Very Rev. Father General and Rev. Father Minoux, I authorize Father Anderledy to summon from the Georgetown scholasticate as many scholastics, the choice to be left to himself, of the number of those who have finished their Philosophy, as he shall judge necessary to carry on the work required of him in Milwaukee.

4. Care must be taken in selling the property lately acquired by Bishop Henni for the Province of Upper Germany, that the act of sale be not illegal and void on whatsoever account. In many states of this Union only American citizens can hold real estate.

5. Bishop Henni has promised, on the completion of the new Cathedral, to turn over the old one *in perpetuity* to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus as a parochial church.

6. Pending the opening of the College, Bishop Henni provides for the support of Ours in Milwaukee, and will be at liberty to employ their services either in the Seminary or elsewhere in the ministry.

7. I think a beginning should be made with a day and not with a boarding school. The first must be in the city itself, the other outside of the city, but at no great distance (Walker's Point).

8. Let the *Minervalia* which in virtue of a dispensation we may licitly accept, be fixed by local circumstances, etc.

9. It will be necessary, on arriving at your destination, to write at once

²⁵ The General cautioned Elet, February 28, 1849, that Brunner was not to be made master of novices as he "destined him to be Superior of the establishment of Milwaukee." "Of all the Swiss Fathers in Missouri Father Anderledy was the only one capable of making a success of the college in Milwaukee." Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1850. (AA).

to Rev. Father Minoux and to M. de Boey, or to Rev. Father Hessels, Rector of the College of Notre Dame at Antwerp.²⁶

In Milwaukee Fathers Anderledy and Hubner were joined in September by Father Brunner, who was to be superior of the projected college. Hubner's arrival in the city was followed in a few days by his sickness and death. News of it was sent at once by Anderledy to Elet:

I sent your Reverence by a telegraphic dispatch the very sad news of the death of Father Frederick Hubner. On the 8th of September, immediately after preaching in the church of the Blessed Virgin, I went to see him. He told me that besides fever he was now troubled with dysentery. The physicians declared there was no immediate danger. He requested me, however, to hear a general confession of his whole life. This being finished, he earnestly besought me to administer to him the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the Viaticum and the general absolution before he should be deprived of the use of his senses. He also begged me not to leave him unless it was absolutely necessary. Accordingly I remained with him until he gave up his soul to God on the 10th of September, at 6:45 P.M.

I was extremely anxious to spend that night in writing, but the Most Reverend Bishop and Father Brunner obliged me to take some rest as I had not slept for three days and two nights and had scarcely taken any food. This was very distressing to me as I earnestly desired to send you the news in order that the Father whom I loved so much might be aided as soon as possible by the prayers which are due to him. On the following day I sent your Reverence a dispatch which I trust has reached you.²⁷

In a letter written from Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Father Minoux, his superior, Father Anderledy, after giving a brief account of his companion's death, details the negotiations carried on with Bishop Henni on the subject of the college:

I have no doubt that your Reverence has been informed of the very grave illness of Father Brunner. Owing to this circumstance I have been substituted for him in the Milwaukee affair in everything pertaining to studies; but having been laid up six weeks with an illness, I was unable to start off before the evening of August 18. We arrived, Father Hubner and myself, at Milwaukee on August 22. The next day the Bishop received us cordially and wished the college begun at once. This we could not do at all, as we were unaware what the conditions were to be and whether they were ratified by your Reverence. Moreover, we had no teachers who knew

²⁶ (A). *Minervalia*, plural form of *Minervale*, conventional Latin term for tuition-money. In view of particular circumstances obtaining in the United States and other English speaking countries, a dispensation from that point of the Jesuit rule which requires that instruction be given gratis was granted by Gregory XVI. Cf. *supra*, Chap. IX, § 5.

²⁷ Anderledy à Elet, September 11, 1849. (A).

English. There was nothing left to do but accept the mission in Green Bay, which step the Bishop approved with the understanding that we might withdraw from the mission after a year's time, if your Reverence so desired. But all negotiations were held up when good Father Hubner fell sick on August 28. The doctors saw so little in the case that they said he was in no danger whatever. On September 8 he was even entirely free from fever; however, diarrhea had come on mixed with blood. He now eagerly desired to be fortified with the holy sacraments and to hear of nothing but God until he gave up his soul at a quarter to seven on the evening of September 10.

The reason I had to write to Father Hessels, [rector of the College of Notre Dame, Antwerp], was that the Bishop is in need of money to pay for the house which he purchased for us. Scarcely had I written when he received from Father Hessels a letter of very serious tenor in which he was informed that M. De Boey had taken it amiss that he [Henni] should have asked again for the money (he had previously written another letter, before the conditions were approved and accepted by both parties). At length, at a loss what to do to see the matter through, the Bishop condescended to do what Father Hessels had invited him to do, namely, reveal his mind frankly and confirm again, but in writing, what had already been agreed to between himself and M. De Boey. I was delighted at this turn. For whenever, while Father Hubner was still alive, we wished to discuss the conditions, he never could be brought to speak out just what he thought. We asked him politely whether the college was to belong to the Society and whether we should be allowed to teach in it according to the method of the Institute. But he would never make his mind known on these matters. Now, however, so ready did he show himself for this very thing that he begged me most earnestly to put down at once in writing whatever things he had promised, saying he wished to guarantee them all under his name and seal. I drew up in the following order the points he suggested: "John Martin—by the Divine Mercy and the Favor of the Apostolic See—Bishop of Milwaukee. By these presents we renew and confirm all the particulars concerning which we made agreement with the illustrious De Boey, to wit, 1. That we shall have Mass said either by myself or by someone else for the illustrious Founder twice a week in perpetuity. 2. That as soon as the death of the same Founder is made known to us three Masses shall be celebrated, of which one shall be a Solemn High Mass, the same to be done every year on the day when the Founder shall have passed to a better life. 3. That the college shall belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, the administration of it to be therefore in the hands of the Fathers of said Society. 4. That the chapel or church of said college be dedicated to St. Joseph in pious memory of the same distinguished Founder. All of which things, as having been previously promised by us, we now ratify and guarantee with our seal and our secretary's hand." It is to be noted in this connection that the Right Rev. Bishop did not include a certain point which he also has in mind, namely, the provision that the college revert to the Bishop in the contingency of Ours being driven out of this country.

We thought it necessary, accordingly, to warn Father Hessels to have inserted in the agreement, "that no successor of the Bishop, whosoever he be, can send us hence." This was done by Father Brunner in a second letter to Father Hessels; for he wrote two, the first having seemed to me perhaps too optimistic; it promised perhaps too much. That very good Father calls the area adjacent to the purchased house *spacious*; I would say the same if the portion [of land] which borders on the north and which can be easily purchased now, also belonged to us. If that is not taken in, I do not consider the ground large enough on which to set up a boarding-school. At the same time, if the boarding-school be elsewhere, e.g., outside the city, double the number of professors would be required or at least there would be two houses and two Superiors. A boarding-school therefore requires playgrounds and these of such extent that the students cannot afterwards complain. At least two such playgrounds, I think, are required, though the number of boarders should not exceed 100. There is, besides, a custom here of admitting into the colleges what are called day-scholars. These spend the daytime only in the boarding-school; they are a great aid to the finances; but they disturb order very considerably if they are mixed up with the other students. Hence it results that there must be at least three playgrounds. Besides, there must be a garden both for domestic purposes and for the recreation of Ours. Finally, a thing which I know the Bishop has at heart, if a suitable place for the scholastics is being sought, it will be found here, if I mistake not, and this both on account of the climate, which is pretty healthy, and because the Bishop has said he would entrust us with his seminary; in which case the seminarians would have the same professors that teach our scholastics. Still, the objection is raised that a high price will have to be paid for the piece of ground in question. But this circumstance does not render it unnecessary. Nay, if it is not bought now, it will cost at least twice as much later on. For it happened in St. Louis that property bought by our Fathers for \$800 could have been sold for \$100,000 ten years after. Father Elet told me as I was leaving that he regretted keenly they had not bought more land in the early days. For by buying land at that time for \$6000 they could have had an income now of \$20,000.

As regards the house itself, I ask that it not be made so small. It can be begun, so it seems to me, in such way that the whole building is put up not at once, but by degrees, according as the money from the boarders will allow. Thus an addition can be made every year during the vacations, for very large buildings can be erected here in three months.

From Father Anderledy's letter it would appear that some rough plan at least of a college building at Milwaukee had been drawn up and submitted for approval to Father Minoux in Europe. A three-story E-shaped structure which he had seen somewhere in Italy was recalled by Anderledy as realizing his own idea of what a satisfactory college building ought to be. All class-rooms were on the lowest floor and a single prefect, taking his stand some distance away from the building,

could easily keep an eye on the various groups of students as they emerged from the class-rooms. As to the difficulty of securing competent professors for the college, in case it were started, Anderledy was under no illusions. In his own presence Father Brunner had assured Bishop Henni that the following year would see available a corps of "brilliant professors," an optimistic outlook which Anderledy himself by no means shared.²⁸

§ 4. GREEN BAY AND MANITOWOC

As to what passed between the Jesuits and Bishop Henni at the interviews between them regarding the projected college nothing more is known than what Father Anderledy recorded in the letter just set before the reader. At any rate, all plans for the venture had momentarily miscarried and Fathers Brunner and Anderledy, following out Father Elet's instructions, thereupon placed their ministerial services at the disposal of the Bishop, who assigned them Green Bay towards the northern limit of his diocese. They left Milwaukee for their destination September 14, 1849. At Green Bay, an historic locality hallowed by the memories of Allouez, Marquette and others of the earlier Jesuit missionaries, they took in charge the church and parish of St. John the Evangelist, with the outlying stations, which included Duck Creek, New Franken (St. Kilian's), Rapides des Peres, now De Pere, and Bay Settlement, which boasted its own little church. These stations, consisting chiefly of French and German-speaking Catholics, were visited once a month. At St. John's in Green Bay there were instructions in English, French and German. The natural aptitude of Father Anderledy for languages now stood him in good stead as he had to preach to the Irish, Germans and French Canadians that made up his little congregation. An incident of his stay in northern Wisconsin which has been preserved brings into relief the forceful character and energetic zeal of the young priest. One Sunday morning as he was preparing to say Mass he found that the chalice had been placed on the top of a high cupboard. Mounting a chair to reach it, he fell, fracturing one or two ribs. He performed, however, the customary services only to be informed at the end that there was a sick call at a great distance from the church. Though in great bodily pain he nevertheless answered the summons with the result that it was evening before he could give to his serious injury the attention it required.

In a letter written to his parents on his return to Europe, Father Anderledy pictured some of the hardships of his ministry:

²⁸ Anderledy à Minoux, September 17, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany.

In accordance, therefore, with the Bishop's wish I went to Green Bay, where there are Indians, English, Americans, French and Germans. I spent last year with these people, from September 17, 1849, to August 27, 1850. I had five places to take care of, which made a circuit of about eight hours, so that I had to wander over a district almost as far as from Brig to Liders, in order to say Mass, preach and attend the sick. . . . I was called on January 7 [to a person] who lay sick in a forest fifteen hours from Green Bay. I started off in all haste and arrived about noon; I was back at the house towards midnight. I had to make almost the whole distance on Lake Michigan, which was entirely frozen over. In this country one is often forced in the winter time to cross over frozen lakes and rivers. Almost every year men meet with accident. On that very day, and often also at other times, the ice broke beneath my horse, but the kind providence of God protected me so effectively that I returned safe and sound from every journey. The danger is all the greater as one has to make all trips on horseback and cannot easily obtain anything else but little Indian ponies, which are very handsome, but also very wild. The roads are in such bad condition that in the woods you have to ride with hat in hand and head leaning on the horse's mane, so as not to be left hanging on the branches. Not infrequently the horses fall into swamps from which you can scarcely get them out. This happened to me more than once. On August 10, 1850, I lay for a long time beneath my horse. While I was going over a bridge, the animal shied and sprang into the water, which was indeed not so very deep, but the bottom was so soft that I sank in up to my shoulders and could only with the greatest trouble get from under my horse. When I told the whole story the next day to a Canadian, he couldn't wonder enough how I had come out of that place with my horse, as the swamp, so he said, was ten feet deep. Moreover, the place was so lonely that there was no human help to hope for. The day before I was on horseback from 4:30 o'clock in the morning to 11:00 o'clock at night and dismounted only to snatch a little to eat while they saddled another horse for me at the various stations. At 8:00 o'clock at night I was overtaken by a storm which lasted two hours. I rode straight through a woods in a neighborhood which I had never seen and had to cross two rivers that had no bridges, having all the time a strange horse which three times that very day tried to throw me off; moreover, it was so dark that I could see neither the horse nor my hand before my eyes. Notwithstanding all this I arrived safe about 11:00 o'clock at night. I surely have every reason to thank the dear God for His kind providence which saved me in Switzerland from war and prison, at sea from storms, of which I encountered at least six, and in America from cholera and other perils.²⁹

It is said, whether truly or not, that Father Anderledy met with opposition in his ministry from the trustees of St. John's, the Green Bay church which he served. At all events his stay at this difficult post was

²⁹ Anderledy an seinen eltern, Strassburg, October 14, 1850, in *Mittheilungen aus der Deutschen Provinz*, 2; 424.

not to last beyond eleven months, the reason for his departure thence being a summons from his superior to return to Europe. Father Minoux had been greatly exercised all along over the condition of Anderledy's health. "Father Friedrich ought to be removed on account of his health," he wrote to the Missouri vice-provincial in May, 1849; "Father Anderledy, for the same reason. The heat experienced in your locality will render him unfit for work." At Green Bay Father Anderledy, it is safe to say, did not often encounter the oppressive heat which appears to have been a trial to him in Missouri.³⁰ But Minoux was insistent that this highly promising subject be returned to his own province, especially as the Father General had expressed a desire that he be employed in teaching. Elet in the end reluctantly acquiesced in his release. In pursuance of instructions reaching him from St. Louis, Father Anderledy on August 27, 1850, took leave of Green Bay to begin his return journey to Europe.

Shortly after the young priest's departure from Green Bay Father Brunner, who had been superior of that temporary mission from the arrival there of the two Jesuits, resigned his charge with Bishop Henni's consent and took up his residence at Manitowoc Rapids in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, sixty miles north of Milwaukee. The first white settlements in Manitowoc County were made in the thirties, when saw-mills were built along the streams, drawing for material on the abundant timber of the neighborhood. The timber, however, soon disappeared and farming became the chief occupation in the county. Not long after Anderledy and Brunner arrived at Green Bay they were visited by a committee of Manitowoc Catholics, who petitioned the favor of a visit from the missionaries. Bishop Henni having signified his consent, Brunner paid his first visit to Manitowoc Rapids, in June, 1850. He found the Catholics here and at other points in the county in acute spiritual distress. For two months the missionary went from one settlement to another instructing and administering the holy sacraments. His efforts bore fruit. Six hundred communions were distributed, thirty baptisms of infants administered and many marriages blessed. Father Brunner returned to Green Bay after this apostolic excursion, but, in view of Father Anderledy's recall to Europe, finally requested Bishop Henni to relieve him of the Green Bay charge altogether and assign him to Manitowoc. To this the Bishop agreed, as has been said, and towards the end of 1850 Father Brunner took up his residence at the latter post. Within a year and a half five churches had been built. At the Holy Maternity, the parish-church of Manitowoc, instructions

³⁰ "As his sickness is caused in great part by the heat, I thought I did well to send him further North." Elet à Roothaan, January 14, 1849. (AA).

were given in English, French and German. Out in the county, St. Luke's at Two Rivers was visited every month, as was also St. Anne's on French (Francis) Creek and St. Dennis's and the Holy Family. Altogether there were five Catholic churches or chapels in Manitowoc County, each served by Father Brunner. The field soon became too extensive to be cultivated effectively by a single hand, so that in the autumn of 1852 he felt justified in asking Bishop Henni to send him an assistant. This the Bishop did in 1853, when Father Brunner was relieved of the care of three of the churches and a station. Later in the same year he was withdrawn altogether from the Manitowoc mission, which was thereupon taken over with all its dependent churches and stations by the Reverend W. Nuyts, O.S.C. The ministry of the Jesuits in northeastern Wisconsin thus came to an end and was not afterwards resumed.³¹

§ 5. RETIREMENT OF THE SWISS JESUITS

Though the first attempt to establish a college in Milwaukee had proved abortive, Bishop Henni never relinquished his hope of seeing the project some day realized. On August 5, 1849, he had purchased, with a view to the proposed institution, eight lots on Van Buren Street, with a substantial brick building, the property being in the immediate neighborhood of the old or St. Peter's Cathedral. Moreover, on September 16 of the same year, two days after Fathers Anderledy and Brunner left Milwaukee for Green Bay, he had put his signature to a document, cited above, which stated the precise terms of the agreement between himself and M. De Boey. An important letter bearing on this document was received by Father Brunner at Green Bay from Father Franckeville, provincial of the Belgian Jesuits, who was M. De Boey's intermediary in the negotiations regarding the college:

I have written to Mgr. Henni in the name of M. De Boey, to inform him that all difficulties are now smoothed away and that the enterprise may therefore be taken in hand. Your letters of September 15 and 16 have contributed not a little to this result by removing whatever doubt may have arisen in consequence of certain malicious reports and of the haste with which the first note of 15,000 francs was presented for payment. I enclose herewith a copy of the contract entered into between the Bishop and M. De Boey, an authentic act which we preserve here. I wrote the Bishop that M. De Boey indorses this act and subscribes to it, and I asked him to have a copy of it deposited in the diocesan archives. Moreover, I wrote him in the

³¹ *Origo et Progressus Missionis Manitowocensis in statu Wisconsin Americae Septentrionalis*. Two Rivers, Wis., March, 1853, Joseph Brunner. (A). Father Brunner later devoted himself to missionary work in British India, dying at Bombay, November 30, 1884. Cf. also *Catholic Almanac*, 1853, 1854.

name of De Boey that the desire of this gentleman is that the college, or at least the free and independent administration of it, belong to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, so long as they shall not abandon it of their own accord or under pressure from some superior power, in which case the college will be at the free disposition of the Bishop or his Chapter; always, however, under condition that it remain a college. On these terms, therefore, M. De Boey engages to pay by way of foundation the sum total of 75,000 francs, in annuities of fifteen thousand francs each year, to wit, 15,000 in 1849, 15,000 in 1850, 15,000 in 1851, 15,000 in 1852, 15,000 in 1853, notice to be given at least thirty days in advance and no allowance to be made for the cost of exchange or other costs. . . .

As to the clause that the college will belong to the Society, nothing to this effect was stipulated when the Bishop was in the country. M. De Boey's primary intention having been to provide foundations for Masses in rather large number, this somewhat burdensome charge was judged to be scarcely compatible with our Constitutions. This is why they were content to express a desire that the college be conducted by members of our Order and in particular by our Swiss exiles.³²

Bishop Henni expressed to M. De Boey his satisfaction over the arrangement that had been made touching the final payment of the promised money:

To the Chevalier J. De Boey,
Antwerp, Belgium

Very Respectable Sir and Signal Benefactor.

Health and Benediction:

I hasten to express to you the lively sentiments of gratitude with which I am inspired in your regard for the new favor which my poor diocese has just received of your generosity through an arrangement which will enable me to realize annually the sum of fifteen thousand francs up to the full payment of the promised sum, 75,000 francs. Now shall I be able, so I hope, to meet the contracts I have made for the site and buildings of the future college; and I venture to expect that all preparations will have been happily completed by 1852. I have been greatly consoled to learn from Reverend Father Franckville that you are thoroughly convinced that circumstances quite unforeseen and not any want of exactness on my part in adhering to the conditions laid down by you was the reason why my draft was presented before maturity. I have lost 280 dollars by its being protested, but it is not so much this loss that I regret as the annoyance the matter has occasioned you.

I shall be at pains, Sir, to keep you informed on all that shall be done towards the realization of the project you have so much at heart, the college of Milwaukee. Be assured that all the stipulations agreed to will be faithfully carried out.

³² Franckville à Brunner, Brussels, October 12, 1849. (A).

Deign to accept the homage of profound respect with which I have the honor to be,

Very Respectable Sir and Benefactor,
Your very humble and devoted servant,
J. M. Henni.³³

On January 27, 1849, Father Roothaan addressed to Father Elet the letter reproduced above, which reveals the direct personal interest he was taking in the contemplated college at Milwaukee. "His Paternity earnestly desires the success of the Milwaukee college," the General wrote at the same time to Father Minoux, "and wishes that it be conceded to the Province of Upper Germany . . . care must be taken that the support provided for Ours who are to go to Milwaukee be at least respectable and such as can be relied upon. Later on, if he has the means, Father Minoux will be able to set up a scholasticate."³⁴ Again, in February, 1849, the General pointed out Father Hubner "as an efficient executive," who was accordingly "to be charged with the erection of the new house in Milwaukee." "Though belonging to the Swiss Province, [it] will bring a blessing on the Province of Missouri. It is an occasion that will enable me to know the heart of Father Elet and of his associates."³⁵ How earnestly the Missouri superior sought to carry out the pressing instructions of the Father General has appeared from the correspondence set out above. "I have treated this affair," he could write to Father Roothaan, January 14, 1850, "as my own in a spirit of obedience to your Paternity and I believe I have discharged it in the best possible manner." In the event, however, nothing was to come of this attempt to establish the Swiss Jesuits in Milwaukee. The first circumstance accounting for this result was that Father Minoux now began to recall his men from America to work the new fields recently opened up to the Jesuits in Germany. "Fathers Anderledy and Hubner," Elet informed the General, "have left for Milwaukee where with perseverance everything will go on marvellously well. But behold! After arranging everything with Bishop Henni, and after a purchase [of property] made for the day-school, good Father Minoux writes to me under date of July 24 that he doesn't wish a college in Milwaukee and he begins now to recall his men, as Fathers Friedrich, Anderledy, Ehrensberger, and all others who cannot get used to the climate."³⁶

The one most intimately concerned in the affair, the Swiss provincial, had thus definitely withdrawn from the project of a college in

³³ (A). The original of this letter, which is undated, is in French.

³⁴ Roothaan à Minoux, January 26, 1849. (AA).

³⁵ Roothaan à Elet, February 28, 1849. (AA).

³⁶ Elet à Roothaan, August 17, 1849. (AA).

Milwaukee. Furthermore, the conditions for its acceptance stipulated by Bishop Henni and drawn up at his instance in documentary form by Anderledy did not entirely meet with the approval of the Father General. In a letter addressed by the General to Anderledy and Brunner jointly under date of July 23, 1850, he wrote: "From a letter written by Father Assistant to Father Anderledy, December 27, 1849, you have understood that we do not indorse all the conditions of the contract which was entered into without my knowledge or that of the Superior of Upper Germany. The college could not be undertaken at the time by the members of Upper Germany for the reason that teachers sufficiently well acquainted with English were not available. We see indeed that the hope of doing some good [in Milwaukee] is still held out; but when it is impossible to take everything in hand, preference should be given to enterprises which offer hope of more substantial fruit and can be handled by us with more success." The ministry undertaken by the two fathers at Green Bay is then commended by Father Roothaan as promising an abundant spiritual harvest. "Not rarely a small Residence is the beginning of greater activities. Time perhaps will teach us more."³⁷ In December of the preceding year Father Roothaan had also signified to Father Minoux that nothing was to be attempted for the moment at Milwaukee. "The Milwaukee affair was rushed a bit, yet in the best faith in the world. I have written Father Elet that I do not indorse the agreement made and that in regard to it and the Milwaukee affair in general I reserve the decision to myself, according as circumstances will suggest later on."³⁸ But Minoux had himself reached the conclusion not to attempt a college in America under any circumstances at all. "A residence in Wisconsin might be a good thing, but without any engagement to accept a college." In June, 1850, he was still of the same mind. "I can readily believe that the Milwaukee enterprise is postponed indefinitely. By this time you know my subjects in America; you must realize accordingly that we shall not be in a position at once to place ourselves at the head of a college and direct it."³⁹ With the recall of most of his men to Europe during the period, 1850-1852, any hope Father Minoux may have entertained of taking up educational work in Milwaukee at some future date was definitely abandoned. Thus ended the first, or, as it may be called, the German phase in the attempt to start a Catholic college in Milwaukee.

³⁷ Roothaan à Brunner, Anderledy, July 23, 1850. (AA).

³⁸ Roothaan à Minoux, December 5, 1849. (AA).

³⁹ Minoux à Elet, June 11, 1850. (A). Otto Pfulf, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Provinz der neu entstandenen Gesellschaft Jesu und ihr Wirken in der Schweiz, 1805-1847* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1922), p. 511.

§ 6. BISHOP HENNI AND THE JESUITS OF ST. LOUIS

The hopes of the Bishop of Milwaukee now turned towards the Jesuits of St. Louis. New establishments, however, were a risky venture for that slender group who were practically without resources in men or money to count upon; hence, as early as September, 1850, Elet decided not to accept the invitations of Bishops Van de Velde and Henni to open colleges in their respective cities. In June of that year he had written to Father Roothaan: "The Bishop of Milwaukee begins to be impatient over our indecision; he would prefer either to give the thing up entirely or to fix a date when the college must be opened. This Vice-Province will not be able to do anything in the matter before September, 1853."⁴⁰ In August of the same year, 1850, Bishop Van de Velde, after a visit to Milwaukee, informed Elet: "Bishop Henni is quite uneasy and will probably write to your Reverence tomorrow. He is now very sorry that he did not follow my advice and keep the Fathers here and begin at once."⁴¹ Towards the end of 1850 Henni was making efforts, which proved unsuccessful, to bring to Milwaukee some refugee German or Austrian Jesuits who were settled at the time in Canada. The following year he was a visitor at St. Louis University. "Bishop Henni dined with us yesterday. He spoke much of the future college which he will have sooner or later if he has to go to Rome to get it. In the meantime he will be satisfied with a small-sized school conducted by hired teachers. His cathedral will be finished in the autumn. His present church [St. Peter's] is at our disposal for a French parish [*cure*]. The property bought for the college increases in value every day. If it is found to be too near the cathedral, the sum realized from its sale will procure a suitable property and site elsewhere."⁴²

The death of M. De Boey, February 25, 1850, had made available the balance of the seventy-thousand francs which he had promised to send to Bishop Henni in annual installments extending over four or five years. His executors allowed the legacy, paying the money to the procurator of the Jesuit Belgian province, who transferred it to the procurator of the vice-province of Missouri. By the latter it was in turn paid over to Bishop Henni, who on receiving the money, wrote December 12, 1850, to Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University: "I thank you and the Provincial sincerely for the kindness with which you tendered me this favor. My prayers are now only that the day may

⁴⁰ Elet à Roothaan, June 14, 1850. (A).

⁴¹ Van de Velde to Elet, August 26, 1850. (A).

⁴² Elet à Roothaan, February 22, 1851 (?). (AA).

soon come on which I may greet the good Fathers of Marquette College.”⁴³

Bishop Henni's reference to Marquette College is significant. The official register of the Missouri Vice-province for 1850 lists among its houses, *Collegium Marquettense brevi inchoandum*, “Marquette College, which is to be started soon.” This is apparently the earliest designation of Milwaukee's future college by the name of the Jesuit missionary-explorer to be found. The title seems to have been Bishop Henni's own selection. In his frequent visits to the Jesuits after their arrival in Milwaukee in 1855, he often expressed the wish that the college be named for Marquette and signified his intention of procuring for it a statue of the famous Jesuit, who was to be represented as standing beside a terrestrial globe and with extended hands pointing majestically to the West.⁴⁴

Dying prematurely at fifty, October 1, 1851, Father Elet was succeeded in the office of vice-provincial by Father William Stack Murphy. Bishop Henni took up at once with the new superior his project of a college in Milwaukee.

It is only a few days since I learned of your appointment to the Provincialship of the Vice-Province of Missouri. I beg of you on this occasion to be pleased to accept my sincerest good wishes as also the prayer I offer to bring down the blessings of heaven on your administration, in which I cannot fail to see the hand of a special Providence, full of wisdom, at the same time that I lament with you the loss which your Society has just sustained of one of its best priests and most capable members in the person of Father Elet. May God deign to receive his soul into the eternal tabernacles!

As regards Marquette College, how do things stand? Is there any appearance of success? I am very anxious to see you and deal with you on so very

⁴³ The transfer of the De Boey money to Bishop Henni was negotiated through Bishop Van de Velde of Chicago who went to Milwaukee for the purpose. The note of Father Druyts, president of St. Louis University, to Bishop Van de Velde, dated August 7, 1850, directs that the money or as much of it as remained uncollected (\$7,533) be paid to Bishop Henni six months after the date mentioned. “The above being in full payment of all dues arising from a legacy made by the Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp for the foundation of a college to be opened in the city of Milwaukee and to be entrusted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, unless the said Fathers should decline accepting it for themselves, in which case the V. Provincial of the Society of Jesus of the V. Province of Missouri has been empowered by the executor of said Chevalier de Boey to make such arrangements as will carry out the intentions of the donor.” At Milwaukee, December 12, 1850, Henni signed a receipt for the money, “being the balance (in full) of the grant made by Monsieur Chevalier G. J. De Boey of Antwerp in behalf of Marquette College at Milwaukee in the State of Wisconsin.”

⁴⁴ Ms. account by Father Stanislaus Lalumiere. (Lalumiere à O'Neil, March 4, 1873). (A).

important a matter. My sentiments are always the same and will not change. I have asked for Jesuits very openly and sincerely at Rome, in France, and in America. To them belongs the fine property which I have bought for a college, to them will be paid to the last penny what I have received for such an institution. My only desire and prayer is to see the college in operation as quickly as possible. Be so kind as to acquaint me with your views and intentions on this subject.⁴⁵

The appeal from the Milwaukee prelate was communicated at once by Father Murphy to Father Roothaan, who expressed himself in no uncertain terms on the issue in question:

In writing to you on the 20th inst., I failed, through an oversight, to say anything about the petition of Bishop Henni, a copy of whose letter you forwarded to me. I make up for the omission today, sending you at the same time a letter from Bishop Miége.

As to *Marquette College*, here is the information you ask for. Bishop Henni, while soliciting alms in Europe, met Father Minoux, who at that time had planned to open a house of his dispersed Province in America. In Belgium the Bishop met M. De Boey, (R. I. P.) who offered 70,000 francs, payable in 10 [*sic*] years, for a college projected by the Bishop on condition that it belong to the Jesuits. As a matter of fact, however, the Swiss Fathers, after being on the ground, judged the project of a college to be impracticable and thereupon withdrew. The project therefore proved an absolute failure.

Now, my dear Father, it is you who are invited. What can you say? You have only one answer to make—*hominem non habeo*. If the temptation to do good without having the means to do it had been steadily rejected by this Province, as it should have been, such a deal of excellent good will and devotion would not have been sacrificed at an utter loss. There is therefore absolutely nothing to be done, nothing to be promised for this college of Milwaukee. It seems to me that the Bishop ought to be content, with the means he has at his disposal, to establish elementary schools. But the Society attempts nothing and engages to do nothing in this regard.⁴⁶

After these peremptory instructions to Father Murphy from general headquarters no hope would seem to have been left for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee. Yet Bishop Henni on his part persisted in the attempt to bring it about. In August, 1853, the Jesuits, Fathers John Gleizal and Isidore Boudreaux, preached a mission at the Milwaukee cathedral, after which Gleizal conducted a retreat for the clergy of the diocese. The Bishop took occasion of the presence of the fathers to bring up once more his cherished project of a college. Gleizal, after communicating with the vice-provincial, answered in his name that a college

⁴⁵ Henni à Murphy, October 21, 1851. (AA).

⁴⁶ Roothaan à Murphy. (A).

could not be attempted, alleging among other reasons for this decision the lack of fathers to undertake the work, and the small prospect of a sufficient number of students in Milwaukee to justify a college. Father Gleizal and his companion, after their missionary work in Milwaukee, proceeded to Racine, where they preached a mission to the English-speaking Catholics of that town. While in Racine Gleizal received a communication from Bishop Henni urging still again his petition for a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and at the same time making it clear that this was to be a final appeal made to the Society. The Bishop offered the Jesuits, besides the property he had purchased for a college-site, the parish of St. Gall's, the dividing line between which and the cathedral parish was to be the Milwaukee River.⁴⁷ When in December, 1853, Bishop Henni's offer came before Father Murphy and his council in St. Louis for consideration, it was decided to defer decision until the return from Europe of Father De Smet, whose opinion in the matter was deemed of particular importance. In January, 1854, at which time De Smet was again in St. Louis, a decision was reached to accept the Bishop's offer, provided men could be spared to take the work in hand. Men were not found, though a step attended with important results was taken when towards the close of 1854 Father Murphy requested his consultors to communicate their individual opinions on the Milwaukee affair directly to the General, Peter Beckx, successor in this office of John Roothaan, who died in 1853.

Ever since Father Roothaan's uncompromising letter had come into his hands, Father Murphy had consistently set himself against the vice-province's extending its activities to Milwaukee. On the other hand, his four consultors, De Smet, Druyts, O'Loughlen and Gleizal, expressed themselves unanimously in favor of the step, and in the end their opinion was to prevail with the Father General. As Druyts pointed out, the situation in the vice-province had altered in many important respects since the time Father Roothaan's drastic instructions were received. The Cincinnati boarding-school and the Louisville day-college had been discontinued, leaving the vice-province much less straitened in

⁴⁷ Lalumiere, ms. account. (A). The Bishop's offer was declined, as Father Gleizal informed Bishop Henni: "Despite the good will of all to oblige you, we find ourselves at present more than ever in the impossibility even of taking charge merely of St. Gall's church. Since I was with you, Reverend Carrell has been taken away from us, and two of our most efficient fathers are recalled to Europe. Thus the number of our working men is diminished instead of being increased. Impossibility alone compels us to decline the fine offers you made to us; and although we cannot realize your expectation in this regard, yet we are ready at any time to assist you in any way which is in our power." Gleizal to Henni, January 5, 1854. Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives.

available personnel than had formerly been the case.⁴⁸ That at least a few men could be spared without difficulty for making a start at Milwaukee was likewise the opinion expressed by De Smet. He wrote to Father Beckx:

Rev. Father Provincial has instructed me to give your Paternity my opinion on the acceptance of a residence and church in Milwaukee. The question has been under consideration for several years. I have always been in favor of accepting the offer of the worthy Bishop Henni. Last year his Lordship, in a letter to us, expressed the desire that we come and take possession in his episcopal city of a fine piece of property, a house and a church. The Bishop does not insist on the establishment of a regular college (which would be a thing impossible for us at the present moment); he leaves this idea to the good will of Superiors, in case circumstances should permit them to realize it; it would be enough at present to send two or three Fathers and open a school (large or small, according to our means) for day-scholars. He desires, as far as depends on him, that the money given by M. de Boey be applied to an establishment of the Society in his diocese. I am of opinion that the Vice-Province could, without serious inconvenience, accept the Bishop's offer. From all I have heard of the place, the Society could do an immense amount of good. Milwaukee is already a very important city; every year there is a notable increase in the population. Wisconsin, of which Milwaukee is the capital, enjoys great prosperity. The states of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota border on and surround it. Catholics from Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, flock there every year by thousands. In all these states the soil in general is highly fertile and the climate healthy, while communication between them by lakes and railways is very easy. A few zealous missionaries of the Society would achieve immense good throughout all this region, of which Milwaukee appears to be the focal point.⁴⁹

Father Gleizal's letter to the General was likewise an unequivocal plea for the acceptance of Milwaukee:

Suppose now that, when opportunities such as the Milwaukee one present themselves, we do not know how to profit by them or do not care to do so, well, a day will come when we shall have subjects to dispose of; but the most important places will not be ours and will probably be refused us. Moreover, even though we could assure ourselves of the approbation of the Bishops, it would be necessary for us in order to set up an establishment, to procure funds: 1. for the purchase of property, a very difficult matter now in our cities where the price of land is enormous; 2. for a building; 3. for its equipment. Now all this is found in combination in Bishop Henni's offer. . . . Why persist in remaining in Louisville and employing three of our men

⁴⁸ Druyts à Roothaan, November 13, 1854. (AA).

⁴⁹ De Smet à Roothaan, December 20, 1854. (AA).

as school-masters [in a parish-school] when three of our members would be more than sufficient for the Milwaukee residence, at least, for the present? In thus rejecting offhand offers of the very greatest advantage, Reverend Father Provincial is looking to the education of our young people and the training of our men generally. My own designs are not any different; but the consultants, while not overlooking so essential a point, are of opinion that three subjects are available for Milwaukee, especially since the changing of the boarding-school at Cincinnati into a day-school. . . . We have now, one might say, only two colleges in the Vice-Province, both cluttered up with professors, the number of whom surprises people outside, especially the bishops and secular priests, who cannot understand why we employ the services of so many subjects for the education of 150 or 200 pupils while so many souls remain without the succour of religion for lack of priests. Besides, the number of our novices has increased greatly. What shall we do with all our men if we have not in advance a few places already prepared and furnished with the necessary means to receive them?

To sum up, here is what I advise for Milwaukee. I would accept Bishop Henni's offer and would promise to send two Fathers to serve St. Gall's church and open a free school for the poor children of the town. I would give his Lordship to understand clearly that there is no question whatever of a college; that later on, when the Vice-Province has more subjects and when a college at Milwaukee is possible and feasible, the Fathers will open a day-school there, everything, withal, being left to the judgment of the Provincial. With this I am sure Bishop Henni will be satisfied, while we shall be assured of a fine residence in Milwaukee, no prejudice will be done to the education of our young men and the formation of Ours and everything will turn out A.M.D.G.⁵⁰

While the Missouri consultants were thus expressing themselves frankly to the Father General on the Milwaukee problem, the vice-provincial himself was pleading the negative side of the issue with equal honesty: "Unless I am mistaken, all the Father Consultants agree that a beginning of some kind ought to be made at Milwaukee. An examination of their opinion with the reasons supporting it may lead your Paternity to prefer it to my own, which outcome would undoubtedly be for me a clear expression of the divine will." The vice-provincial then alleges that the two or three fathers assigned to Milwaukee would have to be of more than middling capacity and that substitutes would have to be found for them in the colleges. In fine, the proposed house would be entirely premature. "We are already burdened and distracted and more than enough." As to Louisville, he admitted that the situation there was not satisfactory. But he judged the Jesuits should retain their position in the Kentucky metropolis and not imperil Catholic interests by their departure. "What, if by delaying, by persevering, by insisting,

⁵⁰ Gleizal à Roothaan, November 10, 1854. (AA).

we gain our point and finally have a church of our own with every facility for ministerial work!"⁵¹

To restrict the activities of his men within the narrowest practicable range, thereby making it possible for the scholastics to be put in due course through the traditional studies of the Society was the cardinal point in the policy which Father Murphy pursued as vice-provincial. He entered into office at a time when a different policy, one of expansion and too hasty grasping of opportunities had for many years prevailed in the vice-province, to the detriment, so it was felt, of the future academic standing of its members. A conservative by temperament and much more by conviction as he studied the situation before him, Father Murphy made every effort to insure to the individual Jesuits under his obedience the complete apparatus of learning, human and divine, with which the Society of Jesus seeks to equip its members. But now his zeal for the scholastic training of his personnel was in open conflict with what seemed to his consultants an opportunity for future educational activity that should by no manner of means be allowed to slip by. The decisive factor in the affair was to be the voice of Father Beckx. He wrote to Father Murphy:

I have received the opinions of the Father Consultants whom I take occasion to thank for their diligence. All advise that Bishop Henni's proposition be accepted. Father Weninger had written to me before in the same sense and with great detail. In opposition to their opinion, your Reverence enumerates various difficulties. All these have been gone over carefully with the Father Assistants. I highly praise and approve your Reverence's zeal for the proper training of our men, and I have no desire to stand in the way of it. At the same time the offer made in Milwaukee appears to merit every consideration.

Hence the decision has been reached to propose to your Reverence to see whether you cannot reduce the number of subjects in Louisville, since we are not by any means meeting there with the success we should like, and furthermore, whether you cannot suppress one or other isolated residences and by this or similar means find two or three men to send to Milwaukee to begin a house, to which we can add in time and according to our means.

I communicate this decision to your Reverence, not by any means as an order, but as a counsel.⁵²

Father Beckx's counsel was promptly acted on by Father Murphy. Shortly after receiving the General's letter, he took the matter up with the Bishop of Milwaukee:

⁵¹ Murphy à Roothaan, December 20, 1854. (AA).

⁵² Beckx ad Murphy, February 10, 1855. (A).

This is rather a late hour to address you in reference to the College project, nay, my communication may not prove acceptable owing to the antecedents. I beg however to say that I have been directed to use every possible endeavor to undertake something at Milwaukee, should your Lordship, as F. Weninger states, continue to entertain that project. My desire would be to commence with a numerous faculty at once, but the *death* of some and the *departure* within the year, of about seven or eight priests, have crippled me sadly. I find it possible to offer a couple of Fathers at least, to make a beginning in September. Should this proposition be approved of by you, I would further ask your approval of my going to see your Lordship at Milwaukee, directly after the Provincial Council of Cincinnati at which B. [Bishop] Spalding says I should attend. I presume all will be over by the 21st May, and before the 1st of June I could hope to present my respects in person with good F. De Smet.

In August Father Murphy was repeating to Bishop Henni the offer he had made in April:

I presume the letter of Father De Smet, written last June, was received by your Lordship. In it there was mention of two Fathers being at your disposal for St. Gall's in September should you approve of the arrangement. This would be a beginning; the schools, I hope, would follow. May Heaven bless the undertaking! I would respectfully ask the favor of a line in reply to give me further directions.⁵³

§ 7. THE JESUITS AT ST. GALL'S

On September 1, 1855, Father Murphy announced to the General that the Milwaukee offer had been definitely accepted. "The administration of the church will be easy. But I don't see where we are to look for a force of men to start the college with. I have above all insisted that nothing be promised or undertaken out of due season and that we proceed step by step. I scarcely hope in this manner to satisfy the Bishop, who is eagerly bent on realizing his plan. That the entire Vice-Province is under a strain is certain beyond all question. God alone can relieve the situation." Fathers De Smet and De Coen arrived in Milwaukee on September 13 and on the following day, feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, took formal possession of St. Gall's Church. As the parochial residence was not quite ready for occupancy, they lodged a few days at the Bishop's house, where they were kindly received and entertained. On the following Sunday, September 16, the Bishop preached at High Mass at St. Gall's and formally introduced the

⁵³ Murphy to Henni, April 27, 1855; August 10, 1855. Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives. "We shall act soon in the Milwaukee affair. Meanwhile let us pray and *bear* being not properly judged at headquarters." Murphy to O'Loghlen, April 6, 1855. (A).

fathers. He spoke in commendation of the Society of Jesus and expressed the great satisfaction he felt at its entrance into his diocese. On September 27 Father Dennis Kenny with the lay brother, John Murphy, arrived from St. Louis to assist De Coen while De Smet, who had only been awaiting the coming of Kenny, left Milwaukee for St. Louis on the same day.^{53a}

St. Gall's Church, a frame building, ninety-four feet by forty-six and twenty-four feet high, stood at the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore Streets. It had been dedicated December 8, 1849, Father Beauprez, its first pastor, and Fathers Callanan, Putnam and McFaul participating in the ceremony. Conspicuous among the decorations of the church on the occasion was an oil-painting of St. Gall portrayed in the act of announcing the Gospel to the heathen Allemanni. It was the work of a Miss Pearsall and came as a gift to the parish from Bishop Meier of St. Gall in Switzerland, Bishop Henni's early tutor and life-long friend. Henni's biographer notes that the prelate, in providing a church for the Irish Catholics of Milwaukee under the patronage of the Irish missionary-saint, St. Gall, one of the apostles of the Faith in Switzerland, was especially gratified to be able thus to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which his native Switzerland owed to the early Celtic missionaries.⁵⁴

The parish territory of St. Gall's was limited on the east by the Milwaukee River; north and south it extended some four miles into the county while to the west it included the town of Wauwatosa, about five miles from the city. Father Beauprez, dying of the cholera in 1850, was succeeded as pastor by Father Bradley, who had for assistant Father Thomas Keenan. During the few months between June, 1855, and the arrival of the Jesuits in September of that year, Father Martin Kundig was in charge of the parish.⁵⁵

On taking over St. Gall's the Jesuits found the church greatly out of repair, while the rectory, a one-story cottage of two rooms with basement situated in the rear of the church, was in similar case. Being built on an unusually low spot of the marshy ground that was characteristic of the entire neighborhood, the rectory became flooded after every shower of rain. "Snakes, toads and lizards," exclaims the diarist of St. Gall's, "have their dwelling there," this section of the West Side retaining at the time much of its primitive condition as a wild-rice swamp. Between the Menominee River on the south, the Milwaukee

^{53a} *History of St. Gall's Residence, Milwaukee.* (Ms). Archives of Marquette University.

⁵⁴ Marty, *Dr. John Martin Henni*, p. 202.

⁵⁵ [Robert S. Johnston, S.J.], *Marquette College: A Quarter Century, 1881-1906* (Milwaukee, 1906), p. 5.

River on the east and up to between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where the hills began, the Fourth Ward was low, marshy ground, covered in most places with several feet of water. As a consequence the locality was unhealthy to a degree, the records of the day commenting on the great amount of sickness to be found among the parishioners of St. Gall's. But the evil did not continue long. During the period 1855-1857 the low-lying and miasma-breeding blocks in the Fourth Ward were filled in to an average of twenty-two feet, the filling being brought from the hills or bluffs which were cut away to an almost equal depth. Thereupon the parish became, as was noted in 1857, one of the healthiest sections of the city. A new St. Gall's rectory, forty-eight feet by thirty-eight, built of brick on the site of the old one, was finished in the remarkably short space of four months and was occupied by the Jesuit pastors shortly before the Christmas of 1856.⁵⁶ "We have finally entered into our new house," wrote Father De Coen to St. Louis. "I can hardly get used to it, after having been tossed about without home for five months."

The condition of the parish when Father De Coen took it in charge in 1855 could not be described as satisfactory. Since its inception about six years before some ten clergymen had served it in turn and these frequent changes of personnel had scarcely made for efficiency of administration. The parishioners, some thousand in number and mostly of the laboring class, were in the words of the parish chronicler "in a rather distracted state of mind." There had been on occasion misunderstandings and disagreements between them and their pastors and even between them and the Bishop. Saturday confessions numbered not more than from fifteen to twenty-five, except before some major ecclesiastical feast, when they would mount to forty, which was considered a quite unusual figure. Parish societies had indeed been organized, a Ladies' Altar Society, Confraternities of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Rosary, and a Sunday-school library, the children paying each five cents

⁵⁶ *History of St. Gall's Residence*. (Ms.). De Coen to Druyts, December 30, 1856. (A). "All that portion of the Fourth Ward bounded by the Menominee on the south, the Milwaukee on the east, Spring Street on the north and to a point about midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets on the West where the hills commenced, was a wild rice-swamp covered with water from two to six feet in depth, in fact, an impassable marsh. The amount of filling that has been done upon the tract is immense, averaging twenty-two feet over the entire tract. There was a small island near the corner of Second and Clybourne Streets, upon which was a large elm tree. All else was a watery waste. At Spring Street the ground commenced to harden and from there to Chestnut, with the exception of West Water from Spring to Third (which was also marsh) the whole was a swamp, upon which grew tamarack, black ash, bog alder and cedar in abundance." *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, p. 262.

a month for the use of the books. But these organizations had for the most part declined and were in a languishing condition. Under its new pastors the morale of the parish steadily improved. New devotions and associations of a pious or philanthropic nature were introduced in 1856, as the Forty Hours Adoration, the Way of the Cross, May Devotions, an Orphans' Society and the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners. A spiritual revival or mission begun at St. Gall's March 2, 1856, and, attended also by members of the cathedral parish, had to be continued for three weeks to accommodate the great number of penitents that presented themselves at the confessionals. The conclusion of the exercises was made impressive by the presence of Bishop Henni, who preached on the occasion. Meantime, efforts were being made to supply very pressing needs in church equipment. Stations for the Way of the Cross were obtained from St. Louis and, through the medium of Father De Smet, candlesticks from Ghent in Belgium, while properly made confessionals were installed, a perforated side-board having previously been the only device available for that purpose. Moreover, gifts for the decoration of the church began to come in, a life-size painting of St. Ignatius Loyola from Bishop Henni, a painting of the Annunciation from Father Verhaegen of St. Charles, Missouri, and a much needed tabernacle for the altar from the master of novices, Father Gleizal.

From the very first the fathers looked after the Catholic inmates in the poor house at Wauwatosa. Sometimes their ministry carried them a great distance away from Milwaukee, as in an instance recorded in 1859 by Father De Coen, which no doubt occurred under exceptional circumstances, as the limits of the parish ran only a few miles beyond the city boundaries. Father De Coen was writing to relatives in Belgium:

My occupations in the ministry are almost as regular as those of a curé in Belgium, only that a few weeks ago I had to make a little trip such as, I suppose, doesn't happen often among you. I was called to a sick person seventy leagues [175 miles?] away from here. I set out at once, for the case was an urgent one; the sick man was dying. Happily a kind providence watched over him so as to keep him alive till I arrived. I found him in effect in the last extremity, but with strength enough to make his confession and receive the last Sacraments. I started the same day back to my mission. I learned since that the man died a few days after.⁵⁷

The sinking in Lake Michigan in 1860 of the steamer *Lady Elgin* with great loss of life finds mention in a letter of De Coen's to his

⁵⁷ De Coen à ———, December 8, 1859. Archives of the North Belgian Province. Probably Father De Coen meant "miles" for "leagues."

family. "What makes this catastrophe doubly afflicting, is that almost without exception, they were Catholics and of the first families of the town. Scarcely a Catholic family but mourns over one of its members or a near relative. In token of general grief the town is draped in black for three months."⁵⁸

By 1868 services at St. Gall's were drawing such throngs that it was felt a new and more capacious church should be built at once for the congregation. But the question where to build was a perplexing one. The "Hill," where at State and Tenth Streets the Bishop had purchased lots for the contemplated college, was considered too far away; moreover, he was thought not to be in favor of building on the old site. Still, to a committee of parishioners who waited upon him, he replied that they might build the new church either on the Hill or on the old site. A considerable group was in favor of going midway between the two locations; but the Bishop persisted in his decision that the new church was to be erected either on the site of the old one or on the Hill, as he was fond of calling the property on the bluff. Efforts subsequently made to find a site on higher ground and in the direction of the Hill were without success, principally because suitable property in that direction would have involved an outlay of some fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. Finally but with reluctance choice was made of the ground immediately adjoining the existing church. Here was built the new edifice, which was of brick.

§ 8. MARQUETTE COLLEGE IN THE MAKING

To establish a college had been the ulterior motive that drew the Society of Jesus to Milwaukee. Within two years of its arrival in the city the first steps towards realizing this objective had been taken through the opening of St. Aloysius Academy. A three-year lease having been secured on the ground immediately adjoining the church on the west, the old rectory was moved to this site and there raised ten feet so as to admit of new foundations and a ground-story built thereon. Thus enlarged and its interior fitted up anew, it was to furnish quarters for a classical and commercial school to be known as St. Aloysius Academy. The expense incurred was met by subscriptions from the congregation, by donations from other sources and by money borrowed at interest. In August, 1857, Father Stanislaus Lalumiere and a scholastic, Mr. Cornelius O'Brien, arrived from St. Louis to take in hand the management of the new academy. Father Lalumiere, a native of Vincennes, Indiana, thirty-five years old at this juncture, was destined to be the central figure in all Jesuit activities in Milwaukee up to the

⁵⁸ De Coen à ———, October 4, 1860. Archives of the North Belgian Province, S.J.

foundation of the college and beyond. An exaggerated newspaper account of the new institution, which announced teaching in all the branches of a "commercial, classical and philosophical education," embarrassed him greatly. "This notice mortified me, as the place, buildings, furniture and corps of teachers could not come up to such expectations." ⁵⁹

The diarist of St. Gall's, having chronicled the preparations made to set St. Aloysius Academy on foot, expressed the fervent hope, "may it prove, under the blessing of heaven, to be the root and foundation of a flourishing college." In the event, the new institution was not to develop into a college; but it struggled through many years, not without a measure of success, to realize its ideals of higher academic training and many of the leading citizens of Milwaukee found instruction within its humble walls. At the opening of the academy in September, 1857, there registered about fifty students, ranging in age between six and twenty-one. In August, 1858, the faculty was reenforced by the arrival of Father John Coveney and Mr. Joseph Van Zealand, both of the Society of Jesus. Though the number of students in attendance during the year ending July, 1859, had risen to ninety-two, the managers of the school felt disappointment over the progress made. At the end of this second year of the school Father Lalumiere with the other Jesuit instructors was accordingly withdrawn, the teaching-staff being thereupon recruited with laymen. Among these were Messrs. Graves, Menger, and Rimmele, of whom the last named subsequently became a Jesuit. On July 2, 1861, Father Lalumiere returned from St. Louis, where he had been minister for a year, to succeed Father De Coen as pastor of St. Gall's, while in August Father Kenny followed Father De Coen to other fields of labor. On September 9 St. Aloysius Academy began its third year with about forty boys in attendance. In 1864 a new school-building of brick was erected. Father John T. Kuhlman was

⁵⁹ Lalumiere ms. account. (A). The advertisement objected to by Father Lalumiere was probably the following, which appeared in a Milwaukee newspaper: "St. Aloysius Academy—under the direction of the members of the Society of Jesus, situated on Third Street between Sycamore and Clybourne Streets, Milwaukee, Wisconsin,—The classes in this institution will be opened the first Monday of September. The course of studies will comprise all the branches of a thorough classical and commercial education, and classes will be organized to suit students of every grade of proficiency. Greek, Latin, English and French will be taught by experienced and competent professors. The classes of Rhetoric, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry and Natural Philosophy will afford the more advanced portion of the students every opportunity of successfully following the scientific course, while the younger students will be carefully instructed in Orthography, Reading, Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic and other branches suited to their age and capacity. Penmanship and Book-keeping will receive special attention and will be taught on the most approved plan."

principal of the school, which now assumed the name St. Gall's Academy, counted as many as four hundred students on its roll-call and gained steadily in public esteem. Beginning with 1862 one or more Jesuit scholastics were annually assigned to the teaching-staff of the academy until 1872 when Father Thomas O'Neil, the provincial, decided to station no more scholastics in Milwaukee. Little by little the academy lost its individuality and was merged in the parish-school. For a decade at least prior to the opening of Marquette College in 1882 the academy at St. Gall's, as an institution of high-school grade, had ceased to exist.

Bishop Henni's idea of the Society of Jesus was seemingly based on what he had seen of its activities in Europe, where it was engaged almost exclusively in education without entering at all into the field of the parochial ministry, a field which in the United States circumstances made it necessary to work. He had offered the Jesuits St. Gall's in Milwaukee because they had stipulated for a parish and without it could not be secured for the college, which was the one thing he had in view in bringing them to the city. The Van Buren Street property purchased in 1849 as a site for the proposed college was later deemed unsuited for the purpose on account of its proximity to the cathedral, which was only four blocks away, whereupon the Bishop acquired for about eleven thousand dollars a new piece of property, consisting of eight lots in Block 199, Fourth Ward. With the six additional lots subsequently purchased by the Jesuits through Father De Smet in 1866, this property, three hundred and sixty-six by three hundred and three feet, included the entire block between Tenth, Eleventh, Prairie and State or Tamarack Streets and became popularly known as the Hill, the Bishop's favorite designation, or as the "College" or "Seminary Lots." Father Druyts described the property in 1857 as "magnificently situated, but too far away from the dense population of the town," while the St. Gall chronicler pictures this almost suburban tract as "located on an eminence which overlooks the whole city and presents an extensive view of Lake Michigan; they [the lots] may become in the course of time a valuable property; but at present they are of no use for church or school purposes as they are so far away from the center of population." When in 1856 Father de Coen asked Bishop Henni for a deed to this Hill property as also to Lot 1, Block 75, on which was located St. Gall's church and rectory, the latter was at first unwilling to deliver it except for a consideration of three thousand dollars. This answer came as a surprise to Father de Coen, as the Jesuits had come to Milwaukee on the understanding that they were to be given free possession of the church and college property. It was through Father Gleizal that the Bishop's offer had been made to the vice-

province of Missouri on occasion of the mission and clergy retreat conducted by the Jesuits in Milwaukee in 1853. Gleizal was therefore instructed by Father Murphy, the vice-provincial, to remonstrate with the Bishop. This he did in a carefully worded letter, declaring that unless cession were made of both church and college property, as stipulated, and without payment of the indicated sum of money, the fathers would find it necessary to withdraw from Milwaukee, "a step which we should regret much on account of the good already effected by our Fathers, and because of the high regard and esteem that all of our Vice-Province entertain for your Lordship." Finally, in consideration of the five thousand dollars of the De Boey money which he still retained as a sort of security, so he explained, for the claim he had on the St. Gall's property, the Bishop on July 15, 1856, executed in favor of Father Murphy a deed of trust to the properties in question, the fathers, in the contingency of their leaving Milwaukee, to return them to the diocese and be reimbursed for improvements made. Years later, July 10, 1868, Father Lalumiere, superior at St. Gall's, called on Bishop Henni to petition him for a deed in fee-simple to the church property. The prelate was disinclined to acquiesce in this request alleging that the church was indebted to him for some uncertain amount. Father Lalumiere then suggested that the five thousand dollars of the De Boey money still retained by the Bishop might be considered as balancing the church debt, so that the matter could be adjusted by a mutual relinquishment of claims. To this arrangement the Bishop readily agreed, delivering to Lalumiere a deed in fee-simple to the church property.⁶⁰

Some weeks later, August 3, 1868, Father Lalumiere, accompanied by the Jesuit provincial, Father Coosemans, again visited the Bishop, this time to petition him for a title in fee-simple to the college property on the "Hill." This matter had seemed to be on the verge of settlement half a year before but for some unknown reason was allowed to lapse. The difficulties that arose in connection with the Bardstown property which the Jesuits held in trust only had led them to adopt as a settled policy the principle of not building at their own expense on land to which they held a conditional title only and not one in fee-simple. The Bishop on the occasion of this visit assured the fathers that the money used in the purchase of the property on the "Hill" really belonged to the Society of Jesus as having been given to it in the first instance. He repeated, about which matter there could never have been the slightest doubt, that he had always desired to see a Jesuit college in Milwaukee and he touched again on the De Boey Masses, which he

⁶⁰ Lalumiere, ms. account. (A). Gleizal to Henni, June 26, 1856, Milwaukee Archdiocesan Archives.

Father Anthony M. Anderledy, twenty-third General of the Society of Jesus (1819-1892). In 1849 he carried on in Milwaukee negotiations for the opening of a Jesuit college in that city.

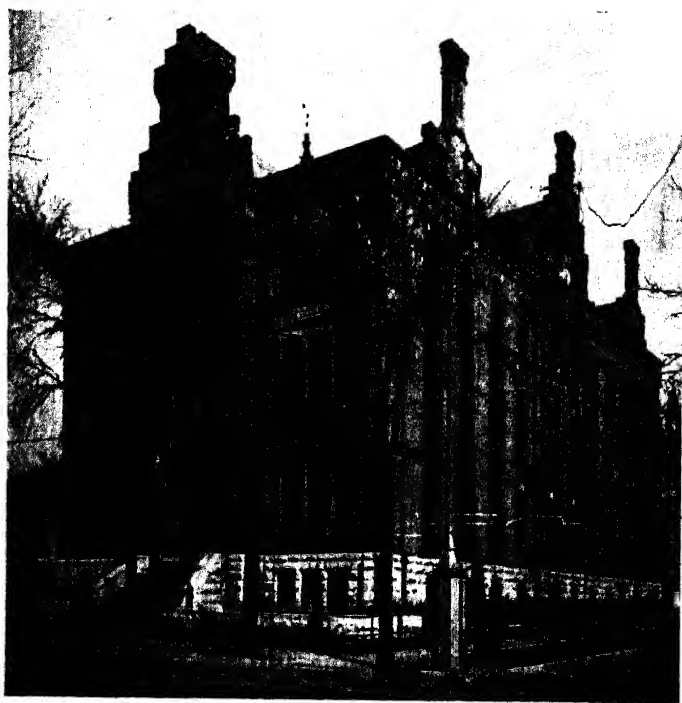
Finis christiani, regens, ut maxime scilicet, ubi in probationis annis adhuc spe per
contem. Per omnes non facile fiet, deinde enim omnes vires non alio finis et libe
non deest, cum hoc huiusmodi pluris latus certitudo. Interi, me integrum itum esse
relatant, sed huius, Quo sint latus, sanguinem esse set ab omni. Quia tamen,
sporo, me impediat, quoniam fructus quidem valorem et s. d. G. G.
R. e. p. e. me dumtaxat immunda. R. e. p. e.

Green - bay (Wisconsin) United States
die 17 Sept. 1849.

P. S. Vester, Milwaukee a scholi primarii et scribere debet.
Pulmon huius in Green-bay ubi noster homines sybarites (dumtaxat)

Sumus in Vester humilissimus
Scribitur y. d.

Closing paragraph of a letter of Father Anderledy addressed to his provincial, Father Minoux, Green Bay, Wisconsin, September 17, 1849. Archives of the Province of Lower Germany, S. J.



Marquette College, Milwaukee. Original building, Tenth and State Streets, 1881.

had agreed to say during his life and which he would expect the order to say after his death. These Masses he had himself been faithfully discharging ever since the agreement made by him with the Belgian founder. In fine, he could not deliver to the Jesuits the title in fee-simple for which they petitioned unless they assumed the obligation of the Masses in question. To Father Coosemans as to Father Roothaan before him it seemed hazardous to accept this onerous obligation. But he had already received an opinion from Father Beckx that the obligation might after all be assumed as a condition now necessarily bound up with the acceptance of a college in Milwaukee. Father Coosemans accordingly signified to Bishop Henni his willingness to accept in the name of the Society of Jesus the obligation of the stipulated Masses with the result that the Bishop immediately made out and delivered to the Jesuit provincial, August 3, 1868, a title in fee-simple to the college lots.

The initial attempt of the Jesuits to establish in Milwaukee an institution of high-school or academy grade which would develop eventually into a college had not met with success. No one felt this issue of circumstances more keenly than Father Lalumiere, around whose engaging personality is written this story of disappointed hopes. Reviewing the situation as it had developed in 1873, he expressed the opinion that the Jesuits in their pioneer educational efforts in Milwaukee, had, in his own phrase, "started wrong." They began to build, but like the man in the Gospel, were unable to finish. A wiser course would have been to begin with a parish school and then, as resources in men and money allowed, to proceed to more serious ventures in the educational field. At all events, Bishop Henni could not but feel a reasonable disappointment at the long deferred realization of his early dream. When in October, 1872, Lalumiere put to him the question, "are you disappointed in the Society in regard to education?" the prelate replied without hesitation, "altogether so." And not long after he said to another Jesuit: "How much I have worked for a college of the Fathers in Milwaukee! I pray for it every day and have prayed for it for twenty years." Some nine years later he had his wish and as though his long career was to be held in suspense until this final touch to the upbuilding of the Catholic church in Wisconsin should have been realized, Bishop Henni passed away only two days after Marquette College had opened its doors.⁶¹

The issue of events was to see the college established, not in the filled-up rice-swamp where St. Aloysius Academy ran its brief career, but on the bluffs, which in the infant days of the city rose up sharply

⁶¹ Lalumiere, ms. account. (A).

from the marsh-land below and wearing a crown of timber of more or less heavy growth were a thing of beauty to the eye and the favorite pleasure-ground of all pioneer Milwaukeeans. Beginning at the Menominee River on the south, the bluffs ran uniformly north along a line midway between Fourth and Fifth Streets to a point between Spring Street, the present Wisconsin Avenue and Wells Street. Here their front swung around sharply and coursed west to midway between Eighth and Ninth Streets, where it swerved again to the north. In the mid-fifties the sharp edges of the bluffs were cut away and the level of the bottom-land lying at their base was proportionately raised; but to this day the topographical contrast between the hill-top section of Milwaukee and the lower or business district of the city is striking enough to impress the most casual observer.⁶² Discounting, then, actual conditions and looking only to the expansion which he felt the city was bound to undergo up to and across the bluffs, Bishop Henni, as was stated above, acquired a property lying some score yards back from the edge of the bluffs. This property he deeded to the Jesuits, first, in 1856, in trust for educational purposes and later, in 1868, in fee simple, thus carrying out the intention of the donor, M. De Boey, through whose gift of money the Bishop had been enabled to make the purchase and who had stipulated that the college to be established through his agency should be conducted by members of the Society of Jesus. Meantime, by a special act of the Wisconsin Legislature, Marquette College had been incorporated in 1864 as an educational institution of collegiate grade, with a charter authorizing its trustees to confer such academic honors and degrees as they might deem proper. The incorporators were Fathers Stanislaus P. Lalumiere, Ignatius Maes and James M. Hayes, all of the Society of Jesus and resident at the time at St. Gall's rectory. Further, there was all the while a steady flow of population from the center towards the hilltop section of the city, a condition that determined the pastors of St. Gall's to open the succursal Church of the Holy Name. It stood along the Eleventh Street front of the college property, and was dedicated October 24, 1875. Five years later, August 15, 1880, the corner-stone of Marquette College was laid by Right Reverend Michael Heiss, Coadjutor-bishop of Milwaukee, on a site at the northwest corner of Tenth and State Streets, this being the "hill-top" property of Bishop Henni's. On September 5, 1881, the doors of the new institution opened to receive the first students and the hopes of the Society of Jesus to bring within reach of the youth of Milwaukee the advantages of an education of college grade found at last their long deferred fulfillment.

⁶² *Memoirs of Milwaukee County*, etc., p. 263.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE ANTECEDENTS OF ST. IGNATIUS COLLEGE, CHICAGO

§ I. EARLY JESUIT VISITORS

Nowhere among the great cities of the United States does the Society of Jesus strike deeper historical roots than in Chicago. It made entry into the city or what was to become such with the Jolliet-Marquette expedition of 1673. In December of the following year Father Marquette returned to the locality, where he resided until the spring of 1675.¹ Some twenty years later than Marquette's historic wintering on the banks of the Chicago River the site of the future metropolis was marked by a Jesuit Indian mission, named for the Guardian Angel, the first attempt to make of the locality a centre of cultural and religious influence.² This missionary venture passed into history about 1702 and with its passing all contact of the Society of Jesus with the Chicago terrain ceased for well-nigh a hundred and fifty years except for the passage at intervals of one of its devoted missionaries along the

¹ Garraghan, *The Catholic Church in Chicago*, pp. 3-10; *idem*, *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee, 1934), pp. 30-32. Marquette's wintering-place in Chicago, December 14, 1674, to March 30, 1675, was located, 1907, by the Chicago Historical Society on the north bank of the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago River at the point where Robey Street (since 1928 Damen Avenue) meets the river. This point, marked, October 1930, by a splendid stone memorial erected by the city of Chicago, was within the original limits of the Holy Family parish. Robert W. Knight, M.W.S.E., joint author with Lucius H. Zeuch, M.D., of *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1928), has located (1930) the wintering-place further down the river at Lincoln Street, which would still be in the original territory of the Holy Family parish.

² Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago*, pp. 13-21; M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673-1835* (Chicago, 1913). Quaife places the mission in or near the "loop-district." "From every point of view the study of St. Cosme's letter leads to the conclusion that the Mission of the Guardian Angel was on the Chicago River at some point between the forks and the mouth" (p. 42). Cf. also Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, pp. 38-41. For the subsequent history of Father Pinet, Chicago's first resident pastor, and the particulars attending the circumstances of his death in 1702 at the Jesuit mission on the site of St. Louis, Mo., cf. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 11: 99 *et seq.*

portage trail that linked the valley of the Mississippi with the region of the Great Lakes.

The evolution within a century of modern Chicago from a Potawatomi Indian village into a vast seething centre of human life belongs to the amazing things of history. In 1823, the year in which the first middlewestern Jesuits reached St. Louis, then a fast-growing town with a population of five thousand, Chicago was described in a contemporary gazetteer as "a village in Pike County containing 12 or 15 houses and about 60 or 70 inhabitants." Today, with its population overtopping the three-million mark, it ranks the second largest city on the American continent and the fourth, probably third among the cities of the globe. Quite as phenomenal as the material growth of Chicago has been its religious growth as indicated by the development of the Catholic Church within its limits. The first resident Catholic priest in modern Chicago, the Reverend Irenaeus St. Cyr, came as late as 1833, having been sent by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis in answer to a petition from the Catholics of the northern town, who described themselves as a group of one hundred and twenty-two souls without church or pastor. That same year, 1833, saw the first incorporation of Chicago as a town. Ten years later, 1843, the state of Illinois was erected by the Holy See into a diocese with the episcopal see at Chicago. When the first bishop, the Right Reverend William Quarter, arrived on the scene, May 5, 1844, he found that the chief city of his diocese contained but a single church with two attendant priests. Today, after the lapse of nine decades, it counts over two hundred and thirty Catholic churches while the clergymen serving them number at least five hundred. Bishop Quarter's administration of the diocese of Chicago lasted only four years. The stream of his health and apostolic energy was flowing at full tide when death suddenly claimed him, April 9, 1848, at the early age of forty-two. The first year of his residence in Chicago had seen him engaged in correspondence with the Jesuits of St. Louis with a view to securing their services for the state capital, Springfield. He wrote September 18, 1844, to Father George Carrell, president of St. Louis University:

I feel much uneasy about the condition of a large portion of the Southern part of this diocese, being so naked of priests. Before I arrived here and whilst in New York the Rev. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Owings wrote to me stating that the Jesuits would take charge of Springfield, if I gave my consent. Now there is no religious order I'd rather see established in this diocese, for there is no other, I believe, capable thro' their members of doing more good for religion. Now I take leave to request of you to signify to your Superior that I am not only willing but would desire to give your Order that place, and the missions attached in charge. My dear friend, you know already

the deep regard I have for you and the unbounded confidence I always placed in your excellent judgement. I leave you then to arrange the affair as you may think best.

The mission of Springfield could not be undertaken by the Jesuits for lack of men, that perennial check on apostolic good will and zeal. On October 18 Bishop Quarter wrote again to Carrell: "I regret you could not extend your very useful Society. Maybe before long you will be able to do so. And be assured that no one will rejoice more to see the Society of Jesus extending its branches over the West than your humble servant."³

The first Jesuit to visit modern Chicago appears to have been Father James Oliver Van de Velde, who spent a few days there in June, 1846, while on his way to St. Louis from the Second Council of Baltimore. Three years later he returned to Chicago as Bishop Quarter's successor. The earliest recorded exercise of the sacred ministry in the same city by a Jesuit priest took place in April, 1847, when Father Francis Di Maria, professor of theology in St. Louis University, conducted a spiritual retreat for the clergy of the Chicago diocese. The exercises of the retreat were held in the "Chapel of the Holy Name of Jesus" attached to the University of St. Mary of the Lake. Di Maria, who was an excellent classical scholar, composed a Latin inscription commemorating the event and recording the praise of Bishop Quarter for having successfully convened his first diocesan synod.⁴

Under Bishop Van de Velde the Jesuits of St. Louis were sometimes heard in the pulpits of the city, especially during Holy and Easter weeks. Father Di Maria officiated at the Holy Week services of 1850 in St. Mary's Cathedral, Father Verhaegen at those of 1851 and Father Gleizal at those of 1853. On Palm Sunday night, 1851, Verhaegen opened a three days' mission at St. Mary's Cathedral with an introductory discourse on "the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius," preaching, besides, at the Vesper services on Easter Sunday. On May 2 of the same year he opened at the University of St. Mary of the Lake a retreat for the clergy of the diocese, at which Bishop Van de Velde with forty-one of his priests were present. While Verhaegen was thus engaged with the clergy, his fellow-Jesuit, Francis Xavier Weninger, then entering on a missionary career that was to make his name a household word among the German Catholics of the United States, was

³ Quarter to Carrell, September 18; October 18, 1844. (A).

⁴ Quarter's diary in [McGovern], *Catholic Church in Chicago*, pp. 78, 82. This work, published anonymously on the occasion of Archbishop Feehan's jubilee as bishop in 1890, also reproduces *in integro* Van de Velde's diary kept by him during his tenure of the Chicago see.

preaching a mission to the congregation of St. Joseph on the North Side.⁵ During Holy Week, 1853, Father John Gleizal, master of novices at Florissant, conducted a mission at the cathedral. Under date of March 23 of that year Bishop Van de Velde notes in his diary: "Easter Sunday, General Communion of men. Solemn Pontifical Mass. Sermon by Reverend Father Gleizal. In the evening grand illumination of the Sanctuary in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Consecration of the Catholics of the city to the Blessed Virgin after the sermon by Father Gleizal. Immense concourse of people. Several Protestants admitted into the church by conditional baptism before Vespers." Another entry: "[March] 28. Permission obtained to keep Father Gleizal and continue the exercises for one week longer. Instructions continued."

The unexpected turn given to the fortunes of the European Jesuits by the revolution of 1848 brought Bishop Van de Velde into communication with Father Minoux, provincial of the Jesuits of upper Germany and Switzerland.⁶ When Minoux saw his communities dispersed in the track of the revolutionary storm, he dispatched the seminarians with their professors to America with a view to opening a house of studies in Milwaukee or Chicago. The plan could not be realized, but the exiled seminarians found a home, some at Georgetown, and some at St. Louis University. Bishop Van de Velde, seeing the German Catholics of Chicago destitute of pastors of their own nationality and language, petitioned Minoux to send ten or twelve of his priests to Chicago. They were to come at their own expense, but the Bishop felt confident that once in his diocese they would be amply cared for by the congregations under their charge. As to a college in Chicago, they were not to think of such a project for the Bishop was utterly without means to help them. In April, 1849, Minoux expressed to Van de Velde the hope that perhaps one or two of the fathers of his jurisdiction might be assigned to Chicago; but the hope was never realized and at no time did the members of the dispersed province of upper Germany and Switzerland take up the exercise of the sacred ministry in the chief city of Illinois. Nor were the St. Louis Jesuits yet in a position to estab-

⁵ In 1853 Weninger preached missions to the two German-speaking congregations of St. Peter's and St. Michael's. In 1856 he conducted a mission in St. Michael's church on North Avenue, on which occasion he gave the decisive impulse to the erection of a new and spacious church of brick, built only to be destroyed in the great fire of 1871. During his 1853 mission at St. Peter's on Washington Street he led the congregation in procession through the streets of the city to the cemetery on the North Side, the while they recited the rosary, a thing which the good Father long years after declared to be "now quite impossible on account of the crowds that throng the down-town district."

⁶ Cf. *supra*, Chap. XVI, § 4.

Chicago, Illinois,

October 2, 1856.

To Rev^d Father Damien.

The University
St. Louis.

Dear Father Damien.

I received your very kind letter, and feel, as ever, most grateful to you for your kind interest for the advancement of Religion in the Diocese.

I feel, most fully, & sincerely, the truth of all you say, and I admit, I know, I feel, ~~not~~ do a better work for Religion, for the Diocese, or for my own soul, than by establishing, here, a House of your Society, and this is the very reason, I have been so very anxious to effect this. It was, on the one hand, as also upon my personal regard and affection for your

Institute, and for many of your Fathers, individually, that I feel strongly, and so personally, desire to see this good work accomplished. * * *

With kindest regards for Father Daniel and all friends, I am, very often Father

Very sincerely yours
Bishop Anthony
of Chicago.

lish a house in Chicago though Bishop Van de Velde would gladly have seen them permanently settled in his diocese. In 1850 he made overtures to Father Elet, vice-provincial of Missouri, for the opening of a Jesuit college in Chicago, and also corresponded on the subject with Father Roothaan; but Elet and his advisers deemed the project utterly impracticable in the existing straitened circumstances of the vice-province.⁷

§ 2. BISHOP O'REGAN'S INVITATION

Bishop O'Regan, Chicago's third bishop, had made acquaintance with the St. Louis Jesuits during the years that he presided over the St. Louis diocesan seminary at Carondelet. From Chicago he endeavored to secure their services in some permanent form for his diocese. In February, 1856, Father Gleizal, to whose enlightened zeal was due in considerable measure the opening of the Milwaukee residence, was urging upon Father Beckx that a similar venture be made in Chicago. "The Bishop of Chicago, most devoted to our Society, and a lover, almost a worshipper of all our people, has over and over again begged Rev. Father Provincial for some of our Fathers in order to open a Residence in his city, the inhabitants of which multiply so rapidly that they now number more than 100,000." Two fathers, so Gleizal thought, could be spared for the undertaking.⁸ Almost at the same time Father De Smet was informing a correspondent in California: "Bishop O'Regan offers us his college with two churches. But where are the men?"⁹ Lack of men was indeed the barrier that stood between the St. Louis Jesuits and the numerous enterprises of charity and zeal for which their services were now being sought in many quarters. With a staff of only seventy priests, they were conducting colleges in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Bardstown, and Indian schools among the Osage and Potawatomi Indians, besides serving parishes in Louisville, Milwaukee, and other points in the Middle West. However inviting a field for them both in education and the sacred ministry Chicago might appear to be, it had perforce to lie for the moment outside the range of their activities. But the moment when they were to establish themselves in residence there was not long delayed.

In the summer of 1856 Father Arnold Damen, pastor of the Jesuit Church of St. Francis Xavier in St. Louis, assisted by three associates of his order, Fathers Isidore Boudreaux, Benedict Masselis, and Michael Corbett conducted a series of missions or spiritual revivals in Chicago at the invitation of Bishop O'Regan. A communication which appeared

⁷ Elet à Roothaan, 1850. (AA).

⁸ Gleizal ad Beckx, February 4, 1856. (AA).

⁹ De Smet to Congiato, April 20, 1856. (A).

in the St. Louis *Leader* and has been cited on a previous page of this history, dwelt on the gratifying results that attended the efforts of the missionaries.¹⁰ The exercises were held at first in the cathedral church of the diocese, St. Mary's, which stood at the southwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Madison Street; but the capacity of the edifice being overtaxed by the attending throngs, the mission was transferred to the newly erected Church of the Holy Name at State and Superior Streets. Both the cathedral and the Church of the Holy Name were swept away in the great fire of 1871.

The three priests who shared the labors of Father Damen on this occasion were to pursue the duties of their Jesuit calling for long years to come. Father Isidore Boudreaux attained to high repute in domestic circles of the order as an admirably competent master of novices, in which employment he was retained for a period of twenty-three years. Father Masselis, Belgian by birth and at this juncture thirty-six years of age, was to see protracted service in the preaching of popular missions and die in Detroit at the very ripe age of ninety-three. Father Corbett was now only in the second year of his Jesuit career, having prior to his entrance into the Society been a secular priest of the diocese of Pittsburgh. He, too, was to see length of days, passing away in 1912 at eighty-seven in the novitiate at Florissant.

In the mid-fifties, when this large-scale Jesuit mission was preached in Chicago, European immigration to the United States was in full tide. Thousands of Irish and German families were pouring into the great urban centers of the East and the Middle West and to supply the spiritual needs of the strong Catholic element among them was a problem that taxed to the limit the resourcefulness of bishops and priests. Parishes were indeed being organized on every side; but often they were inadequately served, often also they were not numerous enough to meet the needs of the Catholic population. It was precisely as a supplement to the ordinary parochial service that the popular mission became an instrument of the utmost utility in the period of immigration. In Chicago of the mid-fifties the field was particularly ripe for the harvest which the Jesuit missionaries succeeded in gathering in. The bulk of the Catholic hearers to whom they appealed were of Irish immigrant

¹⁰ St. Louis *Leader*, August 15, 1856. The correspondent was apparently Father Matthew Dillon, pastor of the Holy Name parish and president during the period January, 1855-August, 1856, of the University of St. Mary of the Lake. In a letter to Damen, dated September 8, 1856, Dillon wrote: "Our good people of this city regret very much your absence from among them. Time only can bring to light how much of good your mission here has effected. If God bless us with perseverance, we are in a fair way of doing well, priests as well as the laity. It is not necessary for me to mention to you that our people here, as I had been always of opinion, are very good." (A).

stock. They were beginning to render to this element a service which Father Weninger had been rendering for some years to the German-speaking Catholics of the country.

The career of Father Arnold Damen as a zealous and enterprising pastor in St. Louis and later as a successful preacher of popular missions has been recorded with some detail in preceding chapters of this work.¹¹ Here will be told the story of his noteworthy activities in Chicago after the midsummer of 1856 when he was the central figure in the series of missionary revivals to which the Catholics of Chicago were summoned at that time. Declaring himself to be gratified with the results achieved on this occasion by Father Damen and his colleagues, Bishop O'Regan took advantage of the father's presence in the city to renew again his invitation to the Jesuits to establish themselves in the metropolis. Damen, having previously obtained the sanction of his superior in St. Louis for the course he now pursued, showed himself disposed to accept the invitation and began at once on his own account to look over the ground to determine a suitable location for a new parish.¹² His preferences were for the West Side, where large numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants were settling down. A few weeks after his return to St. Louis he received a communication from Bishop O'Regan:

I have just now written to Father Provincial and I want you to assist me with him that he may grant the request of establishing a House in Chicago. You know its necessity and the prospects before it and hence I have referred to you as one who can give to the Provincial and others all the requisite information on the subject. May I beg of you to do so? You could not co-operate in a holier work. You would be a most efficient instrument to build up religion in this city and diocese. Land can be had quite near to the locality you wished for, but in a still better place, at a fair price and in large quantities. In one place as much as six acres can be had. By buying all this, you would, in one year, have two entirely free. The increased value caused by your establishment would effect this. This is a positive fact.

I would also request of you not to correspond on this matter with anyone whatever in Chicago, except myself, not even with those, who, in other respects, would be found most trustworthy. Already Catholics whom you

¹¹ *Supra*, Chaps. XX, § 5, XXXIV, § 2.

¹² Father John B. Druyts was superior of the Jesuit vice-province of Missouri during the period 1856-1861. Father Matthew Dillon of the Holy Name parish, Chicago, wrote to Damen, September 8, 1856: "You do not mention what were the prospects of your coming here. I hope the Father Provincial will not—as his Predecessor—be hereafter sorry. But there is one thing he will not have to be sorry for, he never will get the offer to refuse it that Father Murphy did. Oh my, if he knew as much of the place as I do, how greedily he then would have taken the College and Church. This very day, Sir, he would have both places in a flourishing condition. I hope, however, you will come to some other part of the city. If the Father Provincial sent you here, he would not regret it." (A).

regard much are actually speculating on the subject and if they knew you or I had a preference for a particular place, they would soon have it bought up. You will write to me soon again.

I am sorry that I did not merit your thanks better whilst you were in Chicago. I can never sufficiently express my esteem for you and your worthy Fathers.

I would have written sooner to you and to Father Provincial, but I wished to know more about the land.

With kindest regards for Father De Smet and the earnest wish of seeing you soon permanently at work in Chicago where you are most ardently expected, I am, etc.

In a second letter which Bishop O'Regan wrote to Father Damen a few weeks later he declared his inability to lend him on the part of the diocese the financial help he had solicited:

I know I cannot do a better work for religion, for the diocese or for my own soul than by establishing here a house of your Society, and this is the reason I have been so very anxious to effect this. It was on this account as also from my personal regard and affection for your Institute as for many of your Fathers individually, that I so urgently and perseveringly tried to see this good work accomplished.

But, as to resources which it would appear you suppose me to have—I have no such, as I think you must know. You are aware how much we are in debt, and how much must be expended before any revenue can be derived from our churches. We have also to erect a hospital, two Asylums, a House of Refuge and a House of Mercy; we must build School Houses, Priests' Houses, buy lots for churches and build churches. I must also at once provide a cemetery, which will cost at least \$32,000, without any prospect of much revenue in my lifetime. All these wants are known to you and my inability to supply them, or even a small portion of them. How then, very dear Father, can you talk of my leaving property to my successor? If your Society comes here, I will leave them wealth, a spiritual wealth practiced by you and I hope by myself.

What I say to you is this. Let you yourself come here and keeping your mind to yourself buy six acres of land, and this is now to be had in a most convenient place. In about twelve months two or at most three of these acres will pay fully for all—and thus you will have a fine property free.

I beg of you not to think lightly of this. By adopting it you will be able to effect much for religion and for your Order. My thousand dollars will go to make a part of the first payment.¹³

§ 3. THE PARISH OF THE HOLY FAMILY

Bishop O'Regan's invitation to the St. Louis Jesuits to extend the field of their labors to his own episcopal city, then fast becoming an

¹³ (A). Damen's letters to Bishop O'Regan have not been traced.

influential center of Catholicity in the West, came at an opportune moment. In the course of 1856 the vacating by the Jesuits of their Louisville field of work was taken under consideration by Father Druyts, the vice-provincial, and his consultors. Chicago appeared to them a more inviting center for the educational and ministerial activities of the Society than Louisville, which had, in fact, been something of a disappointment. At a meeting of the board held in St. Louis October 1, 1856, two weeks later than the date of Bishop O'Regan's first letter to Damen, it was determined that the consultors should communicate with the Father General, Peter Beckx, explaining the situation in Louisville on the one hand and pointing out on the other the promise of a plentiful spiritual harvest held out by the large and rapidly growing city of Chicago.

A communication from Father Beckx, made under date of October 30 through Father John Etheridge, assistant to the General for the English-speaking provinces, was encouraging:

Father General has received a letter from Father Damen through me on the expediency of our establishing ourselves in Chicago. In reply his Paternity has directed me to confer with you and he has desired me moreover to apprise you of the answer and to beg of you to advise with your Consultors on the subject without delay and to let his Paternity know your judgement upon it and your ability to find men and means for undertaking the work. If you can undertake it without incurring debt and without trenching on the full formation of Ours in Noviceship, Studies and Tertianship, his Paternity thinks that it may be an enterprise worthy of our zeal and perfectly conformable to our Institute; but before deciding he would wish to know your opinion and the grounds of it.¹⁴

The contents of Etheridge's letter were laid by Father Druyts before his consultors on December 1. To the General's inquiry whether men and means were available for the contemplated residence in Chicago, it was agreed to return an answer to the effect that two fathers could be spared for the work in July, 1857, and that the necessary money could be raised by popular subscription. If money could not be found by this means, then the residence was not to be attempted. Father Druyts, having acquainted Father Beckx with the view of his consultors, was answered by the General in January, 1857: "I am pleased with your Reverence's proposition and I grant you the permission which you ask of me in your letter of December 2, namely that of sending some one to the city of Chicago to find out whether the citizens will furnish the needed alms and other means for establishing there a church and residence. I feel with your Reverence that we can be of great service in

¹⁴ Etheridge to Druyts, October 30, 1856. (A).

promoting the Catholic faith in that central city which seems to be ever on the increase.”¹⁵ The Father General subsequently authorized Druyts to close the Jesuit residence in Louisville, if he saw fit, and at the same time open a house in Chicago. “I grant your Reverence permission to buy ground in Chicago on which to build, provided that such step be opportune and in keeping with the ministry of our Society. The conditions laid down in your Reverence’s letter are to be attended to, namely: first, that no debt be contracted with outsiders; and secondly, that the Vice-Province is to advance all the money for the purchase of the property at an annual interest of 10 per cent; and thirdly, that the church is to be built with the alms of the faithful and in size and interior finish is to be in keeping with the amount of said alms.”

Even before this letter from Father Beckx had reached St. Louis, Damen, in accordance with the General’s previous concession, had been sent to Chicago to determine how far, if at all, his order could rely upon financial aid from the Catholics of the city. It did not take him long to arrive at the conclusion that he would not have to stand alone in the enterprise he had taken in hand; he could count on ready and adequate assistance from the people to whose spiritual welfare he was to lend his services. While in Chicago he was joined for eight days by Father Druyts, the two together making diligent search for a satisfactory location for the proposed church. Damen wrote March 10, 1857, to Druyts:

The answer from Philadelphia has come about the Bull’s head property. They will sell at \$600 a lot, which would make a total of \$24,600 [*sic*] for the 44 lots. The acre which is in litigation cannot be settled yet. With this acre included, there would be 52 lots, and this would make a total of \$31,400 [*sic*]. Of this \$2,500 would be paid by two Protestant gentlemen towards the improvement. I went out this afternoon and made inquiries about the number of Catholic families in the neighborhood and I could not find a dozen around the place. I therefore concluded that the place should be rejected as one that would not pay us for the sacrifices we have to make. Should your Reverence think differently, telegraph (*buy the Bull’s head*). Bishop still continues recommending this place and says that we will regret it; but I cannot believe that, informed as I am at present about the few Catholics in that vicinity. Moreover, here we would have to put up \$10,000 improvements the first year; that is a part of the bargain.¹⁶

Now I have accepted the Southwest Side, three acres at \$5,500 an acre,

¹⁵ The population of Chicago increased during the decade 1850-1860 from 29,963 to 112,172.

¹⁶ The Bull’s Head was a tavern at the southeast corner of Madison Street and Ogden Avenue, where the Washingtonian Home stood in later years. It was built in 1848 by Matthew Laffin and owed its name to the neighboring cattleyards, the first to be opened in Chicago.

that is thirty-two lots. Here we will have a large Catholic population at once, sufficient to fill a large church. We can put up a frame church, which will answer the purpose till all the land is paid off. Then it will answer for a school, and the rest of the land, which we can sell, will help us to build the college and the new church. In my opinion, it is decidedly the only place we can take here.

I will leave here on Thursday, the 12th inst. Should you not approve of this, telegraph to Mr. B. J. Caulfield (*do not buy*). However, should you not be willing to take this, I am willing to take it on the responsibility of the Sodality investing Jane Graham's donation in this.¹⁷

Having thus determined on a site for his new church, Father Damen returned to St. Louis whence he soon advised Bishop O'Regan that the business just concluded by him in Chicago had received the indorsement of his superior. Further plans for the expansion of the Church in Chicago were now communicated by the Bishop to Father Damen:

I have received your note with the agreeable news that Father Druyts has confirmed your acts in Chicago. I have given thanks to God for this great blessing and I pray that He may always aid with His abundant graces the holy work. I would strongly impress on you to come as soon as possible after Easter to collect and commence the work. This can now be more effectually done, because the Sisters of Mercy have given up the project of building a Hospital. Moreover, some one else might be walking over your ground unless you come in good time. I would at once define your Parish, announce it, and you would attend the sick calls from my house and have the emoluments and a better claim in collecting.

I have now another trouble to give you. It is this: I want to bring the Ladies of the Sacred Heart or some of them to Chicago and I want this to be done this summer. I will give all the patronage in my power, and this is the only aid I can give. But at present this patronage is money or worth it. It stands thus:

The Sisters of Mercy are to give up their Boarding School this summer and to convert that house into a hospital. They now have 46 boarders—it may be more. All these would at once pass into the school of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, with many others, I am sure. In order to receive them

¹⁷ Jane Brent Graham was a daughter of Major Richard Graham and Catherine Mullanphy, the latter a daughter of John Mullanphy, millionaire and distinguished philanthropist of St. Louis in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The donation referred to was a piece of St. Louis real-estate placed by Miss Graham at Father Damen's disposal. "Another one-time Democratic leader was B[ernard] J. Caulfield. He aspired to no office until near the end of his life, when he was tempted to run for Congress. He did so, was elected and acquitted himself creditably—unhappily he became involved financially and was obliged to leave Chicago—and sad to say, died, I may say in poverty, in Dakota." W. J. Onahan in Illinois Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1906, p. 80. Caulfield was Damen's confidential adviser in money matters.

it would be necessary to have a house built and completed at farthest on the middle of next September. This can be easily done by a community able to raise money, as I am sure The Sacred Heart can. I consider all this as a happy coincidence and as the voice of God calling to us at one time the Jesuits and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart.

Do, Dear Father and Friend, complete the good work you have begun. Use all your influence to have this effected. Now is the fitting time. Property can be conveniently had not far from your church. In three months, a house can be finished, and when opened, it will be filled. It will be a transfer from one house here into another.

I write this day to Madame Galway and, through God and his Virgin Mother, I implore success for this good and holy project. I depend very much on you. Write soon and work hard for the Sacred Heart's sake.¹⁸

On April 9, 1857, Father Druyts acquainted the Father General with the proposed purchase in Chicago, which at this time had not been definitely closed. The revenues of Chicago churches ranged from three to six thousand dollars a year. The eighteen thousand dollars offered for the property could be paid off in four years. "Property-owners, seeing the way the city is growing, are every day becoming more exacting." Hence it was impossible to await the General's explicit approval of the purchase. "We promise again not to contract debts." The money was to be advanced by the vice-province with interest at 10%, which was a common interest-rate at the period.¹⁹

The property which Father Damen had finally selected as a location for his church lay a block west of the intersection of Twelfth Street with Hoosier, or, as it was subsequently called, Blue Island Avenue. It consisted of thirty-two lots, making up the entire block between Twelfth, May, Eleventh and Austin (Aberdeen) Streets. N. P. Iglehart and Co., a local real estate firm, were the agents for the property,

¹⁸ O'Regan to Damen, March 21, 1857. (A). Mother Galwey with ten other Religious of the Sacred Heart arrived in Chicago in August, 1858, at the invitation of Bishop O'Regan and subsequently of Bishop Duggan. The community resided first on Wabash Avenue and later at the corner of Rush and Illinois Streets, where they conducted a school for girls. Mother Galwey, having acquired twelve acres on Taylor Street on the West Side, within the limits of the new Jesuit parish of the Holy Family, built there a convent, which was first occupied by the nuns on August 20, 1860. In the fall of the same year the frame building on the North Side formerly occupied by the nuns was moved to the northwest corner of Taylor and Lytle Streets and in it was opened a "free school" for the girls of the Holy Family parish. In 1864 Mother Galwey enlarged the convent-building, establishing in it an academy and boarding-school for girls. In 1866 a brick building with capacity for 1,000 children was erected for the "free" or parochial school at the corner of Taylor and Lytle Streets. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 3: 774.

¹⁹ Druyts à Beckx, April 9, 1857. (AA).

which was owned by Mrs. Mary Ann Shays, a widow residing in Hamilton County, Ohio. A preliminary agreement to buy the ground, subject to Caulfield's opinion of the title and to Father Druyts's approval, was signed by Father Damen on March 11, 1857. Twenty-five of the lots were to be paid for at the rate of six hundred dollars each. A warranty deed for the property was executed April 20, 1857, by Mary Ann Shays through N. P. Iglehart, her attorney, in favor of John P. Druyts of St. Louis, for a consideration of seventeen thousand, nine hundred dollars. The money was to be paid in installments for which Druyts gave a series of notes payable in one, two and three years' time, the notes being secured by a mortgage on the property. As a matter of fact, all the notes were taken up and paid by Druyts by September 24, 1857. The circumstances which led to this premature payment of the debt throw an interesting light on the panic of 1857.²⁰

Father De Smet touched on the current financial situation in a letter from St. Louis to John Lesperance, a Jesuit scholastic then pursuing theological studies at Namur in Belgium:

The money crisis in the United States is awful. The banks of New York started the ball and it rolled with lightning speed all over the Union—from every quarter it is now rolled back again to the great metropolis of the East, and daily we hear of nothing but failures and suspensions of banks and of commercial houses. In St. Louis six banks have suspended—Waterman & Co., failed; the Iron Mountain Company, Chouteau, Harrison & Valle suspended and placed 900 workmen out of employ. Lucas & Co. have acted

²⁰ N. P. Iglehart, like many others, felt the pinch of the money stringency and was in consequence ready to deal liberally with such of his creditors as could offer him cash. "I explained to Mr. Damen," he wrote to Father Druyts September 15, 1857, "that I would deduct a very liberal sum, if you would place me in funds at once. My object was two-fold—I desired the money and I was also anxious that you or your institution should reap the benefit." On September 16 Damen wrote to Druyts: "The very lowest that Iglehart will take on the two remaining notes is a deduction of \$3,000. The notes are, I believe, \$9,700; he is willing to take for them six thousand, seven hundred and some odd dollars; he makes a net deduction of \$3,000. I consulted Mr. Caulfield and he told me to accept of it at once; if you delay, he may be over his difficulties in money matters and he will no longer offer it. Send the money to me for Iglehart, for it is necessary that I should get the notes and the mortgage, which Iglehart holds on the property, before I pay him the money. I am so extremely busy that I hardly know what to do first." Iglehart wrote again to Father Druyts September 22, instructing him to pay the net sum due on the notes, \$6,122. to J. H. Lucas & Company, bankers of St. Louis. "You have a good bargain, and as it is in a good cause, I trust it will be of general benefit." Father Druyts paid the outstanding notes on September 24. On October 6 following, the banking house of J. H. Lucas & Company suspended payment in consequence of the financial crisis. William T. Sherman, the future General, was a partner in the Lucas bank, the fate of which in the panic of 1857 is related by him in his *Memoirs*, 1: 134 *et seq.*

most nobly—arrangements are being taken for the immediate issue of certified checks for all the deposits of this community in the banking house. And these checks will bear interest at the rate of ten per cent per annum, from date until paid. And not only so, but these checks will be secured by a mortgage on millions of dollars of real estate in the city of St. Louis. This is a bold move on the part of Mr. Lucas. It entitles him to the admiration of the country and he will receive it. His certified checks, bearing ten per cent and secured, as he with his princely fortune of four millions can, will be hailed as better than gold and even by the suffering, and they will be as current in paying debts as the bills of the Bank of the State of Missouri. What other banker will imitate this noble example? ²¹

It was in the midst of this general financial stress that Father Damen took up his work in Chicago. The lack of money, business and commercial depression, the growing number of the unemployed and a general air of restlessness and discontent on all hands were so many circumstances to render the task of collecting funds for a new church an appalling one for even the stoutest heart. Yet Damen attempted the task and succeeded. By the end of May, 1857, the subscriptions amounted to thirty thousand dollars. "I get along pretty well," he wrote in September to Druyt, "and people are astonished that I can get money at all." In October he wrote again to the vice-provincial:

Swift, you are aware, has suspended business, most people say that he is broken. Almost all the Catholics deposited with him and lose considerably by him. This works against us. Two days before he closed I drew out \$1,000 and left with him \$207. However, I will get it all. The man who delivers stone to our building has to pay him \$2,800, and he has taken my check on Swift, to which Swift has agreed, so that I lose only the interest. We find it next to impossible to collect money at present. The people are all afraid in consequence of the many failures all over the country. Still, up to this time Chicago has kept up better than St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. There have been less failures here than elsewhere.²²

²¹ De Smet to Lesperance, October 13, 1857. (A).

²² "The year 1857 was one of widespread business disaster. One of those periodical business convulsions had swept over the land. Following the unexpected failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, a panic occurred in the great Eastern money centers, so general as to completely destroy for the time all business confidence. The sudden and forced liquidation of all debts which followed so lessened values that insolvency became the rule rather than the exception among business men. Trade at the close of the year was completely paralyzed and the new year showed more business wrecks than any five years before. Chicago could not and did not come out of the storm unscathed. The sudden withdrawal of all orders for the purchase of her grain and other products of export on which the stability of her trade was built and the great depreciation of all state securities on which rested the solvency of the Illinois banks, brought many of her citizens

Meanwhile much had been accomplished towards organizing what was to be the third Catholic parish on the West Side, St. Patrick's having existed since 1846 and St. Francis's for the Germans since 1852. The March of 1857 had seen Father Damen make definite choice of a site for the imposing church edifice which he planned to build. On May 4 following, he arrived in Chicago from St. Louis in company with Father Charles Truysens to take the work definitely in hand. He carried with him a memorandum of instructions from Father Druyts, which bespeak the high religious purpose that actuated the promoters of this apostolic venture: "Remember why we go to Chicago, viz. A.M.D.G.—the good of religion, the good of souls. Let us then have the best of intentions and often renew them."²³ Father Damen lost no time on his arrival in giving out contracts for the erection of a temporary frame church, a two-story structure, twenty by forty-eight, with "a neat balcony erected in front of first-story," to be delivered on or before July 15, 1857. On July 12 the church was solemnly blessed under the title of the Holy Family by Bishop Duggan, Coadjutor-bishop of St. Louis. Circumstances had brought it about that Bishop O'Regan, to whose efforts were primarily due the establishment of the Jesuits in Chicago, was not to preside at the dedication of their temporary church. At the dedicatory services the sermon, an eloquent one, was preached by Bishop Duggan. Meantime Bishop O'Regan had gone or was about to go to Rome to lay his resignation before the Holy See.

The throng of worshippers soon taxed the little house of worship beyond capacity so that an addition was made to it in August, followed by a second addition in the course of 1858. The first Church of the Holy Family stood at the southeast corner of Eleventh and May Streets. On Sunday, August 23, 1857, feast of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, took place, with the Bishop, his clergy and a great concourse of the laity in attendance, the laying of the corner-stone of the spacious and permanent edifice of brick. The *Daily Times* in announcing the event said: "The Reverend gentlemen who have undertaken this enterprise propose to spend \$100,000 on the erection of a temple of worship which will surpass in size any other in Chicago, which sum must be raised principally among themselves and also, it is understood, to found a collegiate institution with funds of their own, which it is anticipated will eventually rival that of Georgetown, District of Columbia."²⁴

to sudden ruin and forced several of her banks into liquidation." Andreas, *History of Chicago*, 1: 572.

²³ Druyts's instruction to Damen directed the latter "to conclude no contract without consulting Mr. B. J. Caulfield." (A).

²⁴ Both college and church entered into Damen's original plan as disclosed by him on his arrival in Chicago. "We learn that the Order of Jesuits have resolved

Damen's first letter from Chicago to the Father General, written in the vernacular about August, 1858, tells the story of his initial experiences in that city:

It is now about a year since we have opened a church in Chicago. As it is altogether a new establishment commenced principally at my suggestion, I think it my duty to give your Paternity an account of our doings here.

We have built at first a small wooden church destined to be used afterwards as a school for the poor; but the crowds of people that came to it was so great that we were obliged to enlarge it two different times and even now it is crowded to excess. We suppose that it contains at present about two thousand persons; but we have four Masses every Sunday. One of the Fathers says two Masses every Sunday for the accommodation of the people, which is quite an ordinary thing in this country where there is such a want of priests. The people of our congregation are almost all very poor, yet are willing to assist us as far as they are able to build the new church. They have given us the greatest consolation by the fruit which they have derived from our instructions and exertions for their spiritual welfare; in truth we never anticipated to reap so rich a harvest in so short a time. Before we came here many of these people did not go to Mass on Sundays, few of them attended the sacraments, most of them had not been to their Easter duties for years! Intemperance, cursing and other vices were exceedingly common among them, chiefly on Sundays. Now these vices have been almost entirely done away with and there reigns among them a fervor and devotion that are truly consoling and edifying. Quite a number of them assist at the holy sacrifice of the Mass every day and the confessionals are crowded every Saturday, Sunday and feast-day. Since we have been here we have had about 30,000 confessions and communions. Almost 300 or 400 have been prepared for their first holy communion and two hundred and fifty-eight have received confirmation. Our Sunday-school is frequented by 400 to 500 children. We have also commenced two day-schools for the poor. About 300 to 400 frequent these schools taught by secular lay-teachers, to whom we have to pay a small salary. On the whole our anticipations have been more than realized. We have built a wooden house which contains twelve rooms sufficient to accommodate five or six fathers and two or three brothers. The house is very convenient and neat. The wooden church, house and school-houses with furniture cost about eight thousand dollars or forty thousand francs. We have also commenced the new church, which is now about twenty-five feet above ground and in two months will be ready to be roofed in. The church when finished will be one of the largest and most beautiful of the United States. Our Society has certainly nothing like it in the United States. It will be two hundred and twenty feet long, seventy feet wide, and in the transepts (for it is cruciform) one hundred and twenty-seven feet

to establish a Church, College and Free School in this city on a scale of magnitude equal to any of the same character in the United States. The college building will probably cost about \$100,000." *Chicago Daily Journal*, May 19, 1857.

wide. Its style will be pure Gothic. The basement will give school rooms, large enough to accommodate 1500 children. The basement is stone, the superstructure brick with cut-stone trimmings. Thus far I have made no debts and have paid out since we are in Chicago over \$25,000. We have still a little trifle of money in the bank, perhaps one or two hundred dollars. Several persons have given me as a donation to the building of the church real-estate or lands in St. Louis and Chicago amounting in value to \$20,000; but at present there is no money in the country, so that it is impossible to sell land except at a great sacrifice. These lands of which I have the deeds or rather of which the Provincial has the deeds will be worth \$30,000 in two or three years of this time. Moreover, there is due to me on the church some \$30,000 [in] subscriptions, for which I have negotiable notes and which I could collect by law; but of course, I have no idea of doing anything of the kind, as these people are very willing to pay, but they cannot at present, for America has never seen as difficult and severe a time as the present. When I signed the contracts for the completion of the church, I had no idea that times would turn out as they have done. I was confident that I would be able to meet all the payments demanded; but times have turned out in such a manner that we foresee nothing but misery and poverty. Last winter we have been enabled with proper exertions to relieve about 3000 persons or families. This winter the poverty will be greater and we must be prepared to relieve a greater number of poor people.²⁵

Meantime Damen was reporting at intervals to his superior in St. Louis, Father Druyts, the experiences he underwent as he was engaged in the task of bringing to completion the great church he had begun. Extracts from his correspondence follow:

May 27, 1858. From the above you see Mr. Miller's charges, which I think very high; the Chicago architects charge only one half of that for a large building as ours is to be. You will know, dear Father, how to exercise your own judgement in the affair. I have seen nothing yet of Mr. Miller. If you think that Brother Dohan or Brother Heilers could see the things well executed, you would do well to send either one or the other by the first of July. The house is getting ready for plastering and no money yet. It is too bad.

June 6, 1858. You are no doubt astonished that I have not written to you before this; but I have been so busy getting up the May Festival, etc., etc. The fathers here had hardly done anything towards it, and yet with all my exertions it will hardly bring \$600. There is no money in Chicago. I regret I signed any contracts; but it is too late now. We have to go on, and I think it providential that we signed the contract so thoughtlessly for never could we build the church so low as we get it for; we must only exert ourselves and rely on Providence. It will be necessary to sell the lot of Mrs. Hunt and borrow some money or sell Jane Graham's property; I

²⁵ Damen to Beckx, August, 1858. (AA).

will have money enough till the end of July, but then I must necessarily get some. I have borrowed a thousand dollars here at ten per cent per annum payable in five years from date on the property which has been given to me here. Last Monday week we had confirmation in our church. Two hundred and fifty persons were confirmed. We had about one thousand communions in the morning or perhaps more. Our congregation is really doing wonders; it fills us with consolation.

June 16, 1858. Please send me the remainder of the money of the festival as soon as possible, for I have to make a great many payments. If you cannot get any more than \$1,200 for Mrs. Hunt's lot, it is better to sell it for that, because I will be awfully pushed for money; but we must trust in divine Providence.²⁶ We have prayed so much and as it is for God's greater glory, I feel confident that God will help us. We have just opened our free schools. We have already 200 children and they are pouring in fast. The boys' free school costs us nothing except the board of Mr. Seaman (the converted Episcopalian minister). He does remarkably well, keeps excellent order, is sacristan, etc., etc. He is willing and humble. What he gets from the school is to go towards the payment of his debts. If you could effect a loan of seven thousand dollars, I could roof the church this year. Then we could do all the rest ourselves by degrees and pay off that debt slowly. Now, my dear Father, what is a debt of seven thousand dollars on such a church, chiefly, when there is twice the amount of property to pay that debt; it seems to me you ought to see that. I feel confident that the Archbishop would let you have that amount if you were to ask him.²⁷

July 19, 1858. Now, dear Father, try to act cleverly for Chicago. Give me \$6,000 for Jane Graham's property and I will never ask you again for a cent for Chicago. Had I \$6,000 I could make all payments and put the roof on the church; and after all what would be a debt of \$6,000 on a church like this, chiefly when there is no prospect of times getting better till we have a good crop.

²⁶ Ann Lucas Hunt (born Sept. 23, 1796, died April 13, 1879) was the only daughter of Judge Jean Baptiste Lucas, a St. Louisan from the province of Normandy in France. Her brother, James H. Lucas, reputed St. Louis's wealthiest citizen in his day, was the leading banker of the city in the fifties. She married Captain Theodore Hunt, U.S.N., and after his decease, a cousin of his, Wilson Hunt, associated with John Jacob Astor in the northwestern fur-trade and a leading figure in Washington Irving's *Astoria*. The Lucas family held at one time a tract of St. Louis real estate (Lucas Addition) which included almost the entire "down-town" district of St. Louis. Mrs. Hunt's gifts to St. Louis charities were considerable. She wrote her *Memoirs*, a contribution to the pioneer history of St. Louis.

²⁷ A fair for "the completion of the Church of the Holy Family" had been held before this in Metropolitan Hall, December 28-31, 1857, the "managers" being P. Conley, B. J. Caulfield, Capt. Gleeson, M. A. Rorke, R. T. Blackburn, Henry J. Green, Robert Bremner, Michael Kehoe, Henry McCauley, A. B. Taylor, Philip Carlin, Charles O'Connor, Medard Ward, Charles McDonell, Thomas Lonergan. Chicago *Daily Times*, December 30, 1857.

I have been anxiously looking for Brother Hutten. Brother Heiler[s] cannot do by himself the work which is now to be done at the church, raising of joists, beams, etc. Moreover, we have money enough to make a great many things for the church and to keep both brothers busy. If the people see that nothing is done at the church, it will be impossible for me to make collections.²⁸

May 20, 1859. We had a visit yesterday from Bishop Duggan accompanied by Archbishop Purcell. Bishop Duggan told me that he had begged you to make a loan of \$10,000 to finish the church, but in vain. You remember that when I was in St. Louis, I wanted to sell Jane Graham's donation for \$7,000.²⁹ You said it would be too great a sacrifice. Now, Reverend dear Father, I beg you to take this property for the Vice-Province. Give me the \$7,000 and I will finish the interior of the church this year. What we lose on the sale of the property, we gain on the cheapness of the material and the labor by doing it this year. Things are rising in Chicago, and probably next year it will cost us one-third more to do the same work. The increased revenues of the church should also urge you on to this as well as the greater good we would do by giving accommodation to more people; for I am truly astonished that so many Protestants come on Sunday nights to the lecture in spite of the crushing of the crowds. I am sure you will be glad to hear that I have paid the July payment of \$1,690.72 to the stone-company; by paying it now, I got \$23.74 discount, that is, one per cent a month. The floor of the church has been raised. In a week hence they will take out of the wall the cracks under the transept windows. When will Brother Hutten be here? We want him badly.

Please let me know whether you will accept the property for \$7,000, because then I can give out the contract for the plastering. Do say yes for the love of God and the B.V.M. [Blessed Virgin Mary].

May 24, 1859. I am working day and night in order to pay off the \$5,000 which is to be paid here this summer, and you know well enough that this is no trifle in these hard times. We think it better to make a sacrifice and have the church finished and do more good and secure a larger revenue than to leave the church unfinished. I have already bought 22,000 feet of lumber and paid for it, because lumber is rising in price. The architect is preparing things, and in a few days I will give out the contract for plastering; for we have no time to lose if we wish to have it done before the cold weather sets in.

Our congregation is doing wonders. We have the exercises of the month of May at eight o'clock in the morning and the church is full; we have them again at 7:30 o'clock at night for those who cannot come in the morning, and the church and school-rooms are overflowing. On Sundays hundreds of people are obliged to go away, not being able to get into the church or schools. Fainting takes place often in the church, although all the windows

²⁸ The services of the Jesuit lay brothers, which were contributed gratis, represented a considerable saving of expense in the construction of the church.

²⁹ *Supra*, note 17.

are open. Our collection last Sunday was \$35.00, the largest we have had on an ordinary Sunday since we are here.

We concluded [the] month of May last night. Perhaps a thousand people had to go away, could not get into the church. It seems as if the whole city was pouring to us, crowds from all sides procession-like.

Yesterday I gave a dinner to the Bishop [Duggan] as Bishop of the Diocese. All the clergy were invited with his Lordship. It was a grand affair. After dinner I and Father Halpin walked with him in the new church, which he admired very much, and he pressed me very much to borrow the money to finish the interior.³⁰

June 15, 1859. Every week we look for Brother Hutten. Brother Heiler[s] says he will believe that he is coming when he sees him; for I have been speaking about it so long that they, our folks here, have turned unbelievers. Brother Heiler requested me to say that he should bring his tools along, for it would be a terrible item to buy him a chest of tools; two men already are working with Brother Heiler's tools.

We have a strange summer, cold, raining and thunder. Our lightning-rod has been struck two or three times.

Father Damen's correspondence with his St. Louis superior was always in English; but writing to the Father General he generally made use of French with an occasional letter in the vernacular. In a French communication to Father Beckx dated May 11, 1859, he reviews the outcome of his two years of activities in Chicago:

Convinced as I am that it is always agreeable to your Paternity to receive news from your sons, I have decided to write to you. Our large church is now covered with a slate roof; but we have a debt of 75,000 francs [\$15,000]. Still, we have enough property and more than enough to pay off all that. This property was given to me for the church and I will sell it when times are more favorable. I had intended to sell the half of it for 35,000 francs; but Father Provincial thought that this would be selling at too great a sacrifice, for sometime from now this property will sell at 100,000 francs [\$20,000]. Since we have been in Chicago, which is not yet two years, I have paid out 265,000 francs [\$53,000], of which I begged 190,000 [\$38,000] among the Catholics of this town; the other 75,000 [\$15,000] francs I borrowed from the Vice-Province and this constitutes the debt of which I spoke above and of which I expect to pay one-third in the course of this year. Times continue to be bad here, there being no money in circulation; still I thank God that we have commenced a house in Chicago, for it is truly here that the Society ought to be. This town will become one of the greatest in the United States and the good which it has pleased God to work by our ministry surpasses everything which we dared to promise our-

³⁰ Bishop Duggan, who had been administrator of the diocese of Chicago after the resignation of Bishop O'Regan, received his appointment to the see on January 21, 1859.

selves. Our wooden church is always crowded with people and we are obliged to send them away in great numbers because it cannot contain all. During the sermons there is such a multitude assembled that they are actually on top of one another. Many remain outside not being able to enter, and hear Mass and listen to the sermons through the windows which we leave open. I have seen these poor people standing for hours in the rain and snow. Every Sunday evening we have the exercises of the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the Conversion of Sinners, when I give a sermon on the dogmas of our holy religion. Ordinarily a number of Protestants and non-believers come to assist at the services, but unfortunately many of them now begin to stay away; as they belong to the upper classes they do not like to be crushed in the crowd if they find it possible at all to get into the church. O, my dear Father, you realize how much I regret not having the means of furnishing the large church, which will hold five or six thousand persons. Oh! how many souls we should be able to bring to the true faith and how many others to the practice of virtue and religion. Even now we are engaged in the confessional for a very considerable time, sometimes being kept there until midnight. Easter Saturday we heard confessions until half past one in the morning. During May we had exercises in honor of the Blessed Virgin twice a day, the church being too small to admit all who came to the exercises. In the morning about eight hundred persons, for the most part women, came to mass and the exercises and in the evening as many men to the sermon. We hear confessions every day, not only during this month, but throughout the whole year; besides, we have received several Protestants into the church, among whom were two ministers. And as regards the Catholics of Chicago and particularly those of our congregation or parish, it is truly consoling and admirable [to see] how much they have advanced in virtue and piety since we are here. The Fathers who are with me are in amazement at it and we often speak of it among ourselves.³¹

Father Damen had more than once appealed to the Father General for financial aid towards building the new church, suggesting on one occasion that his Paternity make application on behalf of it to the Association of the Propagation of the Faith. Father De Smet, as pro-

³¹ Damen à Beckx, May 11, 1859. (AA). This seventy-five thousand francs or fifteen thousand dollars was borrowed from the vice-province. "The church which Father Damen is building there is very large and without the tower will cost \$70,000. The Father is endowed with a very great zeal. If God in His goodness spares him to us, he will perhaps find the means of seeing his enterprise through within three or four years. The land on which the church is built cost the Vice-Province more than 15,000 dollars. All the money which I obtained in Belgium has gone into that [purchase] together with the bulk of the available funds of the Vice-Province. Father Damen has engaged to pay the Vice-Province out of the resources of this church 1500 dollars in interest annually for the support of the scholastics. With another Provincial or another Superior in Chicago I am afraid this engagement would be difficult to keep." De Smet à Beckx, January 7, 1858. (AA).

curator of the vice-province, made a similar request to Father Beckx in favor of the new Chicago church. It does not appear that the General found himself in a position to extend the aid thus solicited; Damen had to look to other quarters for a solution of his financial problems. In the end he was to succeed admirably in providing means for the completion of the church.

Early in 1860 contracts were let to Patrick O'Connor for the towers and front wall of the church and to Robert Carse for the stained-glass windows, "work to be equal to that of the windows in St. James' church, North Side." Progress in bringing the great structure forward to completion was now so rapid as to permit of its solemn dedication in the midsummer of 1860. The ceremony took place on Sunday, August 26, feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a day in the Church's calendar dear to the heart of Father Damen, and was carried out with a degree of splendor probably unprecedented in the ecclesiastical history of the Middle West.³² Thirteen members of the hierarchy were in attendance, Bishop Duggan being the officiating prelate; Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, celebrant of the pontifical Mass; and Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, the preacher of the dedication sermon. In the progress of the ceremony sermons were delivered in English by Bishop Carrell of Covington, in German by Bishop Henni of Milwaukee and in French by Bishop de St. Palais of Vincennes. Besides the prelates named there were present in the sanctuary Bishops Smyth of Dubuque, Juncker of Alton, Grace of St. Paul, Whelan of Nashville, Lefevere of Detroit, Luers of Fort Wayne and Timon of Buffalo. Mozart's Twelfth Mass, rendered under the personal direction of Father Maurice Oakley, one of the priests serving the parish, was the musical feature of the occasion. For Damen the day was a memorable one in the tokens of success with which it crowned his labors of the preceding three years. "The Reverend Arnold Damen," wrote in 1866 James W. Sheahan of the *Chicago Times*, "is the Hercules who has in a few years wrought all this work. To his energy, his ability, his sanctity, his perseverance and

³² Damen had all through his life a marked devotion to the Immaculate Heart of Mary; his last spoken words on his death-bed were, "Immaculate Heart of Mary, I offer my life and sufferings." It is significant that he selected the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for both the laying of the cornerstone and the dedication of the Holy Family Church. As to the title of the church, he wrote to Father Beckx January 3, 1860: "The good God and the Holy Family have assisted us admirably. To build such a church in times so hard in regard to money is no trifle. It is the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph who have done it. Please have the kindness to send us the Mass and office of the Holy Family indicating the day when the feast of the Holy Family is celebrated, for our church will be dedicated to the Holy Family." Damen à Beckx, January 3. 1860. (AA).

his great practical intelligence is due not only the erection of this magnificent edifice but the great spiritual success which has crowned the labors of the Society.”³³

The new church of the Holy Family occupied ground on the north side of Twelfth Street (now Roosevelt Road), a short distance east of May Street. It measured originally one hundred and forty-six by eighty-five feet, with a nave sixty-one feet high. Later two transepts were added, increasing the width to one hundred and twenty-five feet, while in 1866 an extension of forty feet was made to the length, making the total length one hundred and eighty-six feet. The architects were Dillenburg and Zucher, while the interior was designed by John Van Osdel. The style was heavy Gothic and the material brick with trimmings of Illinois cut stone. The main altar, designed and constructed by Anthony Bucher, was dedicated in the presence of seven bishops on October 25, 1865. Though of wood, its massive proportions, richness of detail and general impressiveness make of it a notable work of ecclesiastical art. The organ, designed and manufactured by Louis Mitchell of Montreal, was introduced to the congregation in an elaborate musical recital, October 21, 1870.

Several years spent in the management of the parochial or as they were called “free” schools attached to the Church of St. Francis Xavier in St. Louis had made Father Damen very much alive to the supreme importance of this side of parochial service. In Chicago, accordingly, he set himself without delay to organize the “free” schools of the Holy Family parish. On August 11, 1857, only a few months after his arrival in the city, he opened a girls’ school in a rented house. On September 7 the boys’ school was started. In June of the following year three hundred children were in attendance at the two schools, the boys’ classes being taught by Mr. Seaman, a converted Protestant minister. In May, 1859, Father Damen engaged at an annual salary of eight hundred dollars the three sisters, Mary, Sarah and Margaret Ghent “to conduct the choir, play the organ and teach school for females.” In the fall of 1860 the Religious of the Sacred Heart, under the direction of Mother Galway, opened a parochial school for girls in a frame building at the northwest corner of Taylor and Lytle Streets.³⁴ In 1867 a second school for girls was opened in the Holy Family parish on Maxwell Street, immediately west of Jefferson, under the direction of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³⁵

³³ From an album of Chicago views (1830-1866) with letterpress by James W. Sheahan.

³⁴ *Supra*, note 18.

³⁵ Sister Mary Agatha Hurley with eight other members of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary arrived in Chicago August 6,

After the opening of the new church the boys' school was held in the old church until the destruction of that pioneer structure by fire in May, 1864. What looked like a special interposition of Providence marked the event. Both church and residence were in danger from the fire. "In the act of removing the Blessed Sacrament to a more secure place," Father Coosemans informed the General, June 17, 1864, "the minister, Father Niederkorn gave a blessing in the direction of the fire, saying, 'O Lord, save the house!' The prayer of faith was heard on the spot. The wind, which had blown violently in the direction of the church, suddenly changed and the progress of the fire was stopped." The following Sunday Father Damen at a meeting of the parishioners laid before them the project of a school building adequate to the needs of the parish. A canvass of the parish having netted seven thousand dollars in subscriptions, property was purchased on the east side of Morgan Street, between Twelfth and Maxwell, and the corner-stone of a new school-house for the boys, to be of brick and three stories in height, was laid thereon in July, 1864. Opened in January, 1865, the institution became known as the "Brothers' School" from the circumstances that the management of it from its earliest days was in the hands of Father Andrew O'Neill and his brother, Thomas O'Neill, temporal coadjutor of the Society of Jesus. Their connection with the school lasted through a period of thirty-five years.

Not only were schools established for the children of the parish, but various organizations of a spiritual and philanthropic character were, one after another, set on foot. The Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was established in 1857; the Altar Society in the same year; the Married Men's Sodality in 1858; the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (first council in the city) in 1859; the Rosary Society, Married Ladies' Sodality, Young Ladies' Sodality, and Holy Angels Sodality in 1861; the Acolythical Society in 1863; the Apostleship of Prayer in 1864; the Young Men's Sodality in 1866; the Sodality of the Annunciation and the Bona Mors Society in 1868; the Temperance and Benevolent Society in 1869.

On August 22, 1858, Father Damen announced at the High Mass of the day that a meeting of the men of the parish would take place

1867, at the invitation of Father Damen. On August 19 they opened a girls' school in a rented building on Maxwell Street between Jefferson and Clinton, residing meanwhile at 512 Halsted Street until the completion of the brick convent and school of St. Aloysius erected for them by Father Damen on the south side of Maxwell Street between Jefferson and Union. The story of the foundation, growth and educational activities of the sisterhood is told in *In the Early Days: Pages from the Annals of the History of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1833-1837* (St. Louis, 1912).

after Vespers with a view to organizing a "Society of the Holy Family for men." That afternoon about sixty men of all seasons of life, no matrimonial line being drawn, gathered in answer to the call. John Comiskey, at first appointed secretary *pro tem*, was permanently elected to that office while Patrick Brennan was elected first prefect. The original name was retained until June 16, 1859, when a diploma was obtained aggregating the society to the *Prima Primaria* Sodality in Rome under the title, "Sodality of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary for Men," and with St. Joseph as secondary patron. The first directors were Fathers Damen, 1858; Tschieder, 1862; Dominic Niederkorn, 1863; De Blicke, 1864; Dominic Niederkorn, 1866. A division of the body into two sections, as its numbers grew, was found to be necessary and was made on a basis of age; but the arrangement did not prove a happy one, the outcome being that in 1866 the married and unmarried members were organized into separate units, the former constituting the Married Men's Sodality and the latter the Young Men's Sodality. Father John O'Neill became the first director of the Young Men's Sodality on its organization in 1866.

On Saturday, July 26, 1861, feast of St. Anne, a group of married women of the parish, some fifteen in number, were organized by an initial act of consecration into an association called St. Anne's Society or more popularly "the Society." Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs. Dargan held the offices of prefect and assistant prefect respectively in this Society, which was to develop into the Married Ladies' Sodality. St. Anne's Society held its meetings at the "Convent School" on Taylor Street. On September 1, 1875, at the petition of its director, Father Sautois, it was granted a diploma of affiliation to the Roman *Prima Primaria*. St. Anne's Society was thereby transformed into the Married Ladies' Sodality, the place of meeting being at the same time transferred from the "Convent School" to the basement chapel of the church, which lay directly underneath the transepts. Of all the Holy Family parish organizations, the Married Ladies' Sodality developed the largest membership, its numbers running at one time over two thousand.

In every parochial enterprise he put his hand to, from the building of the frame church to the erection of the new church of brick and the interior furnishing of it in becoming dignity and splendor, Father Damen met with generous and open-handed aid from the parishioners. Under the main altar of the church reposes today a parchment record of over a thousand names, being those of "subscribers to the main altar in the church of the Holy Family, Chicago, Illinois, 1865." A day comes when even a bare list of names in a parochial register may take on the dignity of a not inconsequential historical document. So with the early pew-register of the Holy Family parish. Therein are pre-

served the names of most of the laity identified with the pioneer days of the parish. In the list of pew-holders for 1864 appear among others the names of T. Minnard, William Kinsella, William J. Onahan, Michael Kehoe, Stephen McEvoy, Thomas Waldron, Mrs. Starr, Richard C. Dunne, A. D. Taylor, Jeremiah Crowley, Dr. Valanta, Mr. Doran, Joseph Sherwin, John Comiskey, Mrs. Sheridan, Patrick Brennan, Daniel Lordan, Mrs. Beshor, John Brannick, Thomas Scully, John Considine, Mr. Snowhook, Matthew Donohue, James Sullivan and Peter Yore.

To handle the ever-growing numbers that assisted at the services, a corps of ushers was gradually organized. No form of service rendered by the laity to the church was more valuable than this. Among those who lent aid to the pastors in this capacity for greater or less periods of time up to 1871 were Messrs. Walsh, Eustis, Squires, John Garvy, Peter Sullivan, Martin Kennedy, Daniel Lordan, Edwin Rush and Patrick Ponsonby. Of Peter Kennedy who served as special policeman in the church during the period 1867-1903 it is recorded that "he was most conscientious and exact in every detail with regard to anything that would promote the welfare of the church or the finances; was untiring in his care and watchfulness in keeping order among the children and young people in the gallery."³⁶

Though the laity had all along responded freely to Damen's repeated appeals for aid towards financing the church, schools and other parochial projects, he was at no time to find himself entirely free from debt, a situation viewed with much more anxiety two generations ago than it is today. To Father Beckx, who had expressed his concern over the extent of the parish debts, some forty thousand dollars in all, Damen explained in June, 1865, that this was after all not a matter to cause alarm. To offset the debt there was parish property and buildings valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Besides, the gross annual income of the church amounted to eighteen thousand dollars, of which almost seven or eight thousand could be saved every year over and above expenses. In fact, so Damen believed, the financial condition of the Chicago residence was better than that of any other house in the vice-province. At the same time, should he be required to liquidate the church debts he declared himself able to do so within four years. In the same communication in which he sought after this manner to relieve the Father General of the anxiety the latter seemed to entertain over the indebtedness of the Chicago residence, Father Damen touches on conditions both in the parish and in the little Jesuit community over which he presided:

³⁶ Holy Family parish records. St. Ignatius High School, Chicago.

Our congregation is very edifying. Our parishioners practice their religion well. There is considerable piety and they give us a great deal of consolation. Then, too, every week we have some converts from Protestantism. Our congregation is very numerous while our church is too small although good Father Visitor said at the time of his visitation that it was too large. During the last two years almost two thousand houses have been built in our parish.

In general, very Reverend and dear Father, we owe much gratitude to divine Providence for all that it has done for the Chicago Residence. We have been blessed in an extraordinary manner in all our enterprises for the glory of the good God and the salvation of souls. I am amazed at it all and my heart is full of gratitude towards God who has been pleased to employ the services of so miserable a sinner as myself to do all these things in so short a time for the salvation of poor souls redeemed by the blood of His Son. If I had been more faithful to God's grace, more would have been done. This thought fills me with regret and apprehension. As to the community of our Chicago Residence it gets along very nicely. There is a good spirit in it, thanks to the mercy of the good God; all the members are obedient, respectful, full of zeal and exact in their spiritual exercises. Charity is carefully cultivated among them and we are all closely united. All are not as recollected in spirit as they should be; but we are all weak and shall try to do better in the future.³⁷

More than once were the Jesuits appealed to by Bishop Duggan for services outside their routine duties in the Holy Family parish. Towards the close of 1859 he petitioned the vice-provincial to send a father in the rôle of peace-maker to a German parish of Chicago in which disorders had broken out to such an extent that the church was laid under interdict. Not a few of the parishioners were beginning to attend the services of a neighboring Lutheran church. Finding no one else at his disposal, Father Druyts commissioned a novice-priest, probably Father Dominic Niederkorn, to take in hand the unpleasant task. At the same time Bishop Duggan was pleading with Father Druyts to take permanently in charge the German parish of St. Francis of Assisi on the West Side. "He offers us the German church of this quarter with everything that belongs to it and begs us for the glory of God, the good of religion and the salvation of souls not to refuse the offer."³⁸

³⁷ Damen à Beckx, June 27, 1865. "We have had grand doings here—an extraordinary concourse of people such as was never seen before. It seems that the persecution which the Church suffers elsewhere enlivens the faith in our people. On Easter Monday there were over 3,000 Communions distributed in our own church." Coosemans to De Smet, April 16, 1873. Archives of the Belgian Province, S.J.

³⁸ Druyts à Beckx, January 1, 1860. (AA). The first non-resident pastor of St. John the Baptist's parish, Somonauk, De Kalb County, Illinois, was Father Dominic Niederkorn, S.J., of the staff of the Holy Family, Chicago. He visited

Father Druyts agreed to take over this parish of St. Francis of Assisi before May, 1860, provided the Father General interposed no objection. Damen was eager that the arrangement be made and in characteristically ardent manner solicited Father Beckx's approval.

Our good Bishop who entertains towards each of us and towards the whole Society the sentiments of a true friend has offered us a German congregation which he wishes to make a model parish for the whole city. A single German Father or at the most two will be enough for the purpose and these Fathers can live in the same house with ourselves for the German congregation is very close to our own or rather we are right in its midst. So I pray and beseech your Paternity for the love of God, for the salvation of souls and for the honor of the Society to be so good as to write at once to Father Provincial so that he may send a German Father to our house in Chicago for the German portion of our flock.³⁹

Father Beckx declined to sanction this further extension of Jesuit activity into the field of the parochial ministry; nor did it matter, as he wrote, that the Bishop showed himself so eager in his appeal. The Society in the American Middle West was in no position to accede to the repeated demands made upon its zeal; such gratuitous parochial obligations as the one in question were not to be assumed.

§ 4. ST. IGNATIUS COLLEGE

Though the energies of Father Damen during the first decade of his residence in Chicago went almost entirely into the rearing of the great shrine of Catholic worship on West Twelfth Street and the development of the parochial interests that centered about it, the project of a college, announced by him to the Catholic public at his first arrival in the city, was at no time lost sight of. Along the east side of the church property ran Aberdeen Street, which was subsequently closed by city ordinance between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, thus making the church property continuous with the block of ground lying to the east. This block, consisting of some thirty lots, was acquired by Father Damen from various parties, the first lots being purchased as early as 1865. Along the Twelfth Street frontage of this property where at one time had stood a Lutheran church, Father Damen planned to build

Somonauk from Chicago once a month during the period 1865-1869, the first St. John's Church being built under his direction. The church records begin with his ministrations, the first baptism, marriage and burial being entered under his name, all in 1865. The names of the Jesuit fathers A. O'Neil, Damen, Oakley and Van Goch also occur in the Somonauk records. *History of the Parish of St. John the Baptist* (Somonauk, Illinois, 1930).

³⁹ Damen à Beckx, January 3, 1860. (AA).

the college. Circumstances made the time an opportune one for the venture, for in 1866, the University of St. Mary of the Lake, Chicago's pioneer Catholic institution of higher learning, having become financially embarrassed, closed its doors.

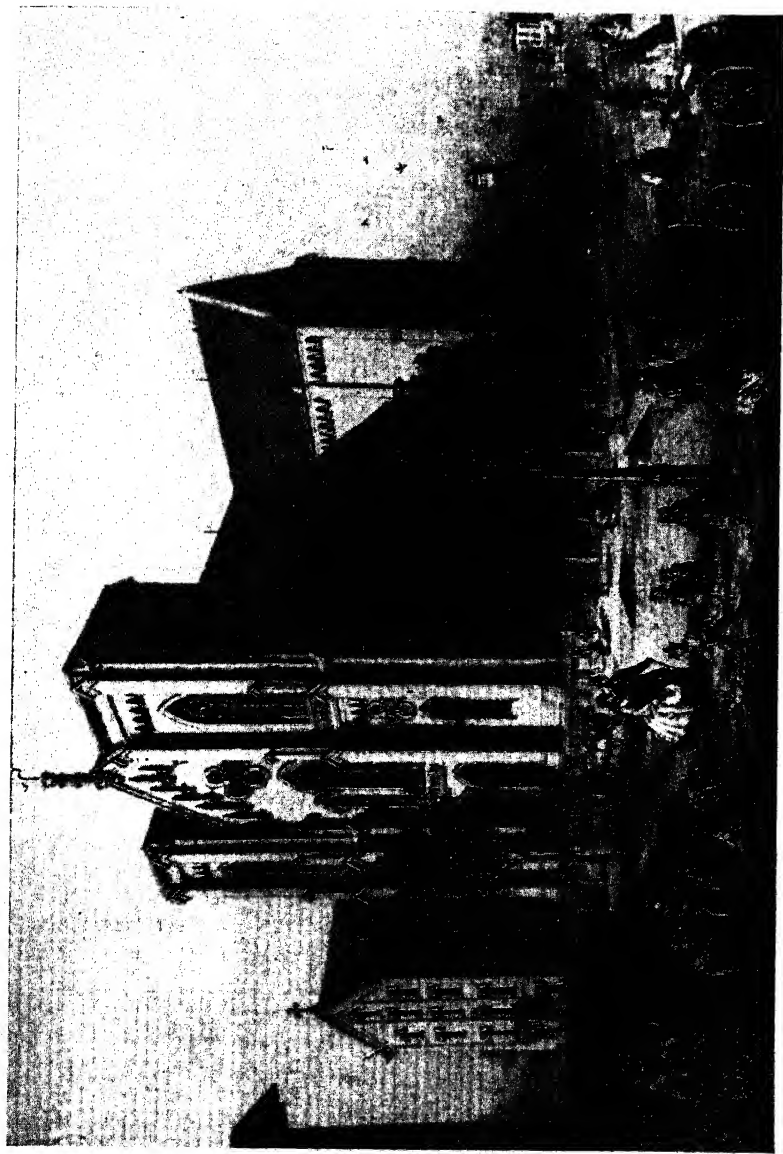
At provincial headquarters in St. Louis Father Damen's project of a Jesuit college in Chicago met with sympathy. "There ought to be a college of the Society in that great city," was the sentiment of the board of consultors at their meeting of November 18, 1862; "for although we cannot just now supply the teachers, still the time seems highly opportune for buying property on which a school-building may some day be erected." The purchase of a piece of property for such purpose was accordingly authorized, provided the Chicago residence was ready to meet the cost. Then followed the purchase of a plot of ground immediately adjoining the church on the east. This first step taken, Father Damen appealed to St. Louis in December, 1866, for permission to build, declaring himself in a position to do so. St. Louis was willing for him to go ahead but the General's mind on the question had first to be ascertained and Father Damen was to beware of any excessive zeal in the collection of funds. Though the approval of the General was readily secured, Damen's own consultors in Chicago were not in favor of starting the college as they judged that conditions in the city were not ripe for the undertaking. Moreover, they did not see their way to finance it except with borrowed money. Though Father Coosemans's advisers were in agreement that the necessary loans should be incurred and work on the college begun, he himself, in view of the attitude of the Chicago consultors, was not in favor of taking the step. The matter stood thus when Father Coosemans was summoned to Rome in the summer of 1867 to give information in the controversy regarding the Bardstown college, leaving his assistant, Father Joseph Keller, in temporary charge of the province. Father Damen, still persisting in his desire to build the college, now appealed to Father Keller to visit Chicago and see for himself the conditions that seemed to make it imperative to take this important work in hand. The acting-provincial, after taking advice of his consultors, did not hesitate to comply with the wishes of Damen, who had found fertile soil on which to let fall his own enthusiastic ideas. Enterprise and vision were not wanting in Father Keller, now in his fortieth year. He had in particular a bold, aggressive way of making provision for the future. He would have built at Bardstown a boarding school on a grand scale, a model institution thoroughly equipped in every respect and capable of housing half a thousand students. At St. Louis he cut the Gordian knot of certain problems that beset the University by suggesting the purchase in the West End of the Grand Avenue property, to which the institution was

subsequently removed. And now in Chicago he fell in with Damen's plans for a college and authorized him to see them through. He wrote to Father Beckx:

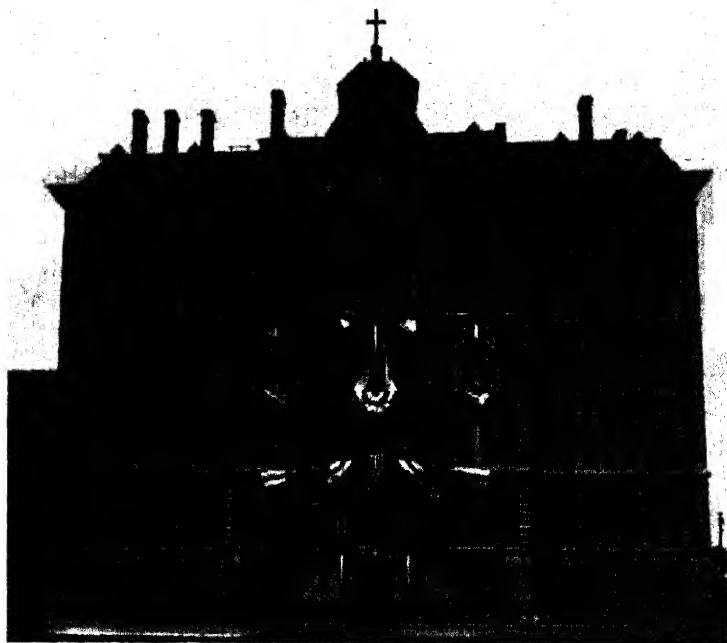
Work has at last been started on the college in Chicago. It was, so I thought, to be done now or never. I shall send your Paternity a photographic plan of the edifice. It is going to be a most noble structure indeed and the cost of it will come high enough. But not to terrify your Paternity by our rashness, I hasten to add that just now we shall put up only a part of the college, nor shall we finish this part on the inside all at once, but by degrees according to the number of students and the funds available. Then after a few years we shall add the remaining parts, the wings, namely, on either side of the central section, until the entire facade as you see it in the photograph is completed, giving a frontage of 160 feet. The interior arrangement of living rooms, class rooms, library, museum, etc. has been carefully sketched out and has met with the approval of all who saw the plans. I went to Chicago myself to urge on the undertaking and marvelled at the achievements of Ours in that great city; a noteworthy and splendid house of worship, such as one would scarcely expect in America; a parochial school for boys with 1600 in attendance; schools for girls, one registering 400, another, nearly the same number, a third, 300, this last group taught gratuitously by nuns. The college is the only thing lacking and this will shortly be supplied. Then will the Society truly flourish in Chicago and there bring forth such fruits as our holy Father, in whose name the new college is to be dedicated, desires and such as he will bless from on high. I truly superabound in joy to see all these things, seeing also greater and better things to come to God's glory and the honor and increase of the Society.⁴⁰

On his return from Rome Father Coosemans was to find the foundations of St. Ignatius College laid and its walls above ground. But further work on the building had become impossible for lack of funds. Money was not to be obtained in Chicago except at ten per cent; but fifty thousand florins (some twenty thousand dollars) could be obtained at four per cent in Holland from a brother of Father James Van Goch, a native of that country. To negotiate the loan, however, would require the presence in Holland of Father Van Goch himself as also of Father Damen, the latter to lend authority to the transaction as superior of the Jesuit residence in Chicago. Both Coosemans and Keller now petitioned the General with earnestness that the two fathers be permitted to make the journey overseas. "I see nothing of greater utility and therefore I urge it," wrote Keller. "The hope of our Province almost depends on it for this college will be a nursery of vocations. From it the novitiate, the other colleges, the missions will derive means wherewith

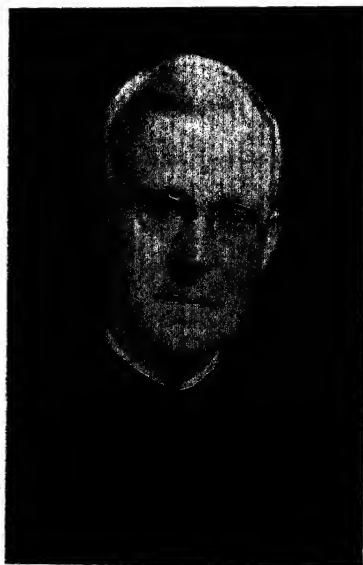
⁴⁰ Keller ad Beckx, September 24, 1867. (AA).



Church of the Holy Family, West Twelfth Street, now Roosevelt Road, as it appeared in 1866. Building at left of church is the pastoral residence and headquarters of Father Damen's missionary staff. From an album of Chicago views with letter-press by James W. Sheahan of the *Chicago Times*.



St. Ignatius College. Building erected, 1869, by Father Damen on West Twelfth Street, Chicago.



Thomas M. Mulkerins, S.J. (1858-1934), coadjutor-brother, sacristan of the Holy Family Church, Chicago, for fifty-one years and its historian.

to promote the glory of God.”⁴¹ And Coosemans was not less insistent. “Your Paternity is not unaware of what importance this college in Chicago will be, not only for the people who have there no institution of this sort ever since the Bishop was obliged to close his own, but also for the Province, for no doubt is entertained that it will furnish many vocations and will be in some way a nursery for the Novitiate. The building has been begun on a large scale to make it possible to compete with the Protestant colleges and the public schools, which are like palaces. It was necessary to do this so as to induce parents to give us the preference; external appearances do much to impress Americans.”⁴² Permission for Fathers Damen and Van Goch to visit Holland in the interest of the new college having been obtained, they sailed from New York, June 11, 1868, returning in the fall of the same year with the expected loan. Reviewing in September, 1869, the circumstances under which the College had been begun, Father Coosemans wrote to Father Beckx:

Conditions for beginning a college at Chicago were very favorable in 1866. The Bishop had then given his permission, which might have been refused afterwards. The affair was referred to your Paternity, who agreed to it and authorized me to give Father Damen approval and permission. I thought with the Chicago consultants that the opportune moment had not arrived. During my absence in Rome the work was taken in hand with the approval of and, from what they tell me, at the instance of Father Keller, who was acting as Vice-Provincial. Father Damen had proposed at first to begin by building only one wing, but Father Keller wished them to build on a larger plan and one more worthy of the Society and to begin with the main section. This entailed a much heavier outlay than Father Damen had anticipated and made it necessary for him to borrow considerable sums. If I had listened to the advice of Father Thomas O’Neil on my return, I would have changed the plans or had work on the building stopped; but after receiving assurances from Father Damen that he saw his way out of the affair with the money they were expecting to obtain from Europe, I gave him permission to go on, the more so as the first story was already built. I have no doubt that with the help of heaven both interest and capital will be paid off in due season provided Father Damen be not taken away.⁴³

That Damen be not taken away was indeed altogether necessary if the projected college was to become a reality. When it became known to Father Coosemans in the course of 1869 that the energetic pastor of Holy Family Church would probably be chosen by the Holy See to succeed Bishop Duggan in the administration of the diocese of Chicago,

⁴¹ Keller ad Beckx, February 16, 1868. (AA).

⁴² Coosemans à Beckx, February 20, 1868. (AA).

⁴³ Coosemans à Beckx, September 5, 1869. (AA).

he hastened to direct the General's attention to the gravity of the situation. No one else with Damen's energy and peculiar fitness for putting the college on its feet was available; his withdrawal from the undertaking would mean nothing less than its collapse. In the event, the Reverend Thomas Foley of Baltimore was named Coadjutor-bishop of Chicago and Damen was allowed to go ahead with the building of the college.

The structural work of the middle section and east wing was completed before the end of 1869 and by the summer of 1870 the building was ready for occupancy. Father Coosemans described it to the General as "grandiose, like all the conceptions of Father Keller."⁴⁴ The building, of brick with stone trimmings, and five stories in height, including basement and spacious exhibition hall, was T shaped, being designed as one main section flanked by two wings. The cost of construction was approximately two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. With two classes of students and a staff of four professors, the college was formally opened in September, 1870. Father Damen's long-cherished dream of an institution of collegiate grade for the Catholic youth of Chicago had become a reality.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Coosemans à Beckx, January 8, 1867. (AA).

⁴⁵ The college was in the second year of its career when the great Chicago fire of October 9, 1871, swept through the city, rendering the Bishop homeless and leaving in its wake of destruction churches and charitable institutions, among them the Catholic orphan asylum at State and Superior Streets. Both Bishop and orphans found hospitality within the walls of the newly erected St. Ignatius College. The story of the Holy Family parish from its origin to recent date has been told with great wealth of detail by Brother Thomas Mulkerins, S.J., in his *The Holy Family Parish, Chicago: Priests and People* (Chicago, 1923).

PART VI

JESUIT GROWTH IN THE MIDDLE WEST:
FROM THE SEVENTIES ON

CHAPTER XXXIX

PROVINCIAL SUPERIORS (1871-1919)

§ 1. FATHER THOMAS O'NEIL, S.J.

It is purposed to sketch here briefly the careers of the provincial superiors of the middlewestern Jesuits for the period 1871-1919, the series beginning with Father Thomas O'Neil and ending with Father Alexander J. Burrowes.

Thomas O'Neil was born in Bally David, County Tipperary, Ireland, January 24, 1822. He came as an immigrant boy of twelve to St. Louis, where after two years spent at St. Louis University he fell into a critical illness. He had planned to follow a business career; now, with his life hanging in the balance, he decided, in case he survived, to become a Jesuit. With health restored he reentered the University, where he spent two additional years and passed thence to the novitiate at Florissant, July 20, 1844. Two years later, having made his first vows as a Jesuit, he was sent with three companions to Rome, there to do philosophy in the Roman College. The revolution of 1848 drove him thence and he completed his studies in philosophy in St. Louis. As instructor and especially as prefect of the students he acquitted himself with success, first in St. Louis and then at Bardstown. In the latter place the students, very many of them from slave-holding families of the South, were a restive and liberty-loving set, not readily submissive to the rigors of college discipline. Mr. O'Neil handled the situation well, showing firmness mingled with prudence and consideration while the student-body gave him on their part respect and confidence. Then followed theology at St. John's College, Fordham, New York, where after three years of study he was ordained to the priesthood in 1857. He finished his theology in St. Louis, where he underwent successfully the so-called examination *ad gradum*, was lecturer on dogmatic theology at the College Farm scholasticate, 1858-1859, and in May, 1859, returned to Bardstown to become rector of the college. He was filling this post when, at the outbreak of the Civil War, St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, held its last commencement, June, 1861, the institution not being thereafter conducted under Jesuit auspices. During the scholastic year 1861-1862 Father O'Neil made his third year of probation at Frederick in Maryland, after which he became rector of

St. Louis University, 1863-1868. He brought the institution safely through the difficult days of the Civil War, which were especially difficult in St. Louis, where sentiment on the burning issues of the period broke along sharp lines of cleavage.

On July 31, 1871, Father O'Neil entered upon the duties of provincial of Missouri in succession to Father Coosemans, who had filled the post for the uncommonly long period of nine years. O'Neil himself was retained in the office for eight years. Notable events in province development marked his administration. To the three colleges, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Chicago, which he found in his jurisdiction in 1871, he added two more, Detroit in 1877, and Omaha in 1878. He was actively interested with other superiors of the Society in the United States in arranging the territorial limits of the newly organized Jesuit Mission of Buffalo. After being relieved at his own request of the duties of provincial, he became successively Visitor of the Mission of New Orleans, 1878, rector of St. Ignatius College, Chicago, 1880-1884, and rector and master of tertians at Florissant, 1889-1894. His last years were spent as spiritual director to the community of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, where on March 2, 1899, he died after a distressing illness courageously borne.

The Society of Jesus makes a diligent and systematic effort by means of confidential inquiries to discover which among its members and in what degree possess what is called a *talentum gubernandi*, a "talent for government." Father O'Neil was evidently thought from the beginning to be well equipped in this regard for he was only in the thirties when he was set at the head of the Bardstown college. Prudence, firmness, knowledge of the Jesuit Constitutions, these traits among others of a competent superior in the Society of Jesus he possessed in large degree. Strangely enough, Father De Smet thought him to be out of sympathy with the Indian missions and on this ground among others protested to the Father General his appointment as provincial. There was probably no valid ground for any such suspicion. As to his fitness for the office, Father Coosemans, writing to the General on the subject June 15, 1870, expressed himself in these terms: "Father O'Neil has not in my opinion all the [necessary] qualities but he is without contradiction, Father Keller alone excepted, the Father of the Province best qualified to govern the Province successfully A.M.D.G." He went through his long tenure of the provincialship with credit to himself and to the Society and expectations in him were not belied.

§ 2. FATHER EDWARD A. HIGGINS, S.J.

On January 1, 1879, Father Edward Higgins was installed in office as vice-provincial of Missouri. His predecessors, Fathers Coosemans

and O'Neil, had borne the title of provincial in keeping with the terms of the Father General's appointment. Apparently Father Higgins's nomination to the headship of the province was in some or other manner tentative or experimental as though the Father General wished to be first assured of his competency for the office before investing him with the title of provincial. This view is borne out by the circumstance that Father O'Neil now became socius or assistant to his successor, an unusual procedure in the Society, which seeks to give its superiors a free hand in the administration of affairs and not embarrass them by associating them in any intimate way with their predecessors in office. But before his first year of office had expired Father Higgins was designated provincial in the official register of the province.

Edward Aloysius Higgins was of Irish origin, having been born in County Carlow, Ireland, December 23, 1838. As a child of ten he came with his parents to America and settled in Louisville, Kentucky. Here Edward became a student in St. Aloysius College, the Jesuit school opened by Father Emig in 1849, going thence to St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, where he spent two years in the boarding department, 1852-1854. He became a novice at Florissant in 1854, went later through the usual round of duties as a scholastic instructor in Cincinnati and St. Louis, studied philosophy and theology in houses of the Maryland Province and was raised to the priesthood by Archbishop Spalding in Baltimore in 1869. From October, 1874, to his appointment as superior of the province he was rector of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. Father Higgins's administration of the affairs of the Society in the Middle West was uneventful and no outstanding or particularly progressive step marked its course, except it be the final stage in the negotiations initiated by his predecessor for the transfer to the Society of Creighton College, Omaha. He was succeeded in office March 4, 1882, by Father Leopold Bushart. Father Higgins was subsequently thrice called upon to govern colleges, St. Xavier, Cincinnati, in 1886, St. Ignatius, Chicago, in 1887, and St. Mary's, Kansas, in 1894. He twice represented the Missouri Province abroad, in a congregation of procurators at Rome in 1886 and in the general congregation of 1892 held in Loyola, Spain. He died in Cincinnati, December 4, 1902, after an illness of four months borne with edifying patience and resignation.

Father Higgins was a man of prepossessing presence and address. A certain palpable reserve in his dealings with others sometimes created the impression that he was undemocratic and aloof; as a matter of fact, no man could have been more genuinely humble. He was a clear and cogent thinker and expressed himself in language that was as clear-cut as it was incisive. In the controversy on the school-question that

engaged the attention of American Catholics in the early nineties he took an active part and his contributions to the subject in dispute, while perhaps at times unnecessarily pungent, were manifestly sincere and never feeble in matter or form.

§ 3. FATHER LEOPOLD BUSHART, S.J.

Hanaix in Belgium saw the birth of Leopold Bushart (Buysschaert) January 27, 1833. He entered the Society in Belgium in 1854 and in 1857, when Father De Smet appeared in that country in the course of one of his European recruiting trips, volunteered for the Indian missions in America and accompanied the missionary on his return journey to St. Louis. But Leopold Bushart was destined never to see service among the Indians; he showed early a talent for administration and was called upon in consequence to carry the burden of one superiorship after another. He was provincial, rector in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Florissant and Milwaukee, and treasurer of the province, while in 1896 he represented the latter in a congregation of procurators in Rome. His tenure of the provincialate covered the period May, 1882-November, 1885. Probably nothing that he accomplished during these years gave him more satisfaction than the purchase he made in 1884 of a summer home for the scholastic instructors of the province, the property so acquired being an island, several acres in extent, in the charming waters of Lake Beulah, Wisconsin, at a distance of some miles west of Milwaukee. It was Father Bushart who turned over to the archdiocese of St. Louis the parishes of Osage and Cole Counties, Missouri, which had been organized by the Jesuits and served by them for nearly half a century.

A Jesuit associate of Father Bushart has written of him:

Father Bushart took the office of Provincial with great reluctance; but this does not mean that the reins of government fell into slack fingers. He was a tireless worker and when he saw a thing ought to be done he went to its doing without giving explanations. He was always the same; a cheerful enthusiasm shone in his countenance all the time; yet he was never elated by success nor moved by failure. Successes and failures were just the same: God's will. He never worried. A consequence of this was that he was often sent by his superiors where some building was going on or large financial transactions were taking place, such as have broken the spirit of really great men among us. Nothing disturbed his equipoise of mind. His judgment seemed just as correct in the midst of turmoil as in the quiet of retreat. He was careful in lowly offices as in high.

Father Bushart died in St. Louis, September 1, 1909.

§ 4. FATHER RUDOLPH J. MEYER, S.J.

Father Rudolph J. Meyer was a native of St. Louis, where he was born November 8, 1841, in the parental home, which stood opposite to what is now the Grand Avenue entrance to Tower Grove Park. At St. Louis University, where he was registered 1852-1858, he showed himself conscientious and studious, serving as many as eight Masses on Christmas Day, as the brother sacristan used afterwards to recall, and carrying off most of the prizes from his classmates. He was entered at Florissant as a novice in 1858 and did philosophy in Boston and Georgetown and theology in the Woodstock scholasticate, where on the completion of his studies he underwent the classic ordeal of the "Grand Act," a defense in public of propositions ranging over the entire field of philosophy and theology. Tertianship was made in Belgium. Then followed professorial duties for a space, after which, in 1879, he received an appointment to the rectorship of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, the beginning of a series of administrative positions which he was to fulfill without interruption to his death. He was rector of St. Louis University, provincial, Visitor of the Mission of California, tertian-master, rector in Milwaukee, assistant to the Father General, Luis Martin, for the English-speaking provinces, and superior of the Buffalo Mission. It was while filling for a second term the office of provincial of Missouri that he died suddenly of an apoplectic stroke at St. Louis University December 1, 1912. A tribute to Father Meyer's memory addressed to all the houses of the Society by the Father General, Francis Xavier Wernz, recalled that "this excellent Father had to a distinguished degree the gift of teaching, preaching and governing, was equipped not less with prudence and experience in affairs and was adorned in manifold ways with the religious virtues."

To Father Meyer the Missouri province was indebted for important steps in its development. Largely through his insistence the scholasticate was revived at St. Louis University in 1889, while the new building on Grand Avenue, in which it was temporarily housed, owed its existence in considerable measure to the active interest he took as provincial in its erection. The delicate business of carrying into effect the General's instructions touching the dismemberment of the Buffalo Mission, which was put into his hands, he discharged with prudence and to the satisfaction of those concerned. The domestic discipline of the Jesuit houses and studies, both in the scholasticate and the colleges, were always the two chief concerns of Father Meyer while the government of the province rested upon his shoulders. He had an ardent love for the Society of which he was a member and a studious and meticulous regard in his own practice for its rules, and these traits he sought to

communicate to those under his authority. As to studies, what he undertook in order to maintain the academic status of the Jesuit middle-western schools at a high level will appear later in this history.

Father Meyer was a man of broad and varied culture, speaking a number of European languages and keenly interested in happenings in the scholastic world. His experience as an educator ranged from a professor's chair and a college dean's desk to the administration as rector of more than one college. His attitude towards departures from the Jesuit traditional program in matters educational was always one of conservatism, sometimes in the opinion of his associates carried to an unnecessary degree. Like Edmund Burke, whose political conservatism was said to be motivated by the fear he had lest in changing even minor appurtenances in the political machinery one might throw the entire delicate mechanism out of gear, Father Meyer conceived of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* in the light of an educational device which had been used to excellent purpose in the past and, having thus justified itself, was not to be tampered with under penalty of impairing its proved effectiveness. The particular service he rendered the province educationally was in organizing and systematizing the study-programs of its schools on a uniform plan, which made an end of the confusion that had in a measure previously obtained.

§ 5. FATHER JOHN P. FRIEDEN, S.J.

John P. Frieden was born November 18, 1844, at Ehnen, a small town in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. His father had been a school-master and made arrangements for his son to adopt the same profession. After a normal-school course in the city of Luxemburg, which included music with a practical knowledge of the organ, but, strangely enough, not Latin and much less Greek, the young pedagogue was put to teaching in a village school, in which employment he spent six years. In 1869 Father De Smet was in Belgium, which is contiguous to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, canvassing as he usually did on his European trips for novices. Young Frieden, having heard of the presence of the famed missionary in the neighborhood and of his call for candidates for the Missouri Province, resolved to answer it. He was received into the Belgian novitiate at Tronchiennes, February 24, 1869. Two months later a fellow student of his at the normal-school, Nicholas Edelfried Schlechter, joined fortunes with him as another recruit for Missouri. In mid-June the two Luxemburgers left Belgium for America in company with Father De Smet, arriving at Florissant, July 8, 1869.

By 1881 John P. Frieden had made acquaintance, as a scholastic instructor in St. Louis University, with the American boy, completed

successfully at Woodstock College the conventional courses of philosophy and theology and received ordination at the hands of Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore. At forty-one he became rector of Detroit College, filling the post some three years and a half, July, 1885, to January, 1889, when he was called to a broader field of action as provincial of Missouri. He entered on office January 27, 1889, and retired from it September 23, 1894. He was subsequently instructor of the tertians at Florissant for two years and from 1896 to 1907 superior of the Mission of California with residence in San Francisco. During his tenure of the latter office occurred the disastrous San Francisco earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906, which utterly destroyed the Jesuit college of St. Ignatius and its majestic church. In 1908 Father Frieden began to fill the post of rector of St. Louis University, which gained notably in material development and prestige under his energetic and enterprising direction. A noteworthy step which he took was the creation of an advisory board of representative citizens of St. Louis, many of them non-Catholics, with the design of enlisting their sympathy and support in promoting the interests of the University. Father Frieden died suddenly December 2, 1911, while making a call in a lawyer's office on business connected with the University. His death evoked admiring tributes from persons of all classes and creeds, for he was, in the best sense of the term, a civic figure.

"He radiated energy and good cheer wherever he went," wrote the editor of the *St. Louis Republic*. "The busy educator was a citizen of a type all too rare. He was in active sympathy with every movement making for a better community life and found time to serve on committees of the Civic League and to speak for the causes which enlisted his support." And a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, Dr. Lichleiter, who had been associated with him in promoting civic projects, penned the lines: "St. Louis should appreciate the fact that Father Frieden developed a great University here. He called to its counsels the ablest men of business and professional skill, regardless of their religious affiliations. He combined as few men have combined the practical skill of the administrator with the insight and passion of the teacher."

§ 6. FATHER THOMAS S. FITZGERALD, S.J.

Father Thomas S. Fitzgerald was Missouri provincial during the period 1894-1899. Born in Ireland March 1, 1848, he emigrated to America with his parents, who settled in Chicago in the widely known Holy Family parish of that city. After some years of study in the boarding-department of St. Louis University he entered the Society of Jesus at Florissant in 1869. Having made philosophy and theology at Wood-

stock College, and the tertianship at Frederick, Maryland, he became superior in 1884 of the newly opened Marquette College, Milwaukee. For a year he directed the short-lived academy opened by the Jesuits in 1888 on the north side of Chicago and passed thence in 1889 to Omaha to become rector of Creighton College. In 1891 he returned to Chicago to take in hand for three years the direction of St. Ignatius College. Then followed his five years in the provincialate, after which he was again in Chicago as temporary head of the college. He went to Rome as Missouri's representative in the congregation of procurators of 1899 and on his return was named pastor of the Church of the Gesu in Milwaukee, which position he filled during the last eleven years of his life. He died December 10, 1910, at the novitiate, Florissant, whither he had retired in the hope of being relieved of a chronic malady which had incapacitated him for his pastoral duties.

Father Fitzgerald achieved a measure of distinction as a preacher and lecturer. His manner was almost studiously restrained and meditative and lacked as a consequence the freedom and spontaneity one is wont to associate with natural eloquence. "But he had a voice," wrote one who had many contacts with him, "of singular sweetness and with much about it of that emotional undertone, that power of suppressed pathos which strangely sets the heart-strings of the hearer vibrating in sympathy; his kindly, winning features lent persuasion to his words while his whole manner, at once sincere, straightforward and scholarly, inspired confidence and riveted attention."

The native kindliness and considerateness which Father Fitzgerald had manifested while presiding over smaller communities he carried with him into the office of provincial. Temperamentally sensitive and apprehensive, he felt with more than ordinary keenness the worries and anxieties that go with administrative positions in religious orders. Yet his delicately strung nature was no bar to the fidelity and success with which he discharged one by one the duties of his important office. It is to his enterprise that St. Louis University owes the structure of red pressed brick on West Pine Boulevard in St. Louis which at present houses the School of Philosophy and Science. He performed twice the visitation of the Mission of British Honduras, first in January, 1894, and a second time in 1898. In visiting the various outlying stations a small frail dory had perforce to be used as the only available means of transportation. Travel in such a craft under a broiling sun over the wind-swept waters of the Caribbean Sea had its inconveniences, not to say, obvious risks. It was also while Father Fitzgerald was provincial that the residence of Washington, Missouri, in the hands of the Jesuits for forty-six years, was transferred to the diocesan clergy.

§ 7. FATHER JOSEPH GRIMMELSMAN, S.J.

Father Grimmelsman was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, March 17, 1853. From the parish school of St. Mary's he passed to St. Xavier College and thence to Florissant, where he became a novice August 9, 1871. He was the first scholastic to belong to the faculty of Detroit College, which began its career in the September of 1877. Philosophy was done at Woodstock in Maryland and theology at Louvain, where after a year's preparation he made the "Grand Act," occupying on the occasion the chair of the illustrious Louvain theologian, Leonard Lessius. In March, 1889, he was called to the rectorship of Marquette College, Milwaukee, and thereafter up to his demise he occupied almost without interruption some or other executive position. He became rector of St. Louis University in 1891, filling the post for six years. In February, 1899, he was named provincial, his tenure of office lasting until December, 1905, when he was appointed rector and master of tertians at Florissant. He became rector of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, in 1908, of Marquette University in 1911, and of St. Stanislaus House of Retreats, Brooklyn, Ohio, in 1915, being also in the last named place master of tertians, a position he had already held at Florissant. He went to Rome in 1910 to represent the province in a congregation of procurators, and again in 1915 to the general congregation which elected Father Ledochowski as General. It was while in attendance at this latter gathering that he suffered a paralytic stroke from which he never afterwards entirely recovered though he managed to continue to discharge the duties of rector in Milwaukee and later at the tertianship in Brooklyn. His death from the paralysis which had made its first onset almost four years before occurred in St. Louis, December 20, 1918.

Father Grimmelsman was tall, erect, pleasant-faced and otherwise of prepossessing appearance. On many counts he seemed a person eminently qualified to make important personal contacts outside the order. Yet for some reason or other he refrained as a general thing from doing so. His intellectual gifts were of a superior order and there was an obvious distinction in his manner of speech and bearing; but for all his social gifts he kept studiously aloof from occasions or movements of a civic or public nature where one would think opportunity could be found to advance in some legitimate way the interests of the Church or of the institutions over which he presided. His attitude in this respect was occasioned perhaps by a certain timidity, of which he showed traces even in intercourse with his own associates of the order, or it may have been due, as has been conjectured, to a skepticism he seemed to entertain as to the ultimate utility for the purposes of a Jesuit of forming or cultivating secular friendships. Though the fact that he was retained in

superiorships nearly his whole life as a Jesuit would indicate that he gave general satisfaction in this capacity, Father Grimmelsman's attitude as an executive was marked by what was sometimes considered to be an undue conservatism. Hardly any forward step of consequence in the development of the Society in the Middle West is associated with his name. He was content to follow the beaten path, leaving it to others to exercise initiative or enterprise if they saw fit to do so. Yet Father Grimmelsman was withal an inspiring figure for years in the Jesuit circles in which he moved. His colleagues could learn from him the meaning and blessings of orderly and conscientious domestic government according to the letter and spirit of the Jesuit rule.

§ 8. FATHER HENRY MOELLER, S.J.

Henry Moeller, born in Covington, Kentucky, January 5, 1847, made his classical studies at St. Xavier's, Cincinnati, which he left to enter the Society at Florissant, February 10, 1867. Higher studies were made at Woodstock College, where he received the priesthood in June, 1880, while the tertianship was discharged at Florissant, 1882-1883, where he simultaneously filled the post of professor of the juniors. In 1884 he was placed at the head of St. Xavier's, Cincinnati, being transferred thence in 1885 to the rectorship of St. Louis University. Relieved of this charge in 1889, he was employed for nine years as one of the province staff of missionary-preachers. His oratorical powers were noteworthy, an engaging presence, a lively manner and an exquisitely modulated voice-contributing to the success he achieved in the ministry of the pulpit. From 1897 to 1905 he was master of tertians at Florissant and for one year, 1904-1905, rector of the novitiate. In 1905 he was called to govern the Missouri Province but held office only until 1907, being at his own earnest request relieved of the responsibility. He then resumed his former duties of tertian master and continued to discharge them until 1915 when failing health made it necessary to relieve him. He died December 20 of that year at the University of Detroit, where he was filling the post of spiritual director of the Jesuit community.

Father Moeller, it has been finely said, was more remarkable for what he was than for what he did. But this is not to say that he failed to acquit himself with credit in most of the practical things he was called upon to do. His work in the pulpit was of a high order of excellence. The spiritual training he was required in the capacity of tertian-master to give to the young fathers showed insight and sympathy and was greatly appreciated by its recipients. As superior, on the other hand, he was diffident and often indecisive, a limitation of temperament that prevented him from scoring any notable success in executive positions; but

the limitation had much of a virtue about it for if he was diffident and indecisive it was self-depreciation that made him so. What indeed made Father Moeller an inspiration to his Jesuit confrères, for he made few contacts with the outside world, was the charm of his personality. The picture of him which follows is from the pen of one who had come to know him in various relations:

He had a distinguishing charm of manner, a marvellous voice, pleasing, flexible, expressive of every emotion from tenderness to terror, a great command of language. It has been remarked that he bore no small resemblance to Newman; something of the same slender yet vigorous frame; of the same light swiftness of carriage, keen, masterful, yet calm, reposeful and with a hint of wistfulness. And the likeness was in his soul too; in his literary gifts though of a much lower order; in his subtle, delicate sympathies at once strong and sensitive; in his unflinching honesty and courage of conviction; in the pathos of his self-tormenting, in his great loneliness even with a host of friends and admirers; above all in his vivid faith and transparent spirituality.

§ 9. FATHER ALEXANDER J. BURROWES, S.J.

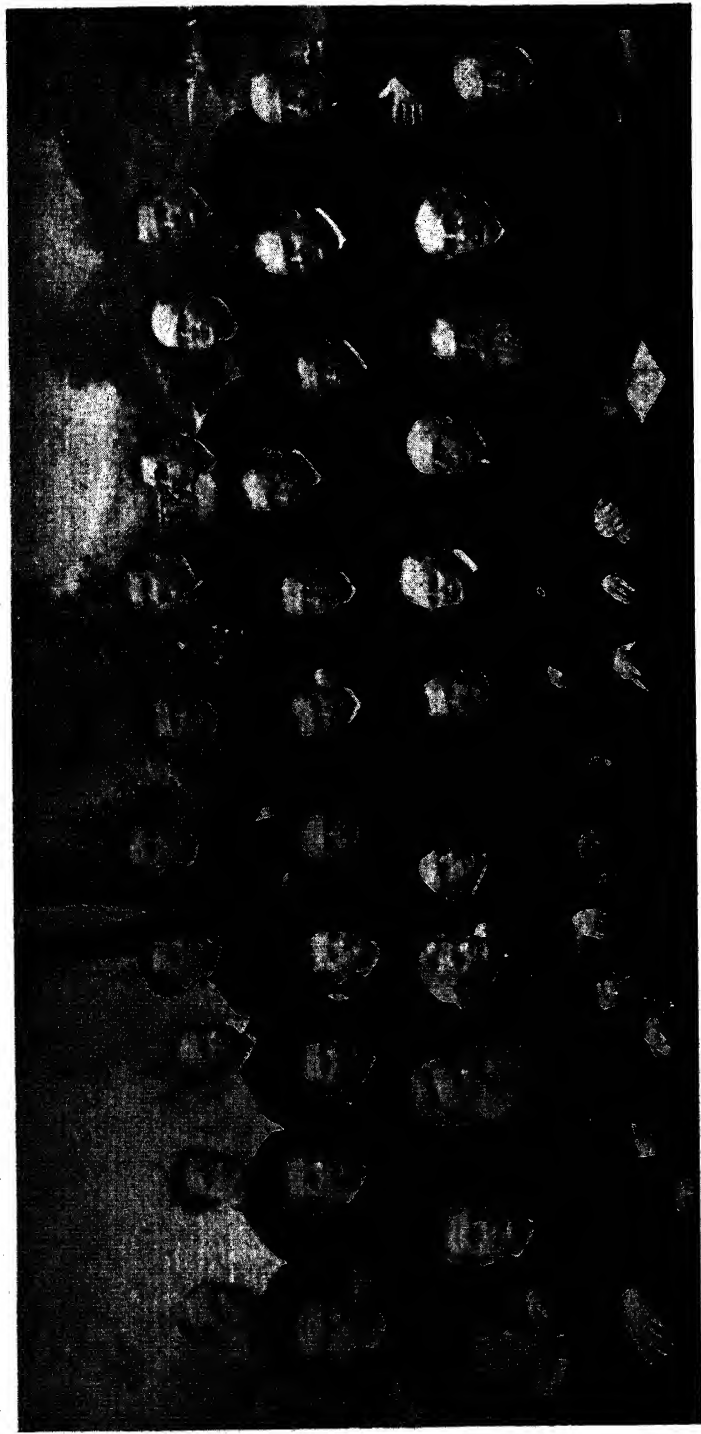
Father Alexander J. Burrowes, like his predecessor in the office of provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer, was a native son of St. Louis. Born in the Missouri metropolis October 14, 1853, he was a student for several years in the local Christian Brothers' College, being the only American-born Missouri provincial who had not attended a Jesuit college before entering the Society. He began his noviceship at Florissant, August 10, 1872, went through the various stages of Jesuit training and formation and from the completion of his divinity studies up to his decease filled almost continuously one position of executive or quasi-executive trust after another. He was minister, socius to the master of novices, four times rector, socius to the provincial, visitor, procurator to Rome and master of tertians. The fierce light that beats upon a throne has in a measure its counterpart in the religious life; yet through all official contacts and community intimacies Father Burrowes wore remarkably well. There was very much in him to inspire confidence and engage affection; transparent simplicity and sincerity of manner, a kindly, patient, tolerant temper, unfailing geniality, a keen sense of humor, a steady, unobtrusive piety. Briefly, it was the combination in him of engagingly human traits with genuine virtue and spirituality that made him through long years so likable a figure among his fellow-Jesuits.

Probably the most significant feature of Missouri Province history during the quarter-century, 1900-1925, was the movement for university expansion. This took especially the direction of superadding pro-

fessional schools to the existing arts departments in the colleges of the province. Father Burrowes was conspicuous as a promoter of the movement. Opportunities to give expression to the university idea came to him when rector at Marquette and he seized them. Medicine was taken on in 1907 and law in 1908. In Chicago, where he became president of St. Ignatius College in 1908, he found a fresh field for the realization of the university idea, introducing law in 1908, medicine in 1909 and engineering in 1911.

Father Burrowes's administration as provincial overlapped the World War. In April, 1917, the United States was swept into the conflict. The Catholic hierarchy of the country having already pledged its sympathies and support to the government, Father Burrowes issued on April 7 a letter admirable in phrase and content in which he impressed upon the men of the province their duty under the circumstances. "Let all frequently call upon the Holy Spirit," so the letter concluded, "to diffuse the spirit of charity among the members of the Province so that the strife of arms may leave no bitterness in its wake nor cause any diminution in the fervor of our religious life." While thus piloting the province through these troublous times Father Burrowes had also to give attention to the educational problems with which the midwestern Jesuits had been engaged ever since Father Meyer had initiated in 1887 the movement for a better organization of studies both in high school and college. A favorite contention of his was that the range of reading in the classical authors ordinarily required in the Jesuit schools was much too limited and he was for extending it by a considerable margin. Again, he was in complete sympathy with the movement to bring the Jesuit colleges of the United States, as far as expediency seemed to demand, into harmony with outside academic standards, believing it could be done without sacrifice of anything essential in Jesuit educational ideals and methods.

The seven years of life that remained to Father Burrowes after being relieved of the provincialship in 1919 were spent by him as master of tertians at Brooklyn and for a few months at Hot Springs, North Carolina, where the tertianship was conducted for a single year, 1926-1927, after the partial destruction by fire of the Brooklyn building in the spring of 1926. When he took up his work at Hot Springs, he was already suffering from the fatal malady that brought him to his grave. But he managed with edifying courage to conduct the tertians' "long retreat" to the end, after which he collapsed and was brought to Cincinnati, where he died January 19, 1927.



Group of midwestern Jesuits, St. Louis, c. 1888. *Rear row, left to right:* Fathers P. Murphy, W. Poland, Harts, M. Dowling, Hughes, McErlane, Frieden, H. Moeller, J. Poland, Kinsella.
Second row, left to right: Fathers Hagemann, Bosche, Van der Erden, Stephens, Schapman, Higgins, Brady, Driessen, J. Rigge, Calmer, Leib.
Front row, left to right: Fathers Bouige, Bushart, Stuntebeck, Hill, T. O'Neil, Meyer, Damen, Nussbaum, F. Garesché, Zealand, Coppens.

CHAPTER XL

THE COLLEGES

§ 1. ST. LOUIS

As early as the thirties, owing to the encroachments of business and other reasons, the original location of St. Louis University, Washington Avenue and Ninth Street, had begun to take on features which rendered it increasingly undesirable as a site for the institution. In view of this the so-called College Farm property in North St. Louis was acquired in 1836 as an intended home for the boarding-school of the University; but it was never actually put to such use. Then came, in 1867, the purchase of property at Grand and Lindell Avenues as a site for the day-college. Two years later, in 1869, steps began to be taken towards the removal of the boarding-department to a new location. In the summer of that year the University authorities had under advisement two out-of-town sites, one the William C. Taylor farm on the Clayton Road some ten miles from St. Louis, the other a farm belonging to the estate of John O'Fallon and situated on the Iron Mountain Railroad near Sulphur Springs. Neither of these properties having been acquired, the University finally purchased in September, 1871, three hundred and seventy-six acres on the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern (later the Wabash) Railroad, in a location then nine miles west from St. Louis. This property, which became known after its acquisition by the University as College View, cost seventy-six thousand dollars. Elaborate plans for buildings and embellishment of the grounds were prepared at an expense of fifteen hundred dollars; but before construction began it was ascertained that the railroad contemplated a change of route by making a deflection at Ferguson so as to enter the city at the Union Station. As this left the newly acquired property without direct communication with the city, it was deemed on this account unsuited as a site for the college with the result that the plan of building on it was summarily abandoned and the whole project of locating the boarding-school out of town became indefinitely postponed.

Meanwhile, the Grand Avenue property was to remain unused for years to come. In the May of 1871 the Brothers of the Christian Schools were reported as being about to locate their contemplated new college at Twenty-fifth and Pine Streets. Grand Avenue, at the very western

edge of the city and altogether outside the area of actual urban development, now seemed too remote a location for the Jesuit day-college. Accordingly, a plan to purchase another site considerably east of Grand Avenue was for a while under consideration. In the September of 1871 the sale of the Grand Avenue property as of all the University holdings, including what was left of the College Farm and two or three pieces of city real-estate, was seriously considered with a view to providing the needed means for the construction of the proposed boarding-school at College View. It was expected that one hundred and ninety thousand of the two hundred and fifty thousand dollars required could thus be raised while the remaining sixty thousand dollars would have to be borrowed. The University debt at the moment was one hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars. The Grand Avenue site continued to be held, fortunately so, as the project of a new boarding-school fell through and there was no particular need to dispose of the University holdings in real-estate.

At a meeting of the University board of consultors in January, 1874, it was learned that Father Higgins, pastor of the College Church, was hearing on all sides that the building of a day-college on Grand Avenue should be taken in hand without delay. Such a step, however, could not be taken without the approval of the Archbishop, who had not yet been approached on the subject. Early in 1878 he gave his approval to the project of a new college on the Grand Avenue site, but was unwilling that a church or even public chapel should be opened in connection with it. The following year the plan was proposed of a day-school on Grand Avenue, the building to cost ten thousand dollars, and the professors to reside at the old college. "In favor of the step was the circumstance that taxation of the property would cease. Shall we take the step or sell the property? It was suggested as against the plan that the Archbishop would allow of no church or chapel [on Grand Avenue] to which any one of the public might be admitted; also, that our debt is now considerable and is annually increasing. But it was the opinion of the majority [of the University consultors] that the experiment of starting a school there at the expense of ten thousand dollars could be made without serious risk." For the moment, the Father General withheld his approval of the project until it could be given more mature consideration. The question of selling the Grand Avenue lot was thereupon reopened. Father Keller, president of the University, to whose initiative was chiefly due its acquisition in 1867, declared that he would never take upon himself the responsibility of selling it without a positive order from the Father Provincial. This was not given and the subsequently valuable site was thus saved for the University. The grant of a parish in the western section of the city was

finally obtained from Archbishop Kenrick in 1879. He wrote to Father Higgins, the provincial, June 30 of that year: "In view of your repeatedly expressed wish to transfer your college and church to Grand Avenue and to relinquish your present parish, I hereby consent to the change and, when made, I will give you a parish in your location."

On June 8, 1883, Trinity Sunday, the corner-stone was laid of a church of stone of pure Gothic design at the Grand-Lindell corner of the college property. The ceremony was made the occasion of an imposing public demonstration of Catholic life in St. Louis, a procession of thirteen thousand men from the various parishes of the city marching to the scene. Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia laid the corner-stone and addresses were delivered by Archbishop Gross of Portland and Bishop Dwenger of Fort Wayne, the former speaking in English, the latter in German. The crypt or basement as soon as finished was temporarily roofed over and opened for divine service. In August, 1892, work above the crypt was begun and, after various interruptions, carried to completion in 1897, except for the tower, which was built in 1916. The church was solemnly dedicated on January 16, 1898. On August 6, 1888, solemn high Mass with sermon by the provincial, Father Meyer, had been sung in the old College Church at Ninth and Green Streets and after the evening services of that day the church-doors were permanently closed, "not without tears," comments the Jesuit chronicler of the incident. Within two years following the church had been razed together with the college buildings.

In the wake of the Civil War the boarding-school steadily declined while the number of day-students went on increasing. The question of suspending that department altogether now came under serious consideration. Though they did not in the event act upon the decision, the University authorities determined to discontinue the boarding-school at the end of the session 1874-1875, in case there was no prospect of locating it elsewhere within the next five years. The proposal was also made to lower the rate for boarders, two hundred and fifty dollars a year, with a view to increasing their numbers, which proposal, however, was not acted upon. In September, 1880, there were two hundred and ninety-four students registered, of whom only fifty-one were boarders. The actual suspension of the boarding-department came with something of abruptness. On June 28, 1881, the students were dismissed to their homes with no intimation given them that such step was shortly to be taken. The difficulty of maintaining college discipline in the undesirable environment of the University appears from an incident which occurred on commencement evening, June 26, 1881, when sixteen of the students, instead of proceeding to the dormitories after the exercises, drew off to the taverns of the neighborhood to carouse there until the small hours

of the morning. The alert young prefect, who in a diary touched off a notice of the incident with the expressive Latin word "*videbimus*" ("we shall see"), evidently expected that it would have as its sequel dismissal or some other dire penalty inflicted on the culprits. But the flagrant violation of college regulations was probably overlooked in view of the impending close of the boarding-school. On July 28, 1881, public announcement was made by the University that this department would not be reopened the following session. Congested quarters and a neighborhood featured by taverns and disorderly houses had made the boarding-school impossible.

On October 10, 1881 a so-called "post-graduate course" for men-students only was inaugurated, the lecturers being Fathers Meyer, Hughes, Calmer and Harts. The average attendance was fifteen and at the close of the first year of the course, March 24, 1882, examinations were held and the master's degree in arts was conferred on three of the registrants. At a meeting of the University consultors on February 1, 1887, it was voted as regarded this course that "little good had been done at a great cost of labor," that it amounted to little more than "feeding a fashion among non-Catholics chiefly," and that it tended to cheapen degrees. Still, with a "Post-Graduate Association" interested in maintaining it, it was felt that the course could not be summarily dropped and it was accordingly continued a few years longer.

The boarding-school having been suspended, a further necessary step was to solve the problem, now under consideration for many years, of a new location for the day-college. As a preliminary, the old premises, four hundred and seventy-five feet in length on Washington Avenue from Ninth Street west, had first to be disposed of. In March, 1883, nine hundred dollars a front foot was offered for the property. In May, 1885, almost a thousand dollars a foot was offered or four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the tract. Finally, on May 24, 1886, the property was sold to Charles Green and Edward Martin for four hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars.

In 1886 an L-shaped building of stately Gothic design to house the college, academy and Jesuit faculty was begun on the Grand Avenue site, the cost of construction being met from the proceeds of the sale of the Washington Avenue property. It measured two hundred and seventy feet on the Avenue, was built of red pressed brick with stone trimmings and cost approximately three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The plans as first drawn called for the first two stories in stone, together with other features tending to enhance the appearance of the edifice; but the cost of construction having been underestimated, it was found necessary to simplify the plans so as to bring expenses within the limit agreed to by the superiors of the order. On July 31,

1888, Mass was sung for the first time in the new college chapel by the Very Reverend Henry Muehlsiepen, vicar-general of the archdiocese of St. Louis, after which the provincial, Father Meyer, blessed the building and threw it open to the inspection of the public. On September 3 following classes were opened, the registration during the year rising to four hundred and thirty-five for the collegiate and academic departments as compared with two hundred and eighty-four, the maximum in the session 1887-1888, which was the last held in the downtown quarters. "It cannot be denied," observed a Jesuit chronicler in the eighties, "that there is great prejudice against the college on account of its location and neighborhood." The large attendance with which the new college began its career was all the more gratifying as fears had been entertained that on account of its location on the western edge of the settled portion of St. Louis and the lack of street-car facilities there might be a notable falling-off in registration. The project of a college bus-service for the accommodation of students living in the south and north ends of the town had even been considered but was dropped as too expensive to be practicable.

The opening of a Jesuit seminary or scholasticate in connection with the new building on Grand Avenue had been long under consideration before it became a reality at the end of the eighties. The Missouri scholastics had been pursuing their studies in philosophy and theology at Woodstock College in Maryland ever since the opening of that institution in 1869. In November, 1881, when the Woodstock authorities were contemplating the erection of an additional building, the question was raised whether the Missouri Province should help to finance the undertaking or should take steps towards providing for the education of its own scholastics. The latter course seemed preferable to Father Higgins, the provincial, and his consultors. Woodstock had been built at a time when Missouri had neither the financial means nor the steady flow of scholastics necessary to the creation and maintenance of a scholasticate of its own. These circumstances no longer obtained and, besides, the great distance of Woodstock from Missouri meant a steady and not inconsiderable outlay in travelling expenses. "Moreover," reads the minute-book of the Missouri Province board for November 14, 1881, "it is our intention here in the city of St. Louis to build a new college and church on the street known as Grand Avenue and it would accordingly be a matter of gratification to us if we could put up a building on the same property for the training of the scholastics."

Steps were taken to realize this plan with the construction of the new college building, one feature of which was a dining-hall spacious enough to accommodate both the college faculty and the faculty and students of the future scholasticate. In the course of 1889 the two top-

most floors of the faculty or Jesuit wing, left unfinished when the lower floors were occupied in 1888, were put in readiness for a class of Jesuit scholastics, twenty in number, and their professors. The School of Philosophy and Science was thus inaugurated on September 9, 1889, the scholastics registered being all in the first year of their course in philosophy. In September, 1891, this department of the University began to occupy its own quarters in a finely designed three-story brick building of the Gothic order erected by the Missouri Province at an approximate cost of fifty-seven thousand dollars on the Lindell Avenue frontage of the University site. The building was L-shaped and extended ninety-two feet west from the parish rectory. The thirty feet at the west end of the ground on which the new scholasticate was erected were purchased by the province from a Mrs. Mattingly for seventeen thousand dollars, while the remaining section of the site, being part of the University premises, was ceded by the latter to the scholasticate in view of the remission by the province of certain interests-sums due to it by the University.

Seven years later, 1898, work was started on a building for the Jesuit scholastics engaged in divinity studies. This building, to be known as the theologate, is almost on a perpendicular line with the Hall of Philosophy and Science but with front on Pine Street. The site, which was purchased from a Mr. Thompson, was occupied by two residences. The razing of these began October 17, 1898, on November 5 ground was broken, on the 18th of the same month the first foundation-stones were laid and by the September of the following year, 1899, the five-story building of brick was ready for occupancy by the theologians. Thereafter a department of divinity was maintained at the University until the transfer of the divinity students in 1931 to St. Marys, Kansas. The theologians' building, exclusive of furnishings, cost seventy thousand dollars. In 1920 the Fraley mansion on Lindell Boulevard immediately west of the Law School was acquired and immediately fitted up as an overflow residence for the theologians under the name of Aquinas Hall.

The St. Xavier Sodality Hall at the southeast corner of Ninth Street and Christy Avenue having been sold in January, 1888, a site for a new building to serve the same uses was bought on the west side of Grand Avenue between Pine and Laclede. The building, which was of brick and two stories high with a spacious chapel in the rear, was erected in 1889 at a cost of twenty thousand dollars. It has long since ceased to be used for sodality purposes and in 1929 was remodeled and converted into quarters for the University School of Education.

In the fall of 1906 a parish school, with the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin in charge, was opened in a dwelling-house located on

the north side of Pine Street immediately east of Grand Avenue. It was purchased by the parish at a cost of approximately eleven thousand dollars. The school has since been moved to a new site also on the north side of Pine Street but some distance to the west of the first location.

The movement towards the resumption by St. Louis University of its professional departments, which began with the opening in 1889 of the School of Philosophy and Science followed by that of divinity in 1899, received its most decisive impetus with the reestablishment of the medical department in 1903. Law was introduced in 1908 and dentistry in the same year while in 1910 a School of Commerce and Finance, the first institution of its kind west of the Mississippi, was set on foot. With the restoration of its professional schools thus initiated and carried through during the period 1889-1910 the University entered on the most prosperous phase of development it had hitherto known. The reestablishment of the faculty of medicine was especially a turning-point in the University's history. In 1901 the Beaumont Medical College was merged with the Marion-Sims Medical College and in 1903 the consolidated schools were taken over by St. Louis University, a step due chiefly to the enlightened initiative of its president, Father William Banks Rogers. The financial consideration was approximately one hundred thousand dollars, of which sum one-half was collected by Father Rogers from friends of the University, the other half accruing from the sale of the remaining portion of the University's College Farm property in North St. Louis. Measures were taken from the very beginning to place medical instruction in the newly acquired school on a satisfactory basis in regard to courses, number of full-time professors and other requirements. As a result the medical department of the University rose steadily in academic efficiency and prestige and after a few years was taking rank with the outstanding medical schools of the country. The medical buildings acquired by the University were on Compton Hill, the property, an acre and a half in extent, being located at Grand Avenue and Caroline Street. A spacious and well-appointed annex was added to the group in 1921, a dental building was erected in 1922, and finally in 1927, the original buildings having been razed, there was built on the same site an imposing structure of brick adequately equipped for all the needs of thoroughgoing and up-to-date medical instruction.

The Institute of Law at its restoration in 1908 occupied quarters in the former Morrison mansion at the southeast corner of Leffingwell Avenue and Locust Street. In 1911 a new home was provided for it in a spacious residence located immediately west of the Hall of Philosophy and Science on Lindell Avenue. To the residence was added in

the rear in 1912 an annex providing class-rooms, library-space and auditorium. Finally, in 1922 the original building (but not the adjoining annex) was razed and on the site thus provided a new and attractive looking edifice of Tudor Gothic design was erected for the Law School. The law department at present (1937) maintains a day-school only. The School of Commerce and Finance, opened in 1910 under the direction of Father Joseph L. Davis, was the first institution in the West to offer high-grade and systematic instruction at the hands of experts in the theory and technique of modern business and finance. During the period 1920-1922 the United States Veterans Bureau entrusted to it the education of some four hundred ex-service men in accounting and other advanced courses. A new home for the School of Commerce and Finance was built in 1931 on a site west of the Law School on Lindell Avenue, Father Robert S. Johnston being president of the University at the time. It is an impressive structure of brick built on a scale to provide for all needs of the school, present and to come.

Meteorological observations had been taken at St. Louis University as far back as 1838 when the scientist-explorer Joseph N. Nicollet, was availing himself of data furnished him from that source. A department of meteorology was organized in 1860, on the first day of which year a new series of observations began to be entered in the records. This was in reality the first weather bureau in St. Louis. It was established at the request of the federal government, was operated by members of the Society of Jesus and continued to function until the inauguration, March 26, 1876, of a local United States government weather bureau. In 1909 the University, with the generous financial aid of Mr. F. J. Remmers of St. Louis, reestablished its department of meteorology, and on January 1, 1910, a fresh series of meteorological observations was begun under the direction of Father Bernard Goesse and Brother George Rueppel. A seismographic station has been in continuous operation at St. Louis University since October 22, 1909. Later, on the organization of the department of geophysics, work in the seismological field was placed on a more advanced basis by the construction of two additional stations, one adequately equipped as a testing-laboratory and housed in the new University gymnasium but practically unconnected with this building, the other on the grounds of the Jesuit normal school at Florissant. The St. Louis University station operates as general headquarters of the Jesuit seismological service of the United States and as such receives reports from observatories throughout the world.

University development had thus gone forward at a gratifying rate of speed, in view of which circumstance and especially because St. Louis alone of all the western Jesuit colleges was equipped with the historic faculty of divinity, the General of the Society was petitioned by the

Missouri Jesuits to declare St. Louis University the *Collegium Maximum* or "premier college" of the province. The petition was granted and the decree of Very Reverend Father Wernz conferring this distinction on the University was officially promulgated in St. Louis January 22, 1911. In 1908 the University authorities began to conduct three distinct classical high schools, St. Louis Academy (the existing high school department with quarters in the Grand Avenue building), Loyola Hall in the old Eads mansion at Compton and Eads Avenues, and Gonzaga Hall, 1437 North Eleventh Street. Gonzaga Hall was discontinued in 1917 and Loyola Hall in 1924.

For a decade or more following upon the establishment in 1910 of the School of Commerce and Finance the University opened no new departments. But with the installation in 1924 of the high school in separate quarters on the edge of Forest Park additional space was made available in the Grand Avenue building and this circumstance led to a new expansion of academic activities. Though the School of Philosophy and Science had been administered for some thirty-five years as the Graduate School of the University, its facilities in instruction were practically restricted to the Jesuit scholastics pursuing their conventional seminary studies. But in 1925 a separate and well-organized graduate school, open to all qualified students and adequate to the needs of advanced study in the capital departments of knowledge and research, was set on foot. Finally, as a measure enlarging still further the academic scope and influence of the University, an arrangement was reached in November, 1925, during the presidency (1924-1930) of Father Charles H. Cloud, by which a number of colleges in St. Louis and its vicinity constituted a merger, extra-legal in character, to be known as "The Corporate Colleges of St. Louis University." By this agreement, which went into effect in September, 1926, "the faculty members, students and courses of these various colleges were to become faculty members, students and courses of the University." Further, the Corporate Colleges, while retaining financial independence and as much educational autonomy as was consistent with the terms of the agreement, were to become integral parts of the University, which was to supervise and control the courses given in the individual colleges and, where the latter were in possession of degree-conferring charters, grant degrees conjointly with them. The institutions constituting the merger were in 1929 six in number, three junior colleges, Maryhurst Normal, St. Mary's Junior College, and Notre Dame Junior College and three senior colleges, Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, Webster College, and Fontbonne College.

The most recent steps in the expansion of the University have been

the opening of the Schools of Education (1925), Social Service (1930), and Physical Education (1931).

While the University thus underwent expansion on its academic side, the needs created by the modern institution of organized college athletics were not left unsupplied. In 1926 a gymnasium with a seating capacity of some four thousand was erected on the south side of Pine Street, not many paces removed from the arts building. In the same year a tract of land with a frontage of approximately a thousand feet on Oakland Boulevard, the southern boundary of Forest Park, was purchased as a site for a University stadium. Later, in 1929, the erection of the stadium became possible through the munificence of Mrs. Julia Maffit Walsh, who undertook to finance the project as a memorial to her son, Edward A. Walsh, a St. Louis University bachelor of arts, 1902, who died in 1928. Known as the Edward Walsh Memorial Stadium, this most recent addition to the athletic facilities of the University was brought to completion in the fall of 1930.

Only on a few occasions in its history has St. Louis University made appeal to the public for means with which to carry on its work. Father Van Quickenborne, when he started the institution on its way under Jesuit auspices in 1829, made a canvas of the public-spirited citizens of the town for contributions and with success. Almost seventy-five years had elapsed when in 1902 a similar appeal was made by Father William Banks Rogers on behalf of the Medical School. Arrangements for a campaign for funds were under way during the presidency (1913-1920) of Father Bernard J. Otting, when the entry of the United States into the World War made postponement necessary. Finally, under Father William F. Robinson, twenty-second president of the University, 1920-1924, a movement to secure an endowment-fund of three million dollars by popular subscription yielded a substantial quota of that sum. On one or other occasion the University has been remembered by friends and patrons in testamentary bequests. Probably the earliest of such benefactions was that of John Doyle of St. Louis, who in the eighteenth-sixties left a sum of approximately seventy thousand dollars to be employed by the University in the education of needy students.

On June 14, 1914, died James Campbell, St. Louis public utility magnate, making St. Louis University the ultimate beneficiary of his estate of many millions. According to the terms of the will Mr. Campbell's widow, Mrs. Florence Campbell, since deceased, and his only child, Miss Lois Ann Campbell, were to share equally in the revenue of the estate during their lifetime, the estate being in the meantime held in trust by a St. Louis banking concern. Eventually, at the latest twenty-one years after the death of the daughter, if survived by a child or children, the trust ceases and the entire estate is to be paid over and

delivered to St. Louis University "for the erection, equipment, furnishing, maintenance and support of a hospital in the City of St. Louis or in St. Louis County, State of Missouri, for sick or injured persons and for the advancement of the sciences of medicine and surgery, the gift to the University being absolute and forever." This was truly a princely benefaction and all the more remarkable as Mr. Campbell was not an alumnus of St. Louis University nor on terms of intimacy with its faculty or any member thereof nor known in his lifetime to be interested in any particular way in the welfare of the institution. Future generations will share in the blessings of the great medical foundation which his generosity will have made available.

In 1918 the University was the recipient from Mrs. Hannah Dur-yea of a valuable piece of property in the immediate vicinity of the Union Station. A few years later a new home for the University High School was made possible through the generosity of Mrs. Anna F. Backer, who erected it as a tribute to her deceased husband, George H. Backer, a bachelor of arts of St. Louis University of the class of '69. On Sunday, April 15, 1923, the corner-stone of the George H. Backer Memorial High School building was laid by Archbishop Glennon, who noted in his address on the occasion that this was the largest donation ever made to the cause of Catholic education in the archdiocese of St. Louis. The building, an impressive one of brick in Tudor Gothic style, costing approximately three quarters of a million, stands on the south side of Oakland Boulevard directly across from Forest Park and occupies the one-time stadium grounds of the University. Classes were first opened in it in September, 1924, the Jesuit faculty resident therein having been detached by the Father General from the jurisdiction of the University and given the status of an independent community.

Twice in the fall of 1926 the University was named as a beneficiary in the disposition of large estates. On September 3 of that year died Martin Shaughnessy, St. Louis man of business, leaving in trust holdings valued at about a million and a half dollars, one-half of which amount was after the death of his widow to become available to St. Louis University for the benefit of its school of Commerce and Finance. "It is my wish," reads the will, "that in the event the University desires to erect a new building for the School of Commerce and Finance or to make an addition to the building already constructed, not to exceed one-fourth of the trust may be used for that purpose." Provision is further made for the education by the University in business branches of deserving young men and women. An interesting detail of the will is the emphasis it lays on the necessity of a practical knowledge of English as a preparation for a business career; in this connection Mr. Shaughnessy observed how in his experience he had frequently seen

persons seriously handicapped in a mercantile career for lack of adequate acquaintance with the vernacular. A few weeks later than the passing of Mr. Shaughnessy died another St. Louis man of affairs, John Fitzgerald Lee, his death occurring in November, 1926. He was a descendant of the revolutionary hero, John Fitzgerald, favorite aide-de-camp of Washington, had made studies at Georgetown, taken up law, and in his latter years become identified with Washington University, St. Louis, of which institution he was at the period of his death a trustee. To a brother and sister who survived him he left a life-interest in his estate of approximately twelve hundred thousand dollars, which after their death was to be apportioned in equal shares between St. Louis and Washington Universities. The brother and sister having died within two years of Mr. Lee's decease, the estate was in accordance with his will divided evenly between the two institutions.

Towards the construction of the Firmin Desloge Hospital a million dollars were donated through the generosity of Mrs. Firmin Desloge, Mr. Firmin V. Desloge and Joseph Desloge. Firmin V. Desloge was a St. Louis University alumnus, who died December 18, 1929. He had contemplated doing something in a large way for his Alma Mater and his heirs in accordance with his wishes undertook to determine the form his benefaction was to take. Located on a site facing the Medical School on Grand Avenue, the Firmin Desloge Memorial Hospital functions as the clinical center of medical instruction in the University.

Similar in scope to the Desloge benefaction was a testamentary bequest from Mrs. Blanche Bordley, who died April 22, 1930. Her will provided for the erection and maintenance at an outlay of three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars of a hospital for chronic invalids, the institution to be owned and controlled jointly by St. Louis University and the Sisters of St. Mary.

§ 2. CINCINNATI

With the end of the Civil War came the beginning of a new era, and a more prosperous one, for St. Xavier College. Various circumstances had combined to retard previous growth, not the least of which was the lack of adequate quarters for faculty and students. The problem was solved, at least in part, by the erection in 1867 on Sycamore Street at Seventh, southwest corner, of a four-story structure known as the Hill building, so named for Father Walter Hill, president of the college at the time. In 1885 this structure received an extension known subsequently as the Moeller building, its erection having been due to Father Henry Moeller, president of the college during the period 1884-1887. Five years later, in 1890, St. Xavier's celebrated its fiftieth

year as a Jesuit institution. The following year saw the construction of a three-story building of brick adjoining the Hill building on the south and containing class-rooms, chapel and auditorium.

Until well into the new century, St. Xavier's, though it had seen seventy years and more of academic life, attempted little more than the conventional program of study obtaining in American schools of secondary and collegiate grade. There was no provision for professional or graduate instruction except for brief spells and in informal fashion. Thus in 1894 extension lectures and in 1896 some quasi-graduate courses were introduced, neither of which departments proved to be permanent. The first serious step towards extension of curricular activities took place in October, 1911, when a department of commerce and economics of college grade was established. Journalism was introduced at the same time but was later discontinued. In the fall of 1918 beginnings were made of a School of Sociology, which met with subsequent development. Finally, at the suggestion of prominent alumni, members of the Cincinnati bar, a School of Law was established, opening its doors in 1919. Summer courses, originally designed for members of the teaching sisterhoods of the vicinity, began in 1914 and were reenforced from 1918 on by extension courses, mostly of college grade, conducted on Saturday mornings throughout the year.

The William F. Poland Fund provides an endowment for the senior and junior years of the arts college. A generous measure of the fortune of Patrick Poland, Cincinnati pioneer, was bequeathed by him to his sons, Fathers John A. and William F. Poland, both of them Jesuit priests of the Missouri Province. The novitiate at Florissant became the beneficiary of Father John's share while Father William's was conveyed to his Alma Mater, St. Xavier College.

From the very beginning of the institution the restricted area of the college tract at Seventh and Sycamore, with the resultant congestion in buildings, campus and other appurtenances for the purposes of the school, gave rise to serious embarrassment. As early as 1847 the preparatory department, comprising classes of grammar or pre-secondary grade, was assigned quarters of its own in the so-called Purcell Mansion in Walnut Hills. Two years later the preparatory department was brought back to the central site, the experiment of a separate location for it having proved premature. No further attempt to locate any of the departments of St. Xavier's elsewhere in the city was made until 1906 when Father Albert A. Dierckes, president of the college, purchased property at the intersection of Gilbert and Lincoln Avenues in the Walnut Hills section of the city. Here in an old-style mansion which stood on the property a branch high school was maintained until early in 1912 when it was housed in the one-time home of the Avondale

Athletic Club, which with its spacious and attractive grounds had been purchased in the summer of 1911.

The acquisition of this choice property by St. Xavier's proved a turning-point in its career. It solved the problem of congestion, which had handicapped the college in its pioneer quarters, and afforded adequate facilities for the expansion which the institution was prepared to undergo in order to meet the growing demands made upon it by the public. The property, situated on either side of Victory Boulevard between Winding Way and Dana and Herald Avenues, was acquired from the Brogy estate in 1911 by Father Francis Heiermann, president of St. Xavier's, at a cost of eighty thousand dollars. The construction of buildings on the new St. Xavier site began only some years later during the presidency of Father James McCabe, the first of the group, Alumni Science Hall, a gift of the alumni to their Alma Mater as a memorial of the diamond jubilee of the institution, being occupied in 1920. In November of the same year the administration building, Hinkle Hall, the gift of Mrs. Frederick W. Hinkle, was also brought to completion. It is the central unit of the system of college buildings and provides residential quarters for the Jesuit faculty of the institution. Other units were added to the building group during the administration (1923-1931) of Father Hubert Brockman as president, Elet Hall, a dormitory for out-of-town students in 1924, the library in 1926, and the field house in 1928, the last-named project owing its inauguration to the enterprise of Walter S. Schmidt. A new concrete stadium, "Corcoran Field," with seating-capacity of twenty thousand was dedicated in 1929. Later in the same year a biology building, erected on a site east of Hinkle Hall, was opened to the students. St. Xavier's has been the recipient in recent years of bequests of generous proportions from two Cincinnatians, Thomas Logan and Joseph Debar.

In July, 1930, the institution, as the fitting issue of a period of noteworthy development, adopted the style "Xavier University," to which its charter and the nature of its educational program entitle it. In 1932 it commemorated its centennial year, its origin dating from the opening in 1832 of Bishop Fenwick's Athenaeum, with which institution it is organically one. Father Brockman was succeeded in the presidency of St. Xavier's by Fathers Hugo F. Slocemyer (1931-1935) and Dennis F. Burns (1935-), under whom the venerable school continued to maintain its high traditions of educational service to the Catholic youth of the Ohio Valley.

§ 3. ST. MARY'S, KANSAS

Of the frontier period at St. Mary's, when that historic Kansas center ran its picturesque career as an Indian mission and school, much

has been said at an earlier stage of this narrative. The metamorphosis of Indian school into college came at the turn of the sixties and with something of suddenness. The growth of the college on its physical side is chronicled as in milestones in the erection in successive years of the various units that go to make up the group of buildings now to be found at St. Mary's. For some years subsequent to 1878 the present faculty building was the only substantial structure on the grounds and all academic activities of the college went on under its roof. Then, adjoining the faculty building on the north was built up at intervals a series of three-story structures of stone comprising the Van der Eerden (1880), Coppens (1884), and McCabe (1898) buildings, so named from the rectors during whose incumbencies they were erected. A classroom building measuring seventy-four by forty-seven feet and fifty feet high was constructed in 1883 at a cost of sixteen thousand dollars. Under Father Henry Votel was built the infirmary, a two-story structure of red pressed brick, eighty-one by forty-four feet in size, as also the junior building (1891), ninety-two by fifty-two feet in area, three stories high, likewise of red pressed brick. The rectorship of Father Aloysius Breen, 1907-1914, saw the construction of Loyola Hall, a students' dormitory (1907), the students' chapel, the Immaculata (1907), the seniors' gymnasium (1910) and the juniors' gymnasium (1911). Father William Wallace added a highly serviceable wing to the west end of the faculty building (1915) while Father William Cogley razed the old Coppens and Van der Eerden buildings to build on their sites a spacious junior and senior dining hall, one hundred and five by one hundred and seventy feet in measure and Gothic in design (1920). Finally, Father Benedict Rodman erected (1926) on the hill on a site flanking the students' chapel on the east a classroom building of collegiate Gothic style.

As the great cathedrals of the middle ages were a concrete expression of the faith of the masses, so the St. Mary's College chapel is a testimony in stone to student piety and zeal. The inspiration came from the director of the senior sodality, Father Cornelius Shyne, who in a ringing address delivered to the students immediately before Mass on the morning of December 8, 1907, called upon them to begin to gather funds for the erection of a college chapel worthy of the institution, Gothic in style and to be known as the "Immaculata." The appeal met with ready response. Students, present and past, came forward with what measure of financial aid they could command. Excavating for the structure began March 25, 1908, the corner-stone was laid December 8 of the same year, and the finished chapel dedicated May 22, 1909. Altars, altar-railing, stations, windows and other adornments of the beautiful interior were student-gifts. Traditions are an invaluable asset

in any school, big or little, and in traditions St. Mary's was peculiarly rich. The picturesque historical background of the place, the intimacies, cordial yet dignified, between faculty and student-body, the happy amalgam of studiousness, athleticism and manly personal piety bred in the typical St. Mary's "boy," out of such factors as these did the St. Mary's tradition grow up.

And yet with a distinguished past behind it and a future of increasing educational service opening out before, St. Mary's was in the end to close its doors under the unkindly pressure of economic stress. Various factors brought about the issue, the process of financial embarrassment reaching its climax at the very time when owing to the nationwide depression the alumni and other friends of the institution were least able to come to its relief. With the commencement of June 4, 1931, St. Mary's College suspended indefinitely its activities as a liberal arts institution, and in the following August its buildings became the new home of the Jesuit theological school previously conducted at St. Louis University.

§ 4. OSAGE MISSION, KANSAS

With the passing of the Osage Indians from Kansas and the coming of the white settlers, the Osage Manual Labor School was transformed into St. Francis Institute for Boys, which dates its origin from the grant in 1871 of a state charter incorporating the institution under that name. The teachers in the Indian school had been coadjutor-brothers, the services of Brothers Thomas O'Donnell and Michael Kavanagh in this connection being particularly worthy of remembrance. When in 1869 the increasing number of white boys who attended the school made it necessary to increase the teaching-staff, Brothers James Cantwell and John Kilcullin were sent to reenforce it. In 1870 Brother Cantwell was recalled and Brother Richard Flanagan substituted in his place. On February 15, 1871, died at thirty-five Brother Thomas McGlinn, who had cultivated to an impressive degree the holy neutrality, if one may so describe it, as between life or death, which St. Ignatius inculcated on his followers. The question having been put to him as he lay dying whether he wished prayers to be offered in the church for his recovery, his answer was that he feared such a wish might be at variance with the indifference to a long life or a short one which a Jesuit is called upon to cultivate. Brother Jerome Lyons, his strength wasted after fifteen years of exhausting labor as school-teacher to the Osage, died at the mission April 24, 1871. "In this long drawn out sort of martyrdom," reads the mission chronicle, "he gave an example of the perfect religious. With his cheerful disposition he easily

made friends of everybody. The pupils loved him and taking heed of his instructions made headway in virtue and learning. He taught by word, but much more by example. He was ardently devout to the Immaculate Virgin and kindled in his scholars a desire to practice the same devotion."

St. Francis Institute, as long as it lasted, was an institution taught mainly by Jesuit coadjutor-brothers. Four scholastics, James J. Sullivan being the first of the number, were employed for one or more years in the school while the duties of principal was discharged in succession by Fathers Colleton, Van Goch, Van Krevel, John Kuhlman and, for the last eight years of the institution, Rimmele. The Institute with its two departments, boarding and day, was a business or commercial school open to such students, to cite the catalogue statement, "as cannot or will not go in for a classical education." Latin was an optional subject and apparently chosen by few.

Though the mission-farm was an extensive one, fifteen hundred acres, its market-value was not considerable. In 1889 the herd was appraised at five thousand dollars, while the acreage, which had declined in value owing to drought occurring every other summer, was not expected to bring more than fifteen thousand dollars if sold at auction. Meanwhile the institution was carrying a debt of twenty-seven thousand dollars, of which amount eighteen thousand dollars was due to the Missouri Province.

St. Francis Institute closed its doors in June, 1891. All the property, less thirty-four acres, was sold to pay off the indebtedness and the one-time mission turned over to the Passionist fathers. Father Shaffel, the last Jesuit superior, remained in charge of the parish until the following year, 1892, when together with the few confrères who had remained with him he vacated the mission in favor of its new possessors.

§ 5. MILWAUKEE

The origins of Jesuit activity, educational and ministerial, in Milwaukee have already been recorded. It was the prospect of a college and that alone which brought the Society to Milwaukee. Its execution delayed for a quarter of a century and more, the project became a reality in the early eighties. The corner-stone of a college was laid August 15, 1880, by Coadjutor-bishop Heiss on a property at the corner of Tenth and State Streets purchased for the purpose by Bishop Henni in the fifties. On August 15 of the following year the same Coadjutor-bishop dedicated the building in a religious ceremony and on September 5 of the following month registration began with thirty-five students entering their names. Before the end of the scholastic

year seventy-seven were in attendance, only four classes having been organized, preparatory, first and second grammar of the commercial department, and third academic of the classical department. The college, a brick structure of four stories and basement measuring one hundred and forty feet by sixty, was only one unit in a projected group of buildings, two other structures of similar dimensions and architectural design being planned, one to adjoin the college on State, the other on Tenth Street.

The college department was opened in 1883 and four years later, in 1887, Marquette graduated its first bachelors of arts, five in number. In an open letter of date August 17, 1884, "to the reverend clergy and laity of Milwaukee," which was translated into German, Polish and Bohemian and read in all the churches of the city, Archbishop Heiss commended the college to the patronage of the Catholic public:

For the benefit of those whom God has blessed with ampler means there is in our midst an Institution conducted by members of the Society of Jesus that offers to the Catholic youth of Milwaukee the same curriculum of advanced instruction with some of the best colleges of larger and more pretentious cities. Entering now upon the fourth year of its existence, Marquette college has opened the first grade of its higher schools and accordingly the Catholics of Milwaukee need no longer look abroad or seek outside their own metropolis for an institution capable of preparing and fitting their sons to assume and fulfill with credit their respective stations or professions in life. While then we exhort all without distinction not to abate their endeavors to advance and perfect the grade and standard of our parochial schools and academies, we, at the same time, seriously direct the attention of Catholics, more favored with worldly means, to an institution where their sons will receive that religious and secular training so necessary to enable them to enter with credit to themselves, with honor to their families and with glory to their religion and their church, upon the more favorable walks and higher pursuits of life.

Marquette's first executive head was Father Joseph Rigge, who held office from June 16, 1881, to September 17, 1882, when he was succeeded by Father Isidore Boudreaux, former master of novices at Florissant. In April, 1884, Father Keller, then residing in Fiesole in Italy in the capacity of assistant to the General for the English-speaking provinces, wrote to Father Bushart, the Missouri provincial: "Marquette seems to be doing well. Father Boudreaux brings a blessing on it." "Give him good men to work under him, and all will go well." A year later the condition of the college did not seem so reassuring.

The art of carrying debts was not as clearly understood in the

eighties as it came to be at a later day. Marquette's financial obligations in the first decade of its career were anything but considerable if measured by present-day standards; but they appeared at one time serious enough to create alarm and even to suggest the desperate measure of closing the institution. At a meeting in St. Louis of Father Bushart and his consultors, March 23, 1885, it was disclosed that Marquette College was not meeting the expenses of its upkeep. "Let it go on for a while longer," was the sentiment of the meeting. But at Jesuit general headquarters in distant Fiesole in Italy the institution found at this moment a friend in Father Keller. He had always carried about with him a fund of optimism and vision and the thought of retrograde steps in Jesuit enterprise was never a welcome one in his mind. "I hope the plan for raising money in favor of Marquette will succeed," he said in a letter of March 1, 1885, to Father Bushart. "It may be well to get some prominent man to speak right after the exhibition and call a meeting for next day of gentlemen who feel interested, etc. At any rate don't let the college go down, even if the Province has to supply the small deficit for a couple of years."

In 1887 Archbishop Heiss made efforts to have the German Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission, of which Father Henry Behrens was superior, assume charge of his diocesan Seminary of St. Francis. Father Behrens was ready to enter into the arrangement and so signified to the Missouri provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer, whose approval of the step would be necessary before it could be taken. Father Meyer and his consultors as also the consultors, with a single exception, of all the colleges within the limits of the Missouri province, raised no objection to the plan and there was even a general sentiment, shared by the two one-time provincials, Fathers O'Neil and Higgins, to allow the Buffalo Jesuits the entire city of Milwaukee as a field of labor with the transfer to them of Marquette College. The local authorities of that institution, however, were not in sympathy with these proposals and nothing eventually came of them.

In July, 1887, Father Stanislaus Lalumiere became president of Marquette College, holding the post until February, 1889. His long connection with Milwaukee, for he had been resident there nearly thirty years, made him the most widely known Jesuit figure in the city. He was succeeded, first, for a brief spell by Father Francis Stuntebeck, and then in March, 1889, by Father Joseph Grimmelsman. Subsequent presidents of the college down to the turn of the century were Fathers Meyer, Putten, Bushart, Rogers, and Burrowes. Meantime, the need of more ample quarters for the college was gradually making itself felt until under Father Burrowes the problem became acute. Fortunately, means to meet the critical situation were found in the liberality of Mr.

Robert Johnston, a one-time student of the pioneer St. Gall's Academy and subsequently one of Milwaukee's most successful men of business, who undertook to defray the cost of a new home for the college. Property was bought adjoining the church of the Gesu on the east and here in the June of 1905 ground was broken for an imposing four-story structure of grey pressed brick, Gothic in design and costing one hundred and ten thousand dollars. Exactly two years later, June, 1907, it was brought to completion and towards the end of the following month the Jesuit faculty took up residence in the section of the building reserved for their use while college classes were installed in the new quarters in the first semester of the session 1907-1908. The high school department continued to occupy the pioneer building at Tenth and State until the erection in 1925 of the stately Ellen Story Johnston Memorial Academy on Wisconsin Avenue at Thirty-third.

The erection of the Grand Avenue building marked a turning-point in the fortunes of Marquette. For a while it was assumed by the authorities in charge that the institution, though now housed in enlarged and more advantageous quarters, had no other destiny in store for it but to pursue its modest program of undergraduate collegiate instruction. But the university idea was abroad among the midwestern Jesuit colleges, largely, in consequence of the concrete demonstration made of it by the opening of a medical department in St. Louis University in 1903. Father Alexander Burrowes, who became president of Marquette in 1899, and with him Father Henry S. Spalding, dean of the college, were strongly taken with the idea that the institution should no longer restrict itself to the single department of arts and sciences but should metamorphose itself into a university with schools directly preparing students for the professions. In June, 1905, Marquette celebrated with appropriate ceremony the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, one of the speakers on the occasion being Reuben Gold Thwaites, historian and scholarly editor of the well-known series, the *Jesuit Relations*. In August of the same year Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee expressed in a local paper his satisfaction at the news that Marquette was preparing to assume a university status:

Milwaukee should welcome such a branching out as is suggested for Marquette College. A university leaves an impress upon the entire community. Madison University is too far away from Milwaukee for this city to reap the full benefits to be derived from the atmosphere of that institution. But in Madison everyone is benefited by the presence of the university in that city. What a state university does for Madison, a university located here would do for Milwaukee. No need of the city is greater than the need for a university or better facilities for higher education.

Steps towards the establishment of professional schools in connection with Marquette began accordingly in the course of 1905. The college had been incorporated by special act of the legislature in 1864 and a charter obtained empowering the trustees to confer such literary honors and degrees as they might deem proper. In 1907 a new charter placing the college on a university basis was obtained from the state. With the change of name, so a Jesuit domestic chronicler wrote with a touch of enthusiasm, "Marquette University exults like a giant to run its course." In 1907 the Milwaukee School of Medicine with its departments of dentistry and pharmacy became affiliated to Marquette. On June 1, 1908, the Milwaukee School of Law and in October of the same year the Law School of Milwaukee University were acquired by purchase and their students entered in the Marquette Law School, which began its career in the fall of 1908 with Judge James G. Jenkins, an eminent member of the Milwaukee bench, as dean. In October, 1908, the Engineering School opened classes under the direction of Professor John C. Davis as dean of the department. Two years later, in October, 1910, it occupied quarters of its own in a building acquired by the University for twelve thousand eight hundred dollars and located on Sycamore Street in the rear of the administration building. In October, 1910, began the Robert A. Johnston College of Business Administration, named for the donor of the new college building on Grand (later Wisconsin) Avenue, whose widow generously undertook to finance the new school of economics in its opening years. In September, 1910, the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music became attached to the University as an affiliated department. The connection, however, was severed in the course of the scholastic year and in May, 1911, the Marquette University Conservatory of Music was opened in a rented building on Tenth Street. Meantime, in 1910 courses in newspaper work, which developed into the College of Journalism, had begun to be offered by Father John Copus, who had much newspaper experience in his pre-Jesuit days to look back to.

In November, 1912, the unsatisfactory conditions which had long prevailed in the Milwaukee Medical College, affiliated with its three departments of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy to Marquette since 1907, came to a head. This was a proprietary college operated for revenue and subordinating to such purpose the medical education of the students, who in consequence became restive and ill-disposed towards the institution. In view of the unpleasant situation Marquette in December, 1912, dissolved its connection with the Milwaukee Medical College and forthwith acquired for some eighty thousand dollars the property, buildings and good name of the Wisconsin College of Physicians and Surgeons. The Marquette Medical School thus began its

career as an institution owned and administered by the University authorities. Most of the professors and students of the defunct Milwaukee Medical College were secured for the new school, the efficiency of which was increased by the addition to its faculty of several full-time professors. Moreover, on January 17, 1913, the University leased for a period of six years, to begin the following February 1, at an annual rental of nine thousand and five hundred dollars, the buildings of the one-time Milwaukee Medical College. These included the quarters occupied by the dental and pharmaceutical departments of the University, a building which housed the Training School of Nurses, and a hospital of seventy-five beds known as "Trinity" and located at the southeast corner of Ninth and Cedar Streets. Ten years later the University obtained by purchase Trinity Hospital and the building of the Nurses Training School.

Within the ten or fifteen years following the acquisition of the Medical School in 1912 the expansion of the University in material means to facilitate its work went on apace. In 1917 under the presidency of Father Herbert Noonan (1915-1922) the extensive Plankinton property, two blocks in extent and lying between Grand and Clybourn Avenues and Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets, was bought for one hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars. Two spacious dwelling-houses which stood on the northern extremity of the property were fitted out as quarters, one for an eye, ear and throat hospital of forty-five beds, the other for the Conservatory of Music. At the southern end a concrete one-story building was hastily erected in 1918 to serve as barracks for the Marquette students in training for the World War. The cost of the structure was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, of which sum one hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars were refunded by the government to the University after the armistice. Later, in 1922, the foundations were put to use in the erection of the gymnasium. In the same year was erected a dental building, also on the Plankinton property.

In 1910 the Law School began to occupy a rented building at the southwest corner of Grand Avenue and Eleventh Street, which with the site was later, June, 1912, purchased by the University. In 1924 the old building was wrecked and on the same site an impressive structure of Tudor Gothic design erected for the exclusive use of the Law School. In 1924 on property adjoining the Gesu on the west, was built a four-story science and administration building similar in design to the Law School. This completed an imposing series of academic buildings along the Grand Avenue line, comprising Science Hall, the Gesu, the arts building and the Law School. The Law School building, Science Hall and the Ellen Story Johnston Memorial Academy were features of a

construction program initiated and carried through by Father Albert Fox, president of the University, 1922-1928.

To finance the elaborate program of physical expansion undertaken by Marquette appeals were made to the public on various occasions. A campaign to this end for a half-million dollars inaugurated in November, 1915, attained its objective. Among the major subscriptions were Mrs. Ellen Story Johnston's of one hundred thousand dollars, one of twenty-five thousand dollars by James J. Hill, the railroad magnate of St. Paul, who shortly after died a Catholic, and one of twenty thousand dollars by members of the Uihlein family of Milwaukee. Pledges aggregating one hundred and twelve thousand dollars were also received from the Society of Foresters, the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin. In 1918 a second campaign with a view to securing a million dollar endowment for the Medical School was attempted and with success. The Carnegie Foundation of Washington, through its head, Dr. Pritchett, pledged a third of a million on condition that the other two-thirds be raised by popular subscription. By September 1, 1919, this goal had been reached and accordingly on October 3 of the same year the Carnegie Foundation issued to the University a check for \$346,666, the interest for one year being added to the amount originally pledged. Dr. Pritchett had been led to interest himself in the needs of the Medical School on the occasion of a visit paid to it in May, 1918, at the invitation of the president of the University, Father Noonan. He expressed himself as especially pleased that the school was regulated by principles of sound ethics, a great need, so he felt, in days when fundamental standards of right living were everywhere being ignored. His assurance of a third of a million on behalf of the Medical School having been received on this occasion, the University undertook to have the other two-thirds in hand by the following September. The desired amount not having been subscribed at that date, the Foundation generously extended the period to September 1, 1919, on which day, as has been stated, the necessary \$666,666 in pledges had been secured. Outstanding subscriptions were: members of the Cudahy family, fifty-seven thousand dollars; Frederick Vogel, Jr., twenty-five thousand dollars; Charles Pfister, twenty thousand dollars; Allis Chalmers Co., twenty-five thousand dollars. The million-dollar endowment-fund thus provided for the Medical School is administered by a legally constituted board of trustees consisting of the president of the University, the treasurer of the same, the rector of the University church (Gesu), the regent of the Medical School, and six non-Jesuit members. The most recent addition to the Marquette building-group is a new home for the Medical School, erected in 1933 during the presidency of Father William M. Magee.

§ 6. CHICAGO

The Chicago fire of 1871 sweeping away from its point of origin on De Koven Street near Jefferson through the central and north side districts of the city left the Holy Family parish practically untouched. So it was that the newly-opened college of St. Ignatius could tender its hospitality to Bishop Foley as also to the children of the Catholic orphanage after their homes had been laid in ashes. The period of the great conflagration saw the Holy Family parish almost if not quite at the peak of its growth with more than four thousand children attending its schools and well-nigh twenty thousand souls sharing in the ministrations of its pastors. In the late eighties and early nineties the parish reached its high-water mark in membership, counting at this period probably some twenty-five thousand souls. These were especially the days of big-scale parochial organization as evidenced in the immense sodalities, the crowded schools, the impressive confirmation-day parades. Then in the nineties began the debacle. The phenomenon of shifting population that marks the growth of all large American cities was staged with appalling completeness within the limits of the parish. The old Irish stock that made up the original membership of the parish was in the end almost entirely displaced by other racial elements. Of these the Russian Jews formed the van, pouring into the eastern sections of the parish in great numbers in the early nineties and gradually pushing westward until they crept up within the shadow of Holy Family steeple and even passed beyond it. All that was typical in the movement was found concentrated in the Ghetto, a patch of Russian Jewry from overseas set down in the locality of Jefferson and Maxwell Streets. With the first decade of the new century Italian immigrant families began to move into the new parish displacing the Jews in large numbers and sending them further west. Only a minority of the Holy Family parishioners were able to maintain their homes in the disturbed conditions created by this local migration of the nations. Father Copens calculated in 1909 that only a fourth of the families found in the parish in its best days had remained. The rest had moved away, settling most of them in the newer parishes of west side Chicago, which they helped to build up and in which they continued to maintain the traditions of loyal Catholic faith and practice in which they had been steeped.

With the once highly flourishing Holy Family parish thus breaking up before their eyes and the locality becoming less desirable as a center for their education work, the Chicago Jesuits began to look around for a new site in which to start afresh with college and parish. Already in 1888 a branch-school had been opened in a rented residence on North LaSalle Avenue. A parish in connection with it not being

authorized by the diocesan authorities, the school was discontinued in 1890. In the March of 1902 the consultors of St. Ignatius College were requested to communicate to the provincial, Father Grimmelsman, their views regarding the project of a new Jesuit college in Chicago. All commended the project, a location in Austin or Oak Park at the western limits of the city, if such could be obtained and the Archbishop's consent to a parish secured, being especially favored. "Our position on the West side," wrote Father Edward Gleeson, "is in a deteriorating neighborhood and may some day have to be abandoned like old St. Louis University; it does not at present command the field. Steps should have been taken twenty years ago. Shall we now take steps for twenty years hence?" Father Tehan believed the time to be especially favorable for securing a new site. "A building boom second only to that after the great fire and the consequent rapid increase in value of real-estate shows Chicago to be in an era of great prosperity."

In May, 1902, Father Martial Boorman was approached by Father Francis Henneberry as to the possibility of the Jesuits taking over his parish of Corpus Christi in exchange for their parish of the Sacred Heart. Corpus Christi parish was at the time one of the most promising in the city, the church site at Forty-ninth Street and Grand Boulevard being described by Father Boorman as "the finest spot in Chicago." Nothing, however, came of this proposed arrangement nor of any other effort made just then by the Jesuits to better their location. It was not until four years later, in 1906, that the movement for a new site had practical results. On March 9, 1906, Father Henry Dumbach, rector of St. Ignatius College, having previously secured the approval of the provincial, Father Henry Moeller, as also of the General, Father Luis Martin, purchased from the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad twenty-five acres of land situated at Devon Avenue and Sheridan Road in Rogers Park, two miles south of the northern limits of the city. The property abutted on Lake Michigan, was nine miles directly north of St. Ignatius College, and cost \$161,255, of which sum one-half was paid in cash and the rest assumed as debt. There was no particular development in progress at the moment in this locality. It was largely open country with a few residences scattered sparsely over its extent. But the growth that ensued there during the two decades 1906-1925 was phenomenal, few chapters in the history of real-estate development in Chicago recording anything more remarkable.

Archbishop Quigley had assured the Jesuits a parish before they proceeded to establish themselves in Rogers Park. Its territory lay between the two existing parishes of St. Ita's and St. Jerome's, which accordingly were called upon to part with portions of their own terri-

tory. This arrangement Archbishop Quigley sanctioned only after having obtained a decree of authorization to this effect from the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. A frame church built on Sheridan Road at the western edge of the property was opened at the beginning of March, 1907, with Father Louis Kellinger in charge as pastor of the new parish, which was named for the Jesuit founder, St. Ignatius Loyola. The church cost twelve thousand dollars and a rectory continuous with it, the same amount. These structures stood until the erection of an imposing new church at the intersection of Glenwood and Loyola Avenues, which was solemnly opened to public worship, September 16, 1917, Father John B. Furay being at the time president of Loyola University.

The academy building, the first unit of the group of structures that rose in succession on the new site, was begun in the August of 1908 and first occupied in September of the following year. It was in Mission style, measured one hundred and twenty by eighty feet and cost eighty thousand dollars, an additional ten thousand dollars being expended in grading and improving the adjoining grounds. It was erected under the supervision of Father Dumbach, whose name it now bears, and who, before it was brought to completion, was succeeded as president of St. Ignatius College by Father Alexander J. Burrowes. The science and engineering building, the munificent gift of Michael Cudahy, one of a group of brothers who attained to national prominence in the packing industry, was built in 1911. It was followed by other units, the faculty building, 1922, the gymnasium, 1923, and the library, 1930, all these structures being grouped on the North Side campus. The first two units were erected during the presidency of Father William Agnew (1921-1927), the library during that of Father Robert M. Kelley (1927-1933). The library, the gift of Edward A. Cudahy, brother of Michael Cudahy, donor of the science and engineering building, was built by him as a memorial to his wife, Elizabeth M. Cudahy. It is an edifice of distinguished design and a type of modern library-construction at its best.

By the will of Charles C. Copeland of Libertyville, Illinois, who died in 1923, the University acquired some hundred acres of valuable property situated in the vicinity of that town.

The evolution of St. Ignatius College into a university was due largely to the enterprise and foresight of Father Burrowes, ardent devotee of the idea that the time had come when the larger Jesuit schools in America should broaden their scope by equipping themselves with professional departments and in such other ways as were practicable advance to a university status. In 1909 St. Ignatius College adopted the style, "Department of Arts and Sciences of Loyola Uni-

versity," which department was some years later moved to the North Side campus. In 1908 the Lincoln College of Law was established with quarters in the Ashland Block in the loop district. In 1909 the Illinois Medical and in 1910 the Bennett School of Medicine became affiliated to Loyola, which in 1917 acquired the property and equipment of the Chicago College of Medicine and Surgery. The university department of medicine is now installed in a well appointed building of its own on Lincoln Street in the great hospital district of the West Side. In 1911 engineering was started, but was later discontinued. A School of Sociology was established in 1914 under the direction of Father Frederic Siedenbureg and subsequently proved itself one of the most active departments of the University. Loyola University Press was founded in 1912 by Father William Lyons and the Jesuit scholastic, Austin G. Schmidt, mainly with a view to the publication of textbooks. Commerce and Finance began in 1924 while in the preceding year the Chicago College of Dentistry, one of the largest and best organized dental schools in the country, had become affiliated to the University. Finally a Graduate School was organized in 1926 and with law and sociology was assigned quarters in the Downtown or University College building on Franklin Street, which was acquired by the University in that year. With this expansion of academic activities, extending over a decade and a half since the formal organization of the University in 1909, went a normal increase in registration, the student-body in the session 1936-1937 numbering 5,175.

In 1936 an Institute of Jesuit History, designed to promote study and research in the history of the Society of Jesus in the United States, was inaugurated by Father Samuel K. Wilson, president of the University.

§ 7. OMAHA

In one or other way the Society of Jesus has found itself linked in historical association with most of the important cities of the Middle United States. The name, Omaha, in the shortened form of Maha appears in print for the first time in the series of western Indian tribes indicated on the Marquette map which accompanied the famous missionary's *Recit* as published in the Thevenot edition of 1681. The first priest to visit the site of Omaha and there say mass was probably Father Peter De Smet and this sometime during the period 1838-1840 when he was attached to the Jesuit mission of Council Bluffs on the Iowa side of the Mississippi. De Smet was also the first nineteenth-century priest to penetrate into what is now Nebraska, his journey of 1840 over the Oregon Trail bringing him through the southwestern portion

of the state. Thirteen years later, in 1853, the first claim on the Omaha terrain was staked out, the Indian title to the land having been extinguished only a short while before.

On August 13 of the following year the frontier village saw its earliest church services, which were conducted by the Reverend Mr. Cooper, a Methodist clergyman. Just a year later, in the summer of 1855, Father Emonds came over from the Iowa side and in the Hall of Representatives in the territorial capitol celebrated the first Mass in Omaha to the great joy of the score or more of resident Catholic families. Also in 1855 Bishop Miége, Vicar-apostolic of the vast territory between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, made his first visit to Nebraska, on which occasion he was in Omaha. "An encouraging letter from Governor Cum[m]ing had confirmed me in the plan I had already made of visiting the principal places in the territory that year." From Council Bluffs the Bishop was taken across the Missouri to Omaha in a canoe. "Mr. Cuming told me that two lots had been reserved for a Catholic Church and that more could be secured if necessary. Being well pleased with the site of Omaha, I promised to send a priest there as soon as possible; and meanwhile I requested Father Treacy of St. John's opposite Sioux City, on the Nebraska side, to do what he could for Omaha. In the spring of 1857 I went up again, found a little brick church built, but not plastered and made the acquaintance of the excellent Creighton family and promised to obtain for Nebraska a resident vicar-apostolic, which was done the following year through the provincial council of St. Louis." *

St. Mary's Church, the little brick structure, twenty-four by forty feet, of which the Bishop writes, was the first house of worship built in Omaha. It stood at the northeast corner of Eighth and Howard Streets on two lots donated by the Nebraska and Iowa Ferry Company, was begun in the spring of 1856 and dedicated by Father Scanlan of St. Joseph in August of the same year. In 1858, on recommendation of Bishop Miége and the Second Provincial Council of St. Louis, the Holy See erected the northern part of Miége's district into the separate Vicariate-apostolic of Nebraska, naming as vicar an Irish Trappist monk, Father James M. O'Gorman. Father De Smet was the choice of the St. Louis Provincial Council for the dignity, but on protest from the Jesuit General the Holy See failed to ratify the nomination. It is interesting to note that De Smet held for a while the powers of vicar-

* In compiling this sketch of Creighton University the author has utilized, in addition to unpublished material, Father Michael Dowling's *Creighton University: Reminiscences of the First Twenty-Five Years* (Omaha, 1903) and Father Patrick A. Mullens's *Biographical Sketch of Edward, John A., Mary Lucretia and Sarah Emily Creighton* (Omaha, 1901).

general in the new vicariate, as is attested by a document of April 20, 1864, under Bishop O'Gorman's signature. "As the Rev. F. De Smet is travelling up the Missouri and through the northern parts of the Vicariate of Nebraska and as it may not be possible for me to visit those places for a time, I give to him the power and authority of Vicar General to correct any abuses he may find in his way, to grant dispensations where it be necessary and to do and prescribe what may be fitting as occasion may arise."

When Bishop Miége on his visit to Omaha in 1857 made the acquaintance of the "excellent Creighton family," the two brothers Edward and John A. Creighton had been residents of the growing western town for about a year. Born in Ohio of Irish parents, Edward in 1820 and John A. in 1831, they had before going west engaged successfully in telegraph-construction, a business then in its best days when whole sections of the country were waiting to be linked together by the marvellous electric wire. So far-reaching was Edward Creighton's reputation in this field of enterprise that when in 1860 the project of an overland telegraph system to the Pacific was taken up by eastern capitalists he was commissioned to undertake its construction. Two independent companies, one working east from California to Salt Lake City, the other west from Omaha to the same terminus, cooperated in the venture, Edward Creighton being charged with the building of the westward line. Adventure, personal hardship and all the perils of the wilderness, including a six-hundred mile reconnoitering trip on horseback across the mountains in the depth of winter, enter into the story of this great engineering feat, which in the end was successfully accomplished. It was in reality a work of national significance and congress had subsidized it to the extent of four hundred thousand dollars. At Fort Bridger October 17, 1861, the two sections completing the circuit between Salt Lake City and Omaha were completed and on that day Edward Creighton sent a message to his wife in Omaha: "This being the first message over the new line since its completion to Salt Lake, allow me to greet you. In a few days two oceans will be united."

Later, the two Creightons, Edward and John A., always closely associated as partners in various enterprises, went on from one business success to another whether in further telegraph building, hauling and selling of merchandise in the mining-camps of Montana, stock-raising or banking. Edward became founder and president until his death of the First National Bank of Omaha. He was only fifty-four when on November 5, 1874, he fell on the floor of his bank under a paralytic stroke and passed away two days later. He died intestate and his fortune went to his devoted widow, née Mary Lucretia Wareham, a native of Dayton, Ohio, and sister to Sarah Emily Wareham, the wife

of John A. Creighton. While circumstances had left Edward Creighton without an education of higher grade, he was fully alive to its advantages and the vision of a free college in Omaha to be financed by him was a cherished dream of his latter years. Happily, the dream was shared by his wife, who planned that it was not to be left frustrated by her husband's premature death. When Mary Lucretia Creighton died, January 23, 1876, she left in her last will and testament the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the erection and maintenance in Omaha of a "school of the class and grade of a college," the entire property with an endowment-fund to be turned over by the executors to the Catholic bishop having jurisdiction in Omaha, and to be retained by him and his successors in office in trust for the educational purpose designated in the will. The three executors, John A. Creighton, James Creighton, a cousin of the preceding, and Herman Kountze, accordingly bought property on a hill at what is now Twenty-fifth and California Streets, erected a building and on July 1, 1878, conveyed the entire property and securities to the Right Reverend James O'Connor, Bishop O'Gorman's successor as Vicar-apostolic of Nebraska.

Bishop O'Connor, though he had accepted in due legal form the responsibility of administering Mrs. Creighton's trust, did so only after he had made definite arrangement with the Society of Jesus to take in hand and conduct the proposed college. He wrote April 15, 1877, to the provincial, Father Thomas O'Neil, provincial superior in St. Louis:

I had hoped to be able before leaving on my visitation to run down to St. Louis and have a talk with you about the "Creighton College," a portion of which is to be erected in Omaha this summer. I find, however, that it will not be possible for me to do so.

This college, as you may already know, is to be built and endowed by funds left for the purpose by a wealthy lady of this place who died two years ago. The bequest will eventually amount, I am told, to about two hundred thousand dollars. One hundred and seventy-five thousand are now available. The will provides for fifty thousand being expended for the purchase of the grounds and for the erection of the buildings that will be at first needed and for the conveyance to me of said buildings when finished, as also the remainder of the bequest to be by me perpetually invested for the benefit of the institution.

My intention from the first has been to ask the fathers of your Society to take charge of it. Having, however, been led to suppose that they would be unable to do so for some years, owing to a want of members and feeling that for four or five years the college could be nothing more than an ordinary day-school for which it would be difficult to provide teachers, I concluded to defer making formal application to you for fathers till a portion of the scholars would be prepared to enter on a collegiate course. With this view

I invited Father Finotti to take temporary charge of it, acquainting him with my ultimate intention in regard to it.

But a careful examination of my surroundings and of the whole subject has satisfied me that it will be exceedingly difficult for me to conduct the establishment on the proposed plan and I have accordingly concluded to ask you if it would not be possible for you to take charge of it from the start. A couple of fathers or even one would be sufficient at first as they could employ secular teachers till such time as you could send a sufficient number of your new members.

I shall be only too happy to give you all possible security against being disturbed by myself or my successors in the possession of and the administration of the institution. The will does not admit of my giving you an absolute title to the college or the investments, but I could lease the former to you, say, ninety-nine years, which practically would be equivalent to an absolute title and the will binds me and my successors to use the interest of the investment for the support of the institution.

Will you, then, oblige me by letting me know at your earliest convenience if there be any likelihood of your being able to take charge of the college next September or October? This point settled, the details of any arrangement to be entered into between us, can, I think, offer no serious difficulty . . . I should have said that the Creighton College is to be a day college and is intended to give an education free of charge. The annual revenue will be from twelve to fifteen thousand dollars.

When Father O'Neil laid Bishop O'Connor's proposal before his consultors, May 11, 1877, they expressed themselves unanimously in favor of its acceptance. The following month the provincial at the Bishop's suggestion visited Omaha to inspect the property and confer with the latter on the arrangement it would be desirable to make in assuming charge of the college. His impressions were distinctly favorable and on August 7 he submitted to his consultors a private contract to be entered into between himself as representing the Society of Jesus and Bishop O'Connor. The contract met with the approval of the Bishop as he wrote to Father O'Neil August 15:

Your favor of the 13th inst. is just now received. I am perfectly satisfied with the terms of the contract you propose and shall sign it whenever you please. There will be no difficulty as to the grade on which the college will be commenced as I consulted the lawyer who drew up Mr. Creighton's will on this very point last fall and as the Executors understand that for a few years it must necessarily be nothing more than an ordinary parochial school.

The contract entered into by Bishop O'Connor and Father O'Neil, though without legal character, is an instrument of significance, constituting as it does a sort of fundamental charter for the Jesuits as

regards the exercise of their activities in the diocese of Omaha. As the preamble reads, it concerns "the establishment of the Society of Jesus in the above mentioned diocese or vicariate, into which territory it is admitted through the good-will of the aforesaid Rt. Rev. Vicar-Apostolic in order that in the city of Omaha and his district it may exercise its ministry and do other works for the salvation of souls according to its institute." The contract insured to the Jesuits "without price the free use and ownership for the space of ninety-nine years of the property known as 'Creighton College' with the buildings now erected or in future to be erected on the same ground with the option of renewing the contract after the lapse of that period for another ninety-nine years under the same conditions and so on forever." Moreover, they were to receive every year the revenue accruing from the endowment-fund, were to be free to charge tuition if the revenue did not meet the cost of upkeep, were to be allowed in connection with the college a so-called collegiate church, i.e., one without parochial rights and obligations, and, finally, were to be assigned a parish church when the Catholic population of Omaha should have increased to such an extent as to necessitate the establishment of a third parish in addition to the two (St. Philomena's and St. Mary Magdalene's) actually existing.

The Jesuits having accepted the direction of Creighton College, Bishop O'Connor was impatient to see them arrive in Omaha. He wrote November 7, 1877, to Father O'Neil:

I have been greatly annoyed and embarrassed by the delay in finishing the college. I hoped that, if not finished, it would at least be in a condition to enable you to open classes in it by the first of this month. Now, however, I am convinced that it is useless to even speculate on the duration of work in Omaha. Only a very few reliable contractors are to be found here. Mr. McGonigle has been on time with his part of the building and so has the bricklayer, but those who undertook to furnish the stone delayed so long to fill their orders that the roof, though the frame is up, is not yet finished. . . . What would you think of opening the schools in January even though the building be not finished? I think one story can be made quite comfortable when the windows and doors are in. Six months are a considerable portion of the average time boys spend at school and I should be sorry to see the youth of this town lose it. Two generations of boys have already grown up here without Catholic education. Besides, I am very anxious for other reasons, to have one of your fathers in this city as soon as possible. I think it most advisable that the Father who is to take charge should come up early next month and that you yourself should pay us a visit before hand to make arrangements for his future residence. It will be for you to say whether or not he should take up his quarters in the college or rent a house as near it as possible. Though eight hundred houses are said to have been put up in the city during

the last spring and summer I am told there is hardly one for rent here. This, however, will not make much difference as ten rooms will be available in the college, some or all of which can be made ready for occupancy. I shall be a happy individual the day you take possession here.

On December 6, 1877, Father Roman A. Shaffel arrived from Chicago to make preparations for the opening of the college. A little cottage next to St. Catherine's Academy was fitted up and here Father Shaffel resided as chaplain of the academy and spiritual director of other local communities of sisters until the college was ready for occupancy. Towards the end of July, 1878, the first retreat of the clergy of the diocese took place in the college building under the direction of Father Walter H. Hill, S.J. Finally on August 22 of the same year the Jesuit faculty of the college arrived in Omaha. It consisted of Father Hubert Peters and the scholastics Augustin Beile, Michael Eicher and William Rigge, who were followed a few days later by two lay-teachers, Mr. Edward A. O'Brien and Mrs. Hall, both from Chicago.

The college opened on Monday, September 2, 1878, with one hundred and twenty students in attendance. Father Shaffel was president and prefect of studies, and Father Peters, prefect of discipline, while the classes were in the hands of the scholastics and lay teachers. How elementary was the organization of studies may be judged from the circumstance that the most advanced of the classes, Third Humanities, was in many respects on a level only with the higher grades of the present-day grammar school.

Such was the humble entrance which Creighton College made into the academic world. That it began its career under Jesuit auspices was due to the zealous initiative of Bishop O'Connor. "[He] was," said Father Edward Higgins, Father O'Neil's successor in the office of provincial, "a man of large ideas [and] looked to the college as destined to do a most important work and to exercise a widespread influence on the future of the Catholic Church not only in the city of Omaha but in the whole of Nebraska and the neighboring states. His enthusiasm on this point was catching. One could not listen to the eloquent expressions of his views without sharing in them to some extent. He had succeeded in persuading Fr. Weld and Fr. General [Beckx] that an immense field for good was opened to the Society in this new state and that the opportunity must not be neglected."

The formal agreement in writing which Bishop O'Connor had made with Father O'Neil was of a merely private nature though, as the Bishop was later advised by his attorney, it should not have been

entered into without approval of the court. The only thing to do, as the Bishop found it altogether impossible to conduct the college himself and had in fact already brought the Jesuits to Omaha to assume charge of it, was to transfer the entire trust to them in due legal form. As a preparatory step in the process, Creighton University, a corporation "with divers departments of which Creighton College shall be one," was organized on August 14, 1879. In his petition to the court resigning the trust, the Bishop represented that "there is a certain corporation called Creighton University, organized (August 14, 1879) according to the laws of Nebraska, that the trustees of this University are the same persons with whom he made the agreement already referred to; that they are men of long experience and great learning peculiarly fitted to discharge the trust, which they are willing to accept; that they and their successors are certain to be members of the Church under whose supervision Mrs. Creighton wished the college to be placed; and that her purpose will be fully gained by substituting them for himself as trustee." The court accepted the Bishop's resignation, transferred the trust to Thomas O'Neil and other Jesuits under the name of Creighton University, and released the Bishop and his successors from all further responsibility in the matter as soon as he should have executed a deed of transfer of the property and trust-funds to Creighton University, though requiring at the same time that the trustees on the first day of July of each year report both to the Bishop of Omaha and the president of the University touching the administration of the trust-funds during the preceding year. Moreover, the court ruled that "inasmuch as the testatrix was moved to make the request by her affection for her late husband and designed the school to remain forever in his memory, it shall not be permissible for the University to change its name or that of the College so as to omit the family name from the title by which either University or College shall be known either in law or common parlance." Finally, in accordance with the court's decision, Bishop O'Connor on December 4, 1879, conveyed by deed of trust to Creighton University all the property and securities of Creighton College and the Society of Jesus thus entered into full legal possession of the institution.

The original fifty thousand dollars set aside in Mrs. Creighton's will for the support of the college had been increased by the division of the residue of her estate, so that when Creighton University accepted the trust the endowment-fund stood at one hundred and forty-seven thousand, five hundred dollars. Father Higgins, who was provincial at the time the transfer was made, penned in later years his recollection of the affair:

When I entered in office in 1879, we had to determine whether we would accept the trust in definite legal form or not. Though there was some difference of opinion about it, the prevailing sentiment was in favor of it. Father Converse, Provincial Procurator, examined into the financial conditions and reported in favor of it. Fr. General recommended that we comply with the Bishop's urgent request. . . . As to the sufficiency of the endowment at that time, we were all satisfied that it would be enough for all needs for some years; and under Father Shaffel's administration and for some years longer, it was more than enough. To provide a larger income in the future, the charter of the College allowed us to charge a tuition-fee if that should become necessary. John Creighton was a party to the transaction of transferring the Trust from the Bishop to our Society and was very urgent with us to consent. He also agreed to the clause in the charter providing for a tuition-fee; but he said distinctly and significantly that it would never be done and Fr. O'Neil and myself understood this to mean that it would never be necessary. We did not take this as binding him legally or even morally to increase the endowment, but we looked upon it as an intimation, though not a promise, that he would come to the aid of the college when it should need help. He has done so very nobly.

Creighton University started out bravely on its career without suspicion of any economic or financial crisis ahead. Down to the early nineties Omaha seemed to be borne along securely enough on a tide of economic development and prosperity with real-estate values growing in most encouraging fashion from year to year. At the same time the town was still wearing many of the earmarks of a frontier settlement and the condition of its thoroughfares was especially such as to elicit unflattering comment from visitors who made their acquaintance. Father James Dowling, vice-president of Creighton in the early eighties, recorded in later years the unhappy adventure that befell him and a Jesuit friend when they essayed to journey in a carriage from the college to the Bishop's residence at Ninth and Harney Streets.

The crudity of outward appearances reflected the average economic status of the residents. "The parents of the boys," wrote Father Michael Eicher in reference to the student-body at Creighton in its opening years, "belonged for the most part to the working class. Many of them lived in the poorer quarters of the town and not a few of them were poor." All in all, as Father Higgins recalled in later years, the prospects of a Catholic college in Omaha were anything but alluring. "We knew that many years must elapse before the classes could be filled. There were no Catholic schools in Omaha and of course we could expect but few boys from the public schools. The first years then were devoted to the teaching of the lower classes and the College was only a grammar school preparing the boys for the Academic or high school course."

The first threat against the life of the college came, not from financial embarrassment, but from the vexing problem which had beset the western Jesuits all through their history, lack of adequate personnel. At St. Louis, August 21, 1882, Father Leopold Bushart, the provincial, discussed weighty matters with his consultors, Fathers Meyer, Higgins and O'Neil. "Reverend Father Provincial," so ran the minutes of the meeting, "read certain passages from the Institute on dissolving houses and colleges; also a letter he had recently received from Reverend Father General about interrupting the studies of theologians of the fourth year and assigning the Fathers of the 3rd probation to various charges in the college of Chicago. He directed the consultors to communicate to Reverend Father General in writing their opinion as to what ought to be done. Owing to scarcity of personnel was it not necessary to suspend for a while or dissolve altogether one or other college? All agreed that the college in Omaha might be dissolved unless the Right Rev. Bishop and the patrons of the college be satisfied with a few lower classes until it be possible after some years with an increase of personnel to equip and maintain the higher classes." A solution of the problem appears to have been under consideration in a contemplated transfer of the college to the German Jesuits established in the United States with headquarters in Buffalo. In May, 1883, negotiations to this end were being carried on between St. Louis and Buffalo and fathers of the latter jurisdiction were dispatched by their superior to visit Omaha and look over the ground. Their report was unfavorable, the endowment-fund for one thing not being considered adequate to the support of the college, and in the end the Buffalo Mission declined to take it over.

Father Shaffel was succeeded in August, 1880, as president of the college by Father Thomas Miles, who filled the post three years, being replaced in September, 1883, by Father Joseph Zealand. Under the latter's administration Greek, which had for some time been a prescribed subject of the classical or standard curriculum of the college, was dropped in deference to widespread prejudice among the students against classical studies of any kind. At the same time, it was explained to the public that this was a provisional arrangement only, though it met with the cordial approval of Bishop O'Connor, who was reported to have said that friends of the college complained that, in view of local circumstances, it was stressing the classics unduly. Evidence of this feeling is at hand in the fact that in 1884 the classical course was discontinued altogether, a quite radical departure for a Jesuit college to make. In that year announcement was made by Creighton University to this effect:

Although the college is fully prepared to give a thorough education in the classical course and in higher departments of science, yet, as experience has taught the faculty that parents do not leave their sons long enough at college to be more fully educated in the advanced studies, we have endeavored to accommodate ourselves to the present wants of the public and have selected a course of instruction which, completed in four years, will fit the student for a practical business life, for literary or scientific pursuits. We shall, however, hold ourselves ready to advance the standard whenever a sufficient number of students fit for still higher studies present themselves.

It is interesting to read the comment made on this educational program by Father Joseph Keller, the General's assistant for the English-speaking provinces. He wrote from Fiesole in Italy, where the General was at that time residing, to Father Bushart, the provincial: "Your plan of studies for Omaha has come. It is not much like the Ratio Studiorum but for a few years it can be allowed to go on. Of course it is well understood to be only temporary and [to] last only as long as necessary and to be succeeded by the regular course as soon as possible." Luckily for Creighton's academic prestige the makeshift curriculum thus introduced as a concession to what seemed a public preference for an immediately practical rather than a cultural type of education was of short duration. Three years later, a rigorously classical course of seven years' work, three of secondary and four of collegiate grade, was announced as obligatory on all registrants. With this turning-point in its academic career Creighton acquired and thereafter maintained the status of a normal Jesuit college. It graduated its first bachelors of arts in 1891.

The scientific departments of Creighton University were made possible almost entirely through the munificence of John A. Creighton. Other benefactors, notably John A. McShane, aided in their organization, but Mr. Creighton's gifts were so liberal and recurrent that without them these departments could not have been either set on foot or maintained. In the fall of 1883, when he was first approached on the subject, he signified his willingness to finance the installation of the needed scientific equipment, physical, chemical, astronomical and photographic. In August, 1885, the direction of the scientific departments was taken in hand by Father Joseph Rigge, who soon acquired local prestige as a popular lecturer and writer on scientific subjects. He was especially drawn towards chemistry and it was in his laboratory and at his own hands that the earliest analysis of Wyoming petroleum is said to have been made. The *Scientific American* carried a paper from his pen on "The Wyoming Coal Fields," while the *Omaha Daily World* for December 4, 1886, presented a valuable article of his with drawings and maps on "Omaha as a Coal Point." As an expert chemist

he was earnestly solicited by the Omaha Board of Public Works to take an active part in investigating the origin of a disastrous local fire. His report on the subject embodied results of his own experiments on the causes of the corrosion of water and gas mains together with suggested remedies for the evil. In this line of investigation he appears to have been a pioneer, as the *Scientific American* was at pains to point out.

Father Joseph Rigge's nine years at Creighton bore fruit in raising the reputation of the college in the natural sciences to a high level. But he had the Jesuit idiosyncrasy of caring more for human souls than for scientific advancement and in 1895 found his way from Cincinnati to British Honduras, Central America, there to labor among the Maya Indians.

The year 1896 saw Father Joseph Rigge's brother, Father William Rigge, arrive in Omaha to occupy the chairs of physics and astronomy, which he retained almost up to his death in 1927. It was especially as an astronomer that William Rigge was to achieve distinction. The University's first astronomical instrument, a five-inch equatorial telescope, was among the many valuable gifts with which John A. Creighton had enriched the scientific department in 1884. In the early winter of 1885 arose the observatory built at Mr. Creighton's expense and furnished with clock, chronograph and electric outfit by Mr. John A. McShane. A circular brick building with revolving roof, it stood two hundred and fifty feet north of the main entrance to the college. In the fall of 1886 the college built an addition to the observatory to house a three-inch transit instrument which it acquired through the generosity of John A. Creighton. The astronomical work at Creighton initiated by Father Joseph Rigge was taken up and carried forward through long years with distinguished success by his brother, William. Besides lecturing on astronomy he accomplished a great amount of research work in the subject and contributed technical articles to current astronomical reviews, such as the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, *The Astronomical Journal* and *Popular Astronomy*. His attainments in the field eventually became known in academic circles in Europe and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of England. The fruits of long years of research were embodied by him in two published works, *Graphic Construction of Eclipses and Occultations*, 1924, and *Harmonic Curves*, 1926. With a machine, in the devising and perfecting of which Father William Rigge was engaged for a period of ten years, may be drawn seven billion distinct harmonic curves, compared with nine hundred and thirty-seven, which was the maximum number previously possible.

After the retirement of Father Zealand from the presidency of Creighton in 1884 the post was occupied in succession down to 1899

by Fathers Hugh M. P. Finnegan, 1884-1885, Michael P. Dowling, 1885-1889, Thomas Fitzgerald, 1889-1891, James F. X. Hoeffler, 1891-1895, and John F. Pahls, 1895-1898. Creighton University in virtue of an act of the Nebraska legislature, of date February 27, 1879, giving the University authorities power to "erect, within and as departments of said institution, such schools and colleges of the arts, sciences and professions as to them may seem proper," opened its first professional department, the Medical School. It owed its inception to the liberality of John A. Creighton, who besides providing the funds for its upkeep until it became self-supporting, housed it in a spacious building erected by him for the purpose at the northwest corner of Fourteenth and Davenport Streets. This building was first occupied in October, 1898. Building, furniture and equipment represented an outlay of about eighty thousand dollars.

From the beginning of the Medical School in 1892 until the completion of the new building classes were temporarily held in the old St. Joseph's Hospital at Twelfth and Mason, which had been vacated on the opening of the new Creighton Memorial Hospital at Tenth and Castellar. This noble institution had been founded in 1888 by Mrs. Sarah Emily Creighton, who bequeathed to the Franciscan Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration fifty thousand dollars towards the construction of a new building. John A. Creighton, deeply interested in this project of his devoted wife, determined to make it in every way a suitable memorial of her. Besides donating the ground on which the hospital stands, he added one hundred thousand dollars to the original bequest, thereby insuring the erection of one of the largest and best equipped hospitals in the West. It was largely John A. Creighton's interest in the hospital which turned his thoughts to the founding of a medical school as a supplementary institution. In the presence of Father Hoeffler he entered into an agreement with Mother Xavier, superior of the Franciscan sisterhood, by which all the clinical material and facilities of the hospital were to be reserved in perpetuity to the faculty and students of the John A. Creighton Medical College. What an advantage this was for the student-body may be inferred from the circumstance that St. Joseph's Hospital, Creighton Memorial, has for years treated more cases than all other Omaha hospitals combined. The Medical School, which counted in its first year only thirty-six students, representing six states, had in 1900 a registration of one hundred and forty-three. It was among the first institutions devoted to medical education in the United States to require a four-year course, which it did in October, 1896.

While the opening of the Medical School by Father Hoeffler was the most notable advance in the development of Creighton University

that had hitherto taken place, his administration was marked by two unpleasant situations that checked for a while the onward march of the institution. These were the anti-Catholic agitation fostered by the American Protective Association and the first stages of a general economic depression which reacted almost disastrously on the University finances. The recurrence at intervals of waves of anti-Catholic feeling sweeping over the country is a familiar phenomenon in the history of the United States. As the healthy organism can throw off recurrent attacks of disease, so the American body politic has always emerged from these visitations without serious impairment of its general attitude of fairness and toleration towards all religious creeds. The A.P.A. movement raged with particular violence in Omaha in the eighteen-nineties. Curiously enough, the association which had constituted itself the special pattern of loyal Americanism, was controlled largely by Scandinavians scarcely conversant with English and by recently arrived Orangemen from Canada. The A.P.A. local organ, *The American*, inveighed early and late against the Jesuits. On the other hand the Omaha *Bee* and the *Parish Messenger*, the latter edited by the Episcopalian clergyman, Rev. John Williams, carried on a lively defence of the Catholics. At the peak of the excitement Father Hoeffler, always a popular preacher and lecturer, delivered a masterly lecture on "The Jesuits," which appeared in the *Bee*, while Father Thomas E. Sherman spoke on "True Americanism" in Exposition Hall before as large and representative an audience as ever gathered in Omaha, the reception-committee comprising seventy-five of the most prominent non-Catholic citizens of the town. Father Michael Dowling penned these lines on the subject:

While the religious war was on, the bigots did all they could to harass the religious institutions as well as John A. Creighton and other Catholic property owners, by opening streets, changing grades, ordering paving, curbing, guttering and other expensive municipal improvements, which filled up special taxes beyond measure and endurance at a time of great financial distress. This petty persecution affected St. Joseph's Hospital, the Poor Clares and Creighton College. An attempt was made to open 24th Street the whole length of the college grounds, taking the entire strip of 526 feet from the college property and allowing a ridiculously trifling compensation for the land and none at all for the ruin of the observatory site and for disfiguring the property by cutting diagonally across the whole college front. This project was thwarted by vigorous protest.

Like every other movement in the United States having for its object the baiting of the Catholic Church, A. P. Aism gradually weakened and disappeared leaving the object of its attack none the worse for the experience.

As though the fanaticism of the nineties was not distress enough for the University to endure, there was added to it all the anxieties and embarrassments of a period of financial depression unprecedented in the West. The panic, for such it was, broke suddenly in 1893, at which time Father John Mathery was treasurer of the University. "People whose credit was the best," he afterwards recalled, "were unable to meet the interest due to the college and loans were recommended to us which should never have been made. However, as our friends acted in good faith, no blame can be attached to them. The exaggerated value of property that remained in the minds of some until 1893 was the cause of this. Subsequent events showed how we were mistaken in putting implicit confidence in men who did not realize the probable extent and duration of the financial crisis." As example of the abnormal rise and subsequent collapse of real estate values in Omaha, the case may be mentioned of seven acres of land in the western section of the city and south of the Sacred Heart Convent which were acquired by Father Shaffel in the early eighties for less than twelve hundred dollars. In 1887 this property was disposed of for thirty-five thousand dollars, at an increased value, therefore, of thirty-fold. Fifteen years later the same property would gladly have been parted with by its owners at one-half or one-third of that amount.

A good part of the Creighton endowment-funds was invested in mortgages on Nebraska real-estate. When the borrowers defaulted on their payments, the only course left the University to recover its money was foreclosure. This it had sometimes had recourse to, but the property coming into its hands in deteriorated condition and at a time when rents and real-estate values had decidedly slumped failed in most cases to cover the value of the loan. "The crash came so suddenly," according to Father Dowling, "that no one seemed prepared for it or had time to provide against it. Such was the depreciation in values that loans secured by property valued at three times the amount of the investment was found to be almost worthless as soon as the panic had performed its work. Insurance companies, loan and trust companies, bankers both local and eastern threw upon the market at almost any price large blocks of property which came to them by foreclosure." The effect of the disaster upon Creighton University was that by 1899 the original Creighton bequest of one hundred and forty-seven thousand, five hundred dollars had been rendered largely unproductive. At one time the interest from the foundation-funds was running as high as thirteen thousand dollars; probably scarcely half of that amount could be counted upon in the period of depreciation which began during Father Hoeffler's presidency, reached its climax under his successor,

Father Pahls, and continued with diminishing force into Father Dowling's second term as head of Creighton.

The darkest days the institution ever knew came when Father Pahls was rector. Yet with resources crippled, friends apathetic or hopeless, a gloomy outlook on every side, he still managed to hold his forces together and keep the college going. The faculty barely managed to subsist on the diminished foundation revenues and whatever aid or income from other sources was available; it was necessary even to draw on the endowment funds to the extent of eleven thousand dollars to meet current expenses. John A. Creighton did not himself escape the pressure of these troubled times. The erection of the medical school at the very height of the depression put a drain upon his purse greater than had been anticipated and his holdings in real-estate and securities shared in the current depreciation. Father Pahls was aware of all this and accordingly forbore, unwisely perhaps, to appeal to him to come to the rescue of the University. The tide turned with the coming in 1898 of Father Dowling to fill again the post of president of the University. Between him and John Creighton existed the most genuine of friendships, founded on mutual esteem and confidence and broken only by death. The first step taken by Father Dowling after being installed as rector was to draw up and submit to Mr. Creighton a financial statement of the University, in which it was pointed out that at least seventy-five hundred dollars a year of additional income would be required until matters could be placed on a more satisfactory basis and the eleven thousand dollars taken from the endowment fund restored. Various methods of escape from the prevailing impossible situation were suggested, among them, the surrender by the Society of Jesus of the trust and its withdrawal from Omaha, the charging of tuition, the suspension of either the academic or collegiate department, and the temporary closing of the college. Happily, it was unnecessary to have recourse to any of these extreme measures. Father Dowling's statement on the financial crisis was the first intimation given to Creighton of the desperate straits to which the University was reduced. At once he came forward handsomely and supplied the deficit in the revenues, thus enabling the University to carry on with its program of work. From that moment the institution as a result of John A. Creighton's continued benefactions worked up steadily to a position of financial soundness from which it has at no time since receded. He conveyed to it properties known as the Deere Plowe Building and the Creighton and Arlington Blocks. In 1906 he made over to it the Byrne-Hammer building, which represented a money-value of four hundred thousand dollars. Finally, after his death on February 7, 1907, the University became the recipient through his last will and testament of nearly

three million dollars, thereby finding itself placed on a comfortable financial basis though with subsequent programs of development even this munificent sum was not to be adequate to all needs.

In Father O'Neil's agreement with Bishop O'Connor it was stipulated that the Jesuits were to have a collegiate church and, when the needs of the Catholics of Omaha demanded it, a parish church also. The parish church came first. On May 15, 1881, Father Shaffel assumed charge of Holy Family parish, which was worshipping at the time in an unfinished structure consisting of a mere basement of stone almost on a level with the street. A new brick church, constructed partly out of the materials of the old, was begun by Father Shaffel in April, 1883, and dedicated in October of the same year. It stood on Izard Street near Seventeenth. The upper part of the structure was used for a church, the lower part for a school, and in the rear of the church was the residence, all practically under the same roof. At Twenty Seventh and Decatur Streets was built in July, 1887, a small frame school to accommodate the children living in the northwestern part of the parish. In 1881 the parish-limits, which included practically the whole northern half of Omaha, were defined and the deeds of the property made over to the Society of Jesus in the name of Creighton University in pursuance of an agreement between Bishop O'Connor and the provincial, Father Higgins. But while the Holy Family parish and its property, including lots, house, church, school, etc. were thus conveyed to the Jesuits, the agreement specified that the property thus acquired was to be "owned, held and administered by the same Fathers for the use and benefit of the said parish and congregation of the Holy Family." The Jesuits were therefore trustees rather than absolute proprietors of the property in question.

Early in 1883 Father Shaffel was appointed by the Bishop vicar-general of the diocese of Omaha. The appointment did not meet with the approval of Father Beckx on the ground that members of the Society of Jesus ought not in accordance with their rule be invested with ecclesiastical dignities. But Bishop O'Connor on appeal to the Holy See received an answer overruling the objections of the Father General. Father Shaffel remained vicar-general until his removal to Osage Mission, Kansas, in July, 1889. He was succeeded March, 1889, in the pastorate of the Holy Family by Father Francis Hillman. Meantime, the parish had steadily grown, numbering four hundred and fifty families in 1891 with two priests in attendance and this after St. Cecilia's parish on the west and the Sacred Heart parish on the north had been cut off from its original territory. Under Father Hillman occurred an incident which strained relations for a while between the parishioners of the Holy Family and Creighton University, though

it was in no wise a check on the substantial spiritual results achieved through the zealous ministry of Father Hillman himself and Fathers Lagae, A. K. Meyer and Koopmans. In April, 1892, Father Hillman with the approval of the provincial, Father John P. Frieden, acquired for thirty-seven thousand dollars a half-block at Twenty-first and Charles Streets, purposing to use it as a site for a new church, school and residence. As the church was not incorporated, the property was purchased and held in the name of Creighton University. Then came the hard times, which left the property badly depreciated. The parishioners, as also Bishop Scannell, Bishop O'Connor's successor in the see of Omaha, refused to ratify the purchase as a parish-contract, though Creighton University had acted as a mere agent or proxy for the parish and could not according to its charter assume any responsibility in the affair. The outcome was that the debt was assumed by Father Hillman's Jesuit superior in the name of the Missouri Province, which paid over thirteen thousand dollars of the principal due, while the parish paid interest on the debt to the amount of forty-five hundred dollars. These sums were retained by the original owner, who finally after considerable litigation was induced to cancel the deed of sale and take back the property, then valued at about one-half the twenty-eight thousand dollars still claimed by him. When the Holy Family parish passed into the hands of the Bishop in 1897, it was free from debt and had besides a balance of fifteen hundred dollars, which was likewise transferred to the Bishop.

The throng gathered on the Creighton College grounds June 26, 1887, to witness the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the new collegiate church of St. John was the largest that had ever assembled for a Catholic function in Nebraska. Bishop O'Connor, Governor Thayer, Mayor Broatch, and other dignitaries were present. The silver-trowel with which the stone was laid and which Father Dowling, rector of the University, delivered on the occasion to Mr. Creighton bore the inscription: "Presented to John A. Creighton by the Faculty of the College as a remembrance of the day, June 26, 1887." St. John's on the Hill was of stone and Gothic in design and cost fifty thousand dollars exclusive of decorations and furnishings. There was practically no debt on the structure at the time of its dedication by Bishop O'Connor, May 6, 1888, the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate, on which occasion an impressive sermon was preached by the Jesuit provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer. The cost of construction had been met from the sale for thirty-five thousand dollars of a piece of Omaha property purchased by the Jesuits a few years before, from John A. Creighton's donation of ten thousand dollars, and from other contributions in money.

The status of St. John's in the first years of its career was that of a so-called collegiate church. Confessions were heard and services held, which the Catholics of the city were free to attend, but the fathers serving the church had none of the rights or duties of priests in charge of regular parishes, no weddings, baptisms or funerals being held therein except by special leave of the Bishop. "A collegiate church," so Father Dowling wrote, "was then an unknown and little understood factor in ecclesiastical circles in the West and soon proved itself more than unwelcome. Without parochial responsibility, though receiving the support of the faithful, it was considered to have no *raison d'être* whatever. As early as 1893 it was a subject of lively discussion and considerable reproach." In view of numerous complaints on this head Bishop Scannell finally advised Father Fitzgerald, the provincial, that it was his wish that the fathers confine their ministerial labors to hearing confessions and saying early Masses in St. John's. Father Fitzgerald readily acquiesced in the Bishop's wish but shortly an arrangement was reached between the two by which St. John's was to be constituted a parochial church on condition that the Jesuits relinquished the Holy Family parish. On January 7, 1897, Bishop and provincial signed an indenture covering the terms of this agreement, and on January 10 following a letter from the Bishop was read in the churches affected by the new arrangement. The letter designated a certain territory cut off from pre-existing parishes which was thereby "constituted a parish and put in charge of the Jesuit Fathers of Creighton College." A legal opinion obtained from Judge J. M. Woolworth declared that Creighton University, as trustee of Creighton College, "might neither sell nor lease the church and the property on which it stood so as to permit it to be held as is usual with parish churches in the name of the bishop or a church corporation; but it might super-add to the uses of the Collegiate church the uses and duties of a parish church." Acting on this opinion of one of Omaha's most competent lawyers, himself not a Catholic, the University trustees in compliance with the Bishop's grant, resolved January 9, 1897, that "to the uses of the Collegiate church of St. John's be added those of a Parish Church and that the Fathers assigned as priests of said church shall have and enjoy all the rights and privileges of and shall discharge all the duties of parish priests within the boundaries as aforesaid, assigned by the same Bishop." Finally, pursuant to a further resolution of the same board of trustees the Holy Family Church property was on January 11, 1897, conveyed by a quit-claim deed to the bishop of the diocese.

Father Joseph Meuffels was named the first pastor of St. John's, now serving the joint uses of a collegiate and parish church. Imme-

diately on his arrival he organized Sodalties of the Blessed Virgin for married women, young ladies and school children. The Holy Family branch school-house, located at Twenty-fifth and Decatur, was moved to a lot opposite St. John's Church where it housed the parish school, which was opened in September, 1897, under the Sisters of Mercy with seventy-eight pupils in attendance. In 1900 the frame school was moved to the rear and in front of it on California Street was erected a new two-story school building of brick, costing approximately twelve thousand dollars. The new school was inaugurated with a parish entertainment January 22, 1901. As a further step in parish development a church corporation for the purpose of holding the school and other parish property by due legal tenure was organized November 21, 1900, under the name of St. John's Roman Catholic Church of Omaha. In March, 1921, a new parish rectory of stone was ready for occupancy. It stood on ground immediately adjoining on the east the new church sacristy built in 1923, in which same year the church itself was notably enlarged beyond its original dimensions.

The first two decades of the new century witnessed a remarkable growth of the university idea in the major institutions controlled by the St. Louis Jesuits. Creighton shared fully in the movement and within a few years the Medical School, already in operation since 1892, was reenforced by other professional departments. The Law School opened in 1904, taking up quarters the following year in the building known as the Edward Creighton Institute, which the University had erected on Eighteenth Street opposite the City Hall. In 1921 the school moved to the handsome four-story and splendidly appointed structure provided for it at the Twenty-sixth Street entrance to the University campus. The Omaha College of Pharmacy was merged with the University September 1, 1905, and soon after the Creighton School of Pharmacy occupied a building of its own erected on a site adjoining the Medical School. The department of dentistry was inaugurated in 1905 in the Edward Creighton Institute. In 1921 this department was given adequate quarters in a structure similar in design and dimensions to the Law School building and situated like the latter at the California Street entrance to the University campus. Both law and dentistry buildings were units in a program of construction planned and carried through by Father John F. McCormick, president of the University, 1919-1925. In 1920 a School of Commerce and Finance was organized, quarters being found for it in a building at the southeast corner of Cass and Twenty-fifth Streets, and some years later a School of Journalism was opened under the direction of Father John Danihy, who brought with him to Creighton the experience born of the management through long years of a similar department at Marquette University.

Other steps in the physical development of the University were the erection of the gymnasium (1915) and the stadium (1925) and the remodeling (1930) of the faculty-building, which was given an impressive front on California Street.

Father Michael P. Dowling (second term, 1898-1908) was succeeded in the office of president of Creighton by Fathers Eugene Magevney (1908-1914), Francis X. McMenamy (1914-1919), John F. McCormick (1919-1925), William J. Grace (1925-1928), William A. Agnew (1928-1931), Patrick J. Mahan (1931-1937), and Joseph P. Zuercher (1937-).

In 1928 Creighton University rounded out a half-century of life. Its growth during that period was all that its founders and promoters could have desired. As compared with the hundred and twenty students who gathered in the class-rooms of the old main building the opening day of the school, September 2, 1878, the University at the opening of the 1935-1936 session counted a student-body of 2,264 distributed between high-school, college and professional departments. During the fifty years that intervened between the two historical landmarks, thousands of Creighton graduates had gone out of the institution to do their share of the world's work whether in the ministry, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, law, education or in business and commercial life. One cannot easily estimate the influence they have exercised in their respective communities for social betterment and the higher things of life. Such influence is to be classed among the imponderables and one can only conjecture as to its range, which in any case has been far reaching. It has been pointed out, to cite the instance only of the Medical School, that the sound ethical standards which have dominated its teaching have reacted visibly on the medical profession of the entire Northwest.

§ 8. DETROIT

The Jesuits opened their first house in Detroit in 1877. Prior to that date they never had a church or mission within the actual limits of the city though its site was often passed by the early missionaries of the Society as their birch canoes carried them up the Detroit River to the missions of the Upper Lakes. When de Lamothe Cadillac set out from Three Rivers in the summer of 1701 to found a permanent settlement at Detroit, he was accompanied by two priests, Constantine De L'Halle, a Recollect, who was to minister to the troops and the French settlers, and François Vaillant de Gueslis, a Jesuit, who was to work among the Indians. The latter shortly after his arrival at the new settlement withdrew in consequence of a disagreement with Cadillac. Thus no Jesuit mission was set up at the foundation of Detroit as had been

planned. Cadillac's prejudices against the Jesuits, who had ideas of their own as to what was best for the Indians, kept them out of his settlement though it was the declared wish of Louis XIV that "the mission of Detroit be served by the Jesuit fathers." At a later period the Jesuits opened the Mission of the Assumption among the Huron Indians near the site of Sandwich, Ontario, directly across from Detroit on the south side of the Detroit River. But Cadillac's settlement was frequently visited by Jesuit missionaries and the parish registers of St. Anne's, the historic Detroit church of the Recollects, record sacraments administered by Father de La Richardie and other eighteenth-century members of the Society.

Two Jesuits of note in the history of early American travel were at Detroit while the French flag still floated over it, Fathers François Xavier Charlevoix and Joseph-Pierre de Bonnécamps. The latter, who accompanied Céloron's expedition of 1749 down the Ohio, was a visitor in the autumn of that year. He took the latitude of the place "in Father Bonaventure's courtyard," finding it to be $42^{\circ} 38'$. "I remained too short a time in Detroit," de Bonnécamps wrote in his journal, "to be able to give you an exact description of it. All that I can say to you about it is that its situation appeared to me charming. A beautiful river runs at the foot of the fort; vast plains which only ask to be cultivated, extend beyond the sight. There is nothing milder than the climate, which scarcely counts two months of winter [?]. The productions of Europe, and especially the grains, grow better than in many of the cantons of France. It is the Touraine and Beauce of Canada." Still another Jesuit associated with eighteenth-century Detroit was Father Du Jaunay, who was in charge of the Ottawa Mission at Arbre Croche at the time of Pontiac's famous conspiracy. He was the bearer of a letter from Captain Etherington, commandant at Michilimackinac, to Major Gladwyn of Detroit soliciting aid against the Indians. Parkman recounts the incident in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, naming the Jesuit Jonois by mistake for Du Jaunay.

At the opening of the eighteen-forties Father Verhaegen, Jesuit vice-provincial in St. Louis, received earnest invitations from Bishops Rese of Detroit and Purcell of Cincinnati to open colleges in their respective cities. As it was impossible to accede to the wishes of both prelates, the Father General decided in favor of Cincinnati. Detroit was to go without a college of the Society until the seventies when Bishop Borgess took up the idea of a Jesuit house in Detroit with the exiled German Jesuits who had organized an American mission with headquarters in Buffalo. But they were in no position to make the attempt and the church which he offered them in his episcopal city later went to the Franciscans. The Bishop next turned to the Jesuits of St.

Louis, who agreed to accept his invitation, but not before they had obtained definite approval for the step from the Buffalo Jesuits, to whom the entire state of Michigan had been assigned as territory by mutual arrangement of the American superiors of the order. The consent of the Father General had also been obtained. "Your Reverence thinks with his consultors," he wrote to the provincial, Thomas O'Neil, February 16, 1877, "that the wishes of the Right Reverend Bishop of Detroit ought to be acceded to and a start made with a college. I agree with your Reverence as I am convinced that competent instructors are available."

On April 5, 1877, Father O'Neil laid before his consultors the agreement he had made with Bishop Borgess. Its main provisions were that the Bishop ceded to the Jesuits the parish of SS. Peter and Paul with a title in fee-simple to the parish property and buildings, which included rectory and church, the latter still standing in its original location at the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and St. Antoine Street; that the Jesuits as a condition of the gift were to "establish and maintain in the said city of Detroit a college and a school for the education of youth"; that they were to be free to make any change deemed necessary in the location of said college or school, with the right to organize a parish in the new location; that, further, they were to be at liberty to sell or dispose of the property conveyed to them, should they judge it advisable to do so, provided, however, both parties to the contract agreed that the Church of SS. Peter and Paul was "no longer needed for the Catholics within the present limits of said congregation"; that, finally, if such sale of the property in question was ever made, the Jesuits were to expend the proceeds of the sale "within the diocese of Detroit."

On June 1, 1877, four Jesuit priests arrived in Detroit to inaugurate the work of the Society in that city. At their head as superior was Father John B. Miége, who, after receiving episcopal orders as Vicar-apostolic of the Indian Territory and spending over twenty years in that charge, had resigned his vicariate, doffing all episcopal insignia and even the title of bishop. A residence on the south side of Jefferson Avenue on a lot one hundred by two hundred feet was acquired for twenty-three thousand dollars, enlarged by an additional story, and, as the home of Detroit College, received its first students in September, 1877. Eighty-four registered the first year. When the number of students passed the two hundred mark additional quarters for the institution became imperative. A residence with a lot fifty-three by two hundred feet on the same side of the avenue as the church and rectory but separated from them by three intervening dwellings was accordingly purchased for thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars

and in May, 1885, began to house the collegiate department. Finally, all the property adjoining the rectory on the east for some two hundred feet having been purchased by the college, the site was used for the erection of a new building on a scale adequate for all needs, so it was thought, of both high school and college departments. Father John P. Frieden, president of Detroit College, financed the new structure with subscriptions which he had obtained to the amount of fifty thousand dollars from friends of the institution. Named superior of the Missouri Province in March, 1889, he left the task of actual construction to his successor, Father Michael Dowling, who was well fitted for the responsibility placed upon him. Foundations were laid in August, 1889, and just a year later, August, 1890, the new building was ready for occupancy. It provided class-room and other needed space for the students as also living quarters for the Jesuit faculty. The architectural merits of the new Detroit College met with praise from the press, one local print describing it as "a college building that would compare favorably with any similar institution in the land." But within two decades the ever-growing student body was taxing the capacity of the spacious structure. A wing at the east end running back to Larned Street was accordingly added to the main building in 1907 by Father Richard Slevin, president of the college, 1907-1910. Within it were recitation-rooms, six in number, science laboratories, lecture-rooms and a gymnasium.

On the retirement of Father Slevin from the presidency in December, 1910, his duties were taken over by Father William Hornsby, who continued to discharge them until the installation of Father William F. Dooley as president in July, 1911. The college charter of 1881 expiring in 1911, Father Hornsby secured a new charter by which the institution was incorporated as a university. Having received from Mrs. T. P. Hall a gift of fifteen thousand dollars with which to purchase property for an engineering school, he was able to announce at the commencement exercises of June, 1911, the opening of that department in the fall.

The administration of Father Dooley proved to be a turning-point in the history of the University of Detroit. With the session 1911-1912 was begun the department of engineering, which was conducted on the cooperative plan, with four complete courses in engineering, chemical, civil, electrical, and mechanical, each extending over a period of five years. Later, in the fall of 1912, was opened the Law School, which from the beginning was privileged to recruit for its faculty the best legal talent of the city. In 1915 was erected on the south side of Jefferson Avenue directly across from the college building an imposing fire-proof concrete and stone structure, one hundred by two hundred feet

in dimensions and Gothic in design. This improvement represented an outlay of one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars and was designed to house the engineering and law departments. Its construction from funds generously furnished by the brothers, John and Michael Dinan, sometime students of Detroit College, was a feature in the program of expansion which Father Dooley had adopted during the brief period (1911-1915) that he was president of the institution. Called by death at the peak of his usefulness, he had written his name into the history of educational enterprise in Detroit as one who envisaged and began in part to realize a Jesuit center of instruction in the arts and sciences proportionate to the city's growing needs. Under his successor, Father William T. Doran (1915-1921), the program he initiated was faithfully carried through. Commerce and finance was added in 1916 and a School of Aeronautical Engineering, first of its kind in America, was opened in 1921. In 1918 a students' chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine, was erected at the southeast corner of St. Antoine and Larned Streets, a gift to the University from Michael and John Dinan, who had financed the engineering building.

Under Father John P. McNichols, who took over the administration of the University October 2, 1921, a plan was devised and carried through involving the transfer of the arts department and some at least of the professional schools of the University to a less congested and more attractive section of the city. Early in 1922 the University bought for two hundred thousand dollars a tract of sixty-four acres at Six Mile (now McNichols) Road and Livernois, to which was added by purchase in 1927 an adjoining lot of eleven acres. Of the purchase-money, forty thousand dollars were furnished by the Dinan brothers. This fine property of seventy-five acres offered adequate sites for the university buildings, which according to architects' plans were to number eighteen. Of these structures seven had been erected before the end of 1927, the stadium, power-house, faculty, commerce and finance, engineering, general science, and chemistry buildings. The group is set off by a stately campanile one hundred and seventy-five feet high built with students' contributions as a memorial to University of Detroit men who died in the World War. All buildings on the campus are in a modified Mission style of distinguished appearance, the material used being a buff-colored durable sandstone. The corner-stone of the faculty building, the first unit of the group erected, was laid by Bishop Gallagher May 30, 1926, and on June 27 of the following year the faculty took up residence in the building. On the following day Father George Reno said Mass in it, the first celebrated on the new University campus. A major step in the development of the University was the erection in 1931 of a University High School on South Cambridge at Cherry

lawn. The most recent professional school to be opened is that of dentistry (1932).

A stadium erected on the new site with funds supplied by the University Athletic Association was opened in the fall of 1923. Named Dinan Field in honor of the two brothers who had lent notable aid to the University by their benefactions, it offered ample facilities for the athletic activities of the students. Among more recent services of the Dinans to the cause of Catholic education has been their gift to the Jesuits of a valuable tract of land, a hundred acres in extent, lying along Nine Mile Road, a mile and a half beyond the northern municipal boundary of Detroit. Conspicuous also as a benefactor of the University of Detroit was Mrs. Ellen Campau Thompson, who at her death left the institution a legacy of notable proportions.

Father Henry W. Otting (1855-1928) spent the last twenty years of his life in Detroit, beginning his work there at the age of fifty-three. His most important scholastic achievement was the organization and successful development of the School of Commerce and Finance of the University of Detroit. Associated with him at every stage of the work as dean of the school was John A. Russell, member of the first graduating class of Detroit College, and a man of many contacts with the business life of the Michigan metropolis. When Father Otting was taken off by a sudden demise, June 11, 1928, Dean Russell pronounced his eulogy at the University commencement of a few days later, saying in part:

And so there came to this University of Detroit in a city and state which became industrial and commercial in the highest degree and almost overnight, an imperative call to train young men and women in the mysteries of commerce and industry. To that call this University responded for its community, as many sister schools did for theirs, by erecting a School of Commerce and Finance, to train men and women for business. The direction of that school, as its regent, was confided to Father Otting. Its field was all unexplored. There were few models to be followed. Even he himself, beyond a fine training in economics and logic, was unfamiliar with the courses which must compose its curriculum. But with the humility that ever accompanieth wisdom, with that sense of the proportions that can be developed by an earnest man at sixty years of age; with the tolerance that scholarship in one field inspires for scholarship in another; with the vigor of a contestant among the Olympians, with the gentleness of a mother to her infant son, and, I fondly surmise, with an abounding faith in the efficiency of prayer, Father Otting took up his work.

He gathered about him a group of earnest and competent teachers of the mysteries of business. They were drawn from the practical life of our city. He gave them his respect and to the last man of them, they gave him theirs.

The economic crisis of 1929 and subsequent years took heavy toll of the University of Detroit. The elaborate program of construction inaugurated in 1926 and in considerable measure carried through left the institution burdened with an indebtedness of major proportions, which could be borne with ease in more prosperous days but in actual circumstances created a heavy handicap under which the University had still to contrive to carry on with its educational program. This the University proceeds to do under the presidency of Father Albert H. Poetker, who was given this charge on the premature demise of Father John P. McNichols in 1932. As to Father McNichols, a dispensation of Providence interposed a world-wide crisis in the economic order between him and the adequate realization of his admirable plans; but the circumstance leaves undimmed the memory of the abounding energy and enterprise of which the plans were born and which have left the University of Detroit permanently in his debt.

§ 9. DENVER

With the transfer in 1919 of the Jesuit houses in Colorado to the Missouri Province the latter acquired the College of the Sacred Heart in Denver. The beginnings of this institution go back to the opening in 1878 of a Jesuit college of the same name in Las Vegas, New Mexico, with Father Salvatore Personé as first rector. Presently Colorado began to look up as a field for Catholic education with the result that Bishop Machebeuf of Denver invited the Jesuits to cultivate this field also, which they began to do by establishing in 1884 a school at Morrison, Colorado. It soon became obvious, however, that Denver, already populous and forward-looking and with more prospect of continued development than any other locality in the Rocky Mountain region, was the logical place for a school of collegiate grade. The Las Vegas and Morrison schools were accordingly closed and a third institution under Jesuit auspices to take over and continue the work of the other two establishments was founded in Denver in September, 1888. It bore the name of the College of the Sacred Heart and was installed in a newly erected four-story structure of stone, three hundred by eighty feet, which stood on a tract of forty acres at the northwestern municipal limits of Denver. Father Salvatore Personé, first rector of the Las Vegas college, was also first rector of the Denver one. The physical environment of the new school had much to recommend it, among other features a climate of known salubrity and an attractive site with panoramic views reaching to the eastern slopes of the Rockies. As the registration grew, fresh facilities for carrying on the work of the school were added. Lowell Hall, a private residence subsequently converted

into a dormitory, was acquired in 1891. A gymnasium was built in 1912 and a stadium in 1924, the latter erected on a new campus of forty acres adjoining the original campus on the east and obtained by purchase in 1922. Finally, Carroll Hall, a students' dormitory built of brick and terra cotta and collegiate Gothic in style, was put up in 1925 under the rectorship of Father Robert M. Kelley. First incorporated November 27, 1893, under the title "College of the Sacred Heart," the institution later changed its name to Regis College, the articles of incorporation being amended to this effect by the board of trustees April 19, 1921.

Presidents of Regis College in recent years have been Fathers Aloysius A. Breen (1926-1932), Joseph A. Herbers (1932-1934), Robert M. Kelley (1934-). Under them, despite a serious handicap of inadequate financial means, the institution continued to pursue, with satisfaction to the public, its program of educational service to the youth of Colorado and adjoining states. What was described by the editor of a local paper as "the outstanding literary event in the history of the Rocky Mountains" was a Rocky Mountain Catholic Literature Congress held in Denver in November, 1933. It was organized and sponsored by Regis College.

During the period 1919-1923 died in Denver three nonagenarians, Fathers John B. Guida, May 23, 1919, Dominic Pantanella, May 24, 1922, and Francis Xavier Gubitosi, September 7, 1923. In Trinidad, on December 30, 1922, died a fourth nonagenarian, Father Salvatore Personé. All four had begun their ministry in Colorado in the days of the gold-seekers and had come to be closely identified with pioneer Catholicism in the Rocky Mountain region. The steady and self-effacing labor through long years, whether in education or the sacred ministry, of these and other Jesuit priests of Italian birth cooperating with them is an interesting example of what the immigrant elements of the country have contributed to its making in culture and other ways.

§ 10. PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, WISCONSIN

On the dissolution, September 1, 1907, of the mission maintained for a period of years by Jesuit fathers from Germany with headquarters in Buffalo, three of the four colleges which they had opened were incorporated in the province of Missouri. These were Sacred Heart College, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, St. John's College, Toledo, and St. Ignatius College, Cleveland. Prairie du Chien, two miles north of the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers, where in 1673 Jolliet and Marquette first came upon the great "Father of Waters," can claim a rich fund of historical associations. It came by its name, as usually

explained, from the circumstance that on its site or in its locality was settled a band of Fox Indians with their chief, *Le Chien*, "The Dog." The town itself, which is of French origin, dates from about 1783. In the mid-fifties of the past century the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad reached the Mississippi River at what is called the Lower Town of Prairie du Chien and preparations were made to erect there a terminal station. Thereupon a lively real-estate boom was forthwith set in motion in the locality. In the enthusiasm that followed a joint stock-company constructed at a point approximately a half-mile east of the railway terminus a large three-story frame hotel known as the Brisbois House and costing fifty-six thousand dollars. As a hotel it proved a failure. It became a government hospital during the Civil War and after the war a private school under the name of Prairie du Chien College, which like the hotel also ended in failure. The building then passed into the hands of a resident of Prairie du Chien, John Lawler, who offered it to the Jesuits for a college. Father Arnold Damen, who acted as intermediary in the affair, reported the offer to Father Coosemans, the provincial, by whom after taking advice of his councillors it was refused. This was in July, 1869. Mr. Lawler then succeeded in having the Brothers of the Christian Schools occupy the building and conduct an institution in it under the name of St. John's College. The institution was maintained for only five years, closing its doors in 1876. Four years later, in 1880, Lawler conveyed the property and improvements as a gift to the Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission, who in the fall of 1880 opened on the site the College of the Sacred Heart, with Father William Becker, founder and first president of Canisius College, Buffalo, as its first executive head. The usual classical course of both secondary and collegiate grade was offered and there was a commercial course besides. Only sixty-one students registered the first year, of whom twenty-five were day scholars. But the attendance grew with the years, necessitating the erection in 1884 of a brick building which later bore the name of Kostka Hall. The faculty during this period numbered more than one member who later achieved distinction in academic circles, among them Father John Hagen, internationally known as an astronomer and the director for many years of the Vatican Observatory. He established a meteorological observatory at Prairie du Chien and there began his important published studies on the variable stars. The first classical students were graduated in 1884, among them Joseph Busch, who later became Bishop of St. Cloud, Minnesota.

As an institution of undergraduate study the College of the Sacred Heart was discontinued in 1888, the buildings being thereupon occupied as a novitiate and, for three years, as a scholasticate of the Buffalo Mission. In May of that year the superior of the Buffalo Mission,

Father Henry Behrens, and the rector of the Sacred Heart College, Father Anselm Leiter, had laid before Bishop Flasch of La Crosse their plans for the transformation of the college into a novitiate. This step, so they represented, had been necessitated by the meagreness of their personnel, which made it increasingly difficult to maintain an adequate teaching staff. The Bishop agreed to the change, reluctantly withal, and expressed an earnest wish that the Jesuits would at the first opportunity establish a college in La Crosse, the diocesan see. This wish was never realized, but in 1898, after the Buffalo Mission had conducted its noviceship and other training schools for a decade at Prairie du Chien, the College of the Sacred Heart was reopened to the great satisfaction of its former patrons and friends. Father Anselm Leiter, the first president of the restored college (1898-1901), was succeeded by Father Ulrich Heinzle in 1901 and by Father Joseph L. Spaeth in 1904. Under the latter the growing registration necessitated the erection of an additional structure. This, three stories in height with a frontage of two hundred and forty feet, was built of yellow pressed brick with white stone trimmings. The new unit, subsequently known as *Campion Hall*, extends east of and on a line with the two buildings of earlier date. Father Joseph Horning, president during the period 1909-1911, added a large wing in 1910 to *Kostka Hall* while his successor, Father George A. Kister, erected in 1915 the dormitory building, *Pere Marquette Hall*. Tudor Gothic in design and built of dark brown and rough finished brick with white terra cotta trimmings, it became a notable addition to the existing group of buildings. An attractive college chapel, also designed on Tudor Gothic lines, was erected during the presidency of Father Aloysius Rohde. It was solemnly blessed under the invocation of the Queen of Angels by Bishop McGavick of La Crosse on June 2, 1925.

In 1913 the corporate title of the college became "The *Campion College of the Sacred Heart*." The institution is now conventionally known as *Campion College* in memory of the Oxford scholar and Jesuit, Blessed Edmund Campion, who sacrificed his life for conscience sake under Queen Elizabeth. St. Gabriel's, the Prairie du Chien Catholic parish, was taken in hand by the Jesuits in 1913.

Campion College discontinued its college department in June, 1925, since which time it has functioned only as a secondary or preparatory school. This change was deemed advisable in view of the difficulty felt in maintaining the college registration up to a satisfactory level and meeting other requirements of the standard college. On June 4, 1925, a letter of the Jesuit General decreeing the important change was read in all the student dining-rooms of *Campion College*. Since this date all the resources of the institution have been concentrated on

developing it into a well-equipped and academically effective preparatory school.

§ II. CLEVELAND

The south shore of Lake Erie is not without its Jesuit associations of the colonial period. The earliest known religious services within the limits of Ohio were those conducted by missionaries of the Society for a band of Huron Indians settled near the site of Sandusky. Here a mission was maintained for a while in the middle eighteenth century and here apparently was built the first chapel or church on the soil of the future state. The first Jesuit known to have visited northern Ohio in the nineteenth century came up on a ministerial trip from St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, in 1844, holding services in Sandusky and elsewhere. Later Father Weninger and after him Father Damen preached missions in some of the Cleveland parishes. A Jesuit residence was opened by the Buffalo Mission in 1880 with Father Michael Zoeller as local superior. On July 10 of that year Bishop Gilmour, who had invited the Jesuits to open a college in Cleveland as soon as circumstances should permit, put his signature to this document: "The Fathers of the Society of Jesus are hereby appointed pastors of St. Mary's of the Assumption. They will take charge of the church on August 1st, prox. subject to all the laws of diocese of Cleveland guiding and directing the government of congregations and seeing that all things are done for the glory of God." The Assumption was a German parish on the West Side of Cleveland, the church, a large one of brick, being at the southwest corner of Carroll Avenue and Thirtieth Street. The project of a college, which Father Zoeller took bravely in hand, was slow to mature; it was not until 1886 that the institution, which was named for St. Ignatius, opened its doors. The college building was a four-story structure of brick of unusually solid construction and was planned by a Jesuit coadjutor-brother, who also supervised its erection. It stood directly across from the church on Thirtieth Street. Father John Neustich, associated with the beginnings of Canisius College, Buffalo, arrived in 1886 to become first vice-rector of the new college and pastor of St. Mary's Church, Father Zoeller returning thereupon to Toledo, where he was installed as local superior.

The educational venture made by the Jesuits in Cleveland was not long in justifying itself. The registration grew rapidly and within a few years complete high school and college courses were in operation. The institution commanded for its purpose a field probably unique among the Catholic colleges of the United States. Cleveland had within a short radius several large and rapidly growing towns, as Akron and Youngstown, which like Cleveland itself were for a long period of years

without Catholic institutions of higher grade for young men. The result was that the student-body of St. Ignatius was recruited not only from Cleveland itself but from these outlying towns. The college department especially developed to a gratifying degree, its registration of students who followed the normal undergraduate courses leading to the bachelor's degree exceeding in the pre-war period and even later that of any other Jesuit college of the Middle West.

The capacity of the original college building, which housed both high school and college departments, was eventually overtaxed by the growing numbers of registrants. To relieve the strain as also to secure a footing on the populous East Side, Cleveland's major business and residential section, a branch high school was opened in the fall of 1907 on property which the college acquired on Cedar Street at One Hundred and Tenth. This forward step was taken by Father George Pickel, the last president of St. Ignatius College during the period it was attached to the Buffalo Mission. Bishop Horstmann, Ordinary of the diocese, indorsed the step, giving the Jesuits written permission August 31, 1907, "to open and conduct a branch school comprising high school or courses of study on the so-called East Side of the city of Cleveland." Loyola High School, as the modest institution was named, numbered during the first year of its career only twenty-three students, who were housed in an old residence that stood on the premises. The erection in 1909 of a one-story structure of brick met for the moment the needs of the school. But within a few years the school had quite outgrown its actual situation in class-room space and other facilities and a new site in a more desirable quarter of the East Side was eagerly sought for. Difficulties were met with in realizing this plan and Loyola High School accordingly suspended classes in June, 1922, the property being subsequently sold. St. Ignatius thus became once more the only Jesuit school of secondary grade maintained in Cleveland. It is remembered of the one-time Loyola Academy that, though poorly housed and inadequately equipped in material appointments, it steadily elicited from the student-body a remarkable measure of loyalty and affection.

Meanwhile, the west side institution, both college and high school departments, had continued to prosper. During the period 1920-1924 the college registration rose from one hundred and twenty-five to three hundred and twenty-seven, students entering from states as remote as Iowa, Massachusetts and Arkansas. A gymnasium was built on the college campus in 1913 and a separate library building provided; but the only guarantee for the college's future, so it was ultimately felt, lay in acquiring on the East Side or beyond a tract of land ample enough to provide for all subsequent development and even for the growth of the institution to university stature. The transfer of the college to the eastern

section of the city was now accepted by all concerned, administration, friends and patrons of the college and student-body itself, as the logical and necessary step to take if the institution was to realize to the full its program of educational service to the people of Cleveland. Steps towards realizing this project were finally taken by the purchase in the spring of 1923 of forty-five acres in Shaker Heights, one of Cleveland's most forward-looking suburbs. The property measured eight hundred feet on Fairmount Boulevard and was within a half-hour's trolley-ride of the Public Square.

Following shortly on this important purchase announcement was made in May, 1923, by Father Thomas J. Smith, president of St. Ignatius College, that new articles of incorporation had been obtained from the Ohio state authorities whereby the institution, dropping its original name, was to assume the title of Cleveland University. The only condition limiting this grant was that at least one department of professional grade be started within a period not to exceed eight years. Not to discard altogether the auspicious name under which the institution had prospered in the past, it was planned to designate the department of arts and sciences, "St. Ignatius College of Cleveland University" and under this name the seniors of the session 1922-1923 were graduated.

The general satisfaction evoked among the students and friends of the college by the adoption of a name which seemed to presage its entrance into a far wider field of usefulness than it had previously known received an unexpected check when it became known that a group of citizens had long contemplated the merging of certain non-Catholic local schools into a municipal institution to be known by the identical name of Cleveland University. Although the authorities of St. Ignatius College had come by the new title of incorporation honorably and legally, a circumstance which no one called into question, pressure to induce them to renounce it was brought to bear upon them from various directions and with such insistence as to make it difficult not to yield. The title of Cleveland University was accordingly formally relinquished, especially as this step was represented to be a necessary condition for obtaining aid in certain quarters in a financial campaign to be launched on behalf of the institution. The title, John Carroll University, was thereupon adopted in memory of the distinguished sometime member of the Society of Jesus and patriot of revolutionary days who became the first of the long line of Catholic prelates in the United States.

Not long after the acquisition of the Shaker or University Heights property, steps were taken by the Jesuits towards the organization of a parish in the district, a temporary church under the title of the Gesu being erected in 1926 with Father Francis J. Rudden in charge as

pastor. A parish school with the Sisters of Notre Dame lending their services as teachers was likewise opened. At length, under the administration of Father Benedict J. Rodman as president, the problem of financing the transfer of John Carroll to the new site began to be solved by the relatively successful issue of a drive for funds conducted early in 1930 with the sympathy and support of Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland and of all classes of citizens irrespective of religious affiliations. Construction of a group of buildings of impressive architectural design was begun on the University Heights property and work on them carried to a degree where it became possible, with the session 1935-1936, to occupy them for college purposes.

§ 12. TOLEDO, OHIO

Toledo, on the Maumee a few miles above its outlet into Lake Erie, has had a Jesuit house since 1869. Its first association with the Society of Jesus was made as early as 1749 when Father Joseph-P. de Bonnécamps passed with Céloron's party down the Maumee after its notable expedition through the interior of Ohio. Other Jesuits both before and after de Bonnécamps very probably passed by the site of the future Toledo as they voyaged up or down the Maumee, which in connection with the Wabash and the intervening portage was a favorite route of travel between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The first Jesuits actually to exercise the ministry in Toledo appear to have been the missionaries, Fathers Weninger and Damen, to the latter of whom Bishop Rappe of Cleveland made known his desire that the Society establish itself somewhere in his diocese, preferably in Toledo. The same prelate on the occasion of the Second Plenary Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1866, had called on Father Coosemans at the Jesuit college in that city to petition him to establish a residence in Toledo with the privilege of taking over one of the local parishes. Father Coosemans alleged to Bishop Rappe his lack of men for any such undertaking and subsequently reported the affair to the General, Father Beckx. Not the Missouri Province but the Mission of Buffalo was destined to inaugurate Jesuit work in the growing town on the Maumee. In 1869 a few fathers of this mission on invitation from Bishop Rappe began to reside in Toledo as pastors of St. Mary's Church on Cherry Street.

Toledo was not and is not today a city numbering in its population any large percentage of Catholics. It is accordingly not surprising that many years passed before the project of a college was taken in hand. When this was done in 1898, Bishop Horstmann wrote on April 28 of that year to the superior of the Buffalo Mission, Father Theodore Van Rossum: "It is with the greatest pleasure that I send you my pub-

lic and official approval of the formation of a Jesuit college in the city of Toledo, begging God to bless the work, which I feel sure will be for the glory of God and the spiritual and temporal welfare of the young men of this growing city." Property was secured at the northwest corner of Walnut and Superior Streets and, in the spacious old residence which stood on it and which housed both faculty and student-body, the first session of St. John Berchmans College began in September, 1898, Father Peter Schnitzler, pastor of St. Mary's Church, being rector of the institution. As the registration grew, a building was erected immediately adjoining the old residence, followed in 1907 by another building several stories in height which afforded ample space for class-rooms and other needs. Two years later, 1909, Westminster Church was purchased and converted into a gymnasium. The Pomeroy residence at the northeast corner of Walnut and Huron Streets was bought and through other purchases nearly the entire block on which the college buildings stand came into the possession of St. John's. The school was incorporated under the name of St. John's College on May 22, 1900. Subsequently, on August 29, 1903, the charter was amended so as to allow a new incorporation of the school under the name of St. John's University. As a first step towards realizing the new status of the school opened up to it by the revised charter, a department of law, operated at night only, was established in 1909. After a career of fifteen years this department was discontinued in 1924. Much of the development of the school in its earlier years was due to Father Francis Heiermann, who became president in 1905 and continued to fill the post until 1911, when he was succeeded by Father John A. Weiland. With a view to the transfer of the college to a more suitable location Father Francis X. Busch, president of St. John's. (1918-1924), acquired in 1921 from the Catholic diocese of Toledo twenty-six acres facing Ottawa Park on the western edge of the city. The property, which had an ample frontage on Manhattan Boulevard, offered every advantage as a contemplated site for a new and greater St. John's. Funds wherewith to build on the new site were not, however, available, and the college perforce continued to occupy its original location, which had at least accessibility in its favor. Meantime, the Jesuit parish of the Gesu had been organized at Ottawa Park and before the end of 1923 numbered one hundred and thirty families. A new school building on Parkside Boulevard was occupied in September of that year, while the school auditorium was blessed as a temporary church by Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland on October 24 following. Successors of Father Busch in the presidency of the college were Fathers Jeremias J. O'Callaghan, William H. Fitzgerald and Gerald A. Fitzgibbons.

When in 1923 St. John's College rounded out the first quarter-

century of its career, it had given fifty priests to the diocese, not including those of its alumni who were then studying for the diocesan priesthood or had entered the Society of Jesus or other religious orders.

The depression of the nineteen-thirties bore heavily on St. John's. Pyramiding annual deficits and inability to obtain financial aid from outside sources owing to the hard times created a situation from which there was no escape except by suspending the college as a Jesuit institution. This was done with the close of the scholastic year, 1935-1936, the buildings being leased to the diocesan authorities, who undertook to continue the college under a new name and charter.

§ 13. KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

"The mouth of the Kaw" saw the establishment in 1821 of a trading-post of the American Fur Company out of which the future Kansas City, Missouri, was to grow. By the logic of geographical position at the great southwest bend of the Missouri that locality was destined to assume importance as an outfitting station and point of departure for Santa Fé trader, Rocky Mountain trapper, California gold-seeker, Oregon settler and other elements in the tide of human travel which in the mid-decades of the eighteen-hundreds moved westward across the Great Plains. The first Mass on the site of the future city was said in the August of 1828 by a diocesan priest from St. Louis, Father Anthony Lutz. The first resident priest, Father Benedict Roux, labored there during the period, 1833-1835, while after his departure the few Catholic families that made up the population of the place were served by the Jesuit fathers Van Quickenborne, Christian Hoecken, Point, Verreydt and others, chiefly from the mission-centers among the Kickapoo and the Potawatomi. There was accordingly a tradition of Jesuit ministerial activity "at the mouth of the Kaw" to recall when the fathers of the Society, at the invitation of a vigorous frontier prelate, the Right Rev. John A. Hogan, Bishop of Kansas City and St. Joseph, returned in the eighties to lend their services again to the Catholics of the locality.

On December 31, 1885, Father Henry Schaapman accompanied by Brother Francis Melchers arrived in Kansas City to inaugurate the Jesuit program of work. The property chosen for the contemplated church, to be named St. Aloysius, lay at the southeast corner of Prospect Avenue and Eleventh Street and was obtained by purchase the following January 6. Meantime, an agreement bearing date New Year's Day, 1886, and signed by Bishop Hogan and the father provincial, Rudolph Meyer, declared that the prelate "for himself and his successor or successors in office forever doth covenant, stipulate and agree to

admit the members of the said Society of Jesus into the diocese or dioceses under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the right of exercising therein the duties and functions of the sacred ministry conformably to the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church, the decrees of the Plenary Councils of Baltimore and the Provincial Councils of St. Louis, the statutes of the same diocese or dioceses of Kansas City and St. Joseph and the constitution and privileges of the Society of Jesus." On April 5, 1891, took place the dedication of a church of brick, which still serves the needs of the congregation.

It was the prospect of a college and not particularly the opportunity offered for the parochial ministry that drew the Jesuits to Kansas City. Accordingly soon after their arrival they bought property for the purpose on the west side of Prospect Avenue directly across from the church. When in 1888 a condition arose which made it unlikely that the plan of a Jesuit college in Kansas City could ever be realized, Father Meyer wrote to Father James Dowling, local superior, that without a college, at least a prospective one, the Jesuits had no reason to remain in the city and would be obliged in consistency to withdraw. No step was taken towards the erection of a college until the arrival, twenty years later, March 4, 1908, of Father Michael P. Dowling, as superior of the residence. Together with Father Meyer, superior of the Missouri Province for the second time, he had approached Bishop Hogan and disclosed to him that the Jesuits were now prepared to realize the purpose that had brought them to Kansas City by opening a school of higher education. The Bishop was ready to sanction the measure, though he objected to the site proposed as being too close to the college already opened by the Christian Brothers. But he left them free to select a position anywhere in the southern part of the city on the farther side of what was known as Brush Creek. Pursuant to this understanding Father Dowling on February 4, 1909, purchased twenty-five acres on Troost Avenue between Fifty-second and Fifty-third Streets. The property, which belonged to the Peers estate, cost fifty thousand dollars. It was Father Dowling's intention in acquiring it to dispose of half of it or less in case the money available from this source should be needed for the erection of the building. On July 1, 1909, Father Meyer agreed in a signed document to deed over to the Bishop without delay the church and school property at St. Aloysius and at the expiration of ten years to transfer to him the parish itself. In return for the parish thus to be surrendered the Jesuits were to be assigned at once a new parochial district having as limits Forty-ninth, Fifty-seventh, McGee Streets and Woodlawn Avenue. In 1919, when the ten years had expired, Bishop Lillis, successor to Bishop Hogan in the see of Kansas City, requested

the Jesuits to retain possession of St. Aloysius parish. They still continue to serve it.

In deference to the supposed circumstance that the first Catholic church in Kansas City was named for the Apostle of the Indies the new Jesuit parish in the southern part of the city was designated St. Francis Xavier's. The first parochial mass was celebrated August 1, 1909, by Father Michael J. Ryan in a small house which stood at Fifty-ninth Street and Troost Avenue on the property acquired for the college. On August 1 was administered the first baptism in the parish, also by Father Ryan. In September, 1909, the latter's duties as pastor were taken over by Father Eugene Kieffer, who in the same autumn erected a joint church and school building at an outlay of eight thousand dollars. The following year Father Ryan was again in charge of the parish and so remained until September, 1913. During this period and under Father Ryan's direction, work was started on the college building, the material for the structure, a hard lime-stone, being quarried on the premises. The abundance of free native stone in the neighborhood suggested to Father Dowling the name of Rockhurst College as an appropriate one for the new institution and under this name it was chartered by the Missouri legislature September 17, 1910.

Lack of funds hampered the construction of the new college building from the first and interruptions of the work were frequent. A gift of twenty-five thousand dollars from Louis M. Sedgwick of Kansas City enabled Father Dowling in the spring of 1914 to bring the walls up to the required height, but they had to be left roofless for a while for lack of money to continue operations. Finally, a sum of fifteen thousand dollars collected in the city by Father Dowling and an equal sum borrowed from the Missouri Province made it possible for Father Aloysius A. Breen, who was in charge at Rockhurst after June 1, 1914, to roof in the building and make the first story ready for occupancy. Meantime, February 13, 1915, Father Michael Dowling, was overtaken by death. By the founding of Rockhurst College he had rounded out a notable series of educational enterprises associated with his name. His remains were borne to Omaha there to rest by the side of his devoted friend John A. Creighton, whose interest and substantial aid he had engaged during long years on behalf of Creighton University and with whom he shares the distinction of having made of that institution a center of light and leading for all the Northwest. Father Dowling was succeeded as superior of the Jesuits in Kansas City by Father Aloysius A. Breen, who, with residence at St. Aloysius, of which he was pastor, directed the fortunes of the incipient college.

On July 27, 1914 Father Patrick Harvey arrived at Rockhurst and immediately set himself to the task of visiting the parishes of the city

and recruiting students for the college. On registration day, September 15, forty-two students presented themselves, which number increased by two in the course of the year. Father Aloysius Breen as principal, together with Father Harvey and a scholastic, Walter Roemer, as instructors, constituted the staff. First-year high, thirty students, was taken care of by Mr. Roemer and second-year high, seventeen students, by Father Harvey. On October 15 the Jesuit faculty first occupied their living quarters in the new building. As income from tuition-money was almost negligible, the most pressing problem that beset Rockhurst in its inaugural year was how to meet the living expenses of the faculty. Mr. Sedgwick again relieved the situation, contributing towards this object two hundred and fifty dollars monthly from October on. Further, he came forward with a generous gift of twenty thousand dollars towards completing the upper stories of the building. The institution came into being with no little measure of personal discomfort and even hardship on the part of its managers; but within two or three years it had settled down to a process of steady and healthy growth. Its first high-school graduates, eleven in number, received their diplomas June 21, 1917. The following summer the sum of forty-one hundred and ten dollars was collected from friends of the college for physical and chemical equipment, making possible the inauguration of college classes. In September, 1917, one hundred and sixty-eight students were registered, eleven of them for college. In June, 1921, Rockhurst sent forth its first bachelors of arts. Meantime, 1919, the scientific equipment had been further enlarged through a gift of five thousand dollars from Jozak L. Miller. Dowling Hall, a two-story structure of brick serving the uses of the college department, was erected in 1922, Father John A. Weiand being at the time president of the institution. Under succeeding heads, Father Arthur D. Spillard, William P. Manion and Daniel H. Conway, Rockhurst College has steadily made gains in academic efficiency and prestige.

§ 14. EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS, AND SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN

In 1909 the Jesuits at the invitation of Bishop Janssen of Belleville established themselves in East St. Louis, Illinois, a prosperous and growing town directly across the Mississippi from St. Louis with a population at the time of approximately sixty thousand. Here seemed to be a promising field for an educational venture and it was this prospect which attracted them to East St. Louis. The Bishop offered a parish and bought property for a church and parish school in a district known as Alta Sita, where the Jesuits in the spring of 1909 also acquired a tract of land as a site for a future high school. Another property located

in the East St. Louis quarter known as Landsdowne had been previously purchased, but was later judged to be unsuitable as a school-site. The Alta Sita property measured about six hundred feet square and cost seventeen thousand, five hundred dollars, the purchase-money being advanced by the provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer. On June 21 Father Theodore Hegemann and the coadjutor-brother, Michael Figel, took up their residence in a rented house, in which the day before, Sunday within the feast of St. John Francis Regis, the first parochial mass was celebrated. On August 15, 1909 Bishop Janssen laid the corner-stone of a brick building which was to serve as a combination church, parish school and presbytery and also as a temporary residence for the Jesuit community. The building was completed in the fall of the same year at a cost of twenty-two thousand dollars and the first Mass therein was said by the provincial, Father Meyer, on the fourth Sunday of Advent. It was solemnly blessed by Bishop Janssen on the feast of the Holy Trinity, 1910. Father Meyer chose for the patron of the new parish the Jesuit saint, John Francis Regis, to whom Father Van Quickenborne and his pioneer confrères had shown a particular devotion. On September 7, 1910, classes began in the projected high school, which in view of future development was chartered by the State of Illinois as Regis College. A freshman class of sixteen students, with Father Henry Milet as instructor, was conducted in the parish-building the first year. The registration ran to thirty-four in the session 1911-1912 and to forty in the session 1912-1913. Eventually two instructors of the Society and a lay teacher were employed on the staff. Meantime a modest dwelling of brick was leased as a home for the Jesuit group of four resident in East St. Louis. But the location of the school, not easily accessible from other quarters of the town, put a damper on its development. As means were lacking for acquiring another site, it was decided to suspend the institution, which was done at the close of the session 1912-1913. Father John Driscoll arrived in the summer of 1913 to take the parish in hand and remained in charge until 1919 when it was definitely transferred to the diocesan clergy. The Jesuits had resided in East St. Louis ten years and with their departure the once apparently promising Regis College passed into history.

The same year that saw the Jesuits launch their educational project in East St. Louis saw them launch a similar project in Superior, Wisconsin. This was a town which boasted at the time a population of some forty thousand; but only a short distance away across the St. Louis River was Duluth, Minnesota, which counted its eighty-five thousand and was looking forward to still greater gains. Bishop Augustine F. Schinnerer of Superior had an abounding faith in the future of his episcopal city, dreaming of it as the seat of a college, and he invited the Jesuits to help

him make his dream a reality. On October 9, 1909, Fathers Albert Dierckes and John Driscoll arrived in this rapidly growing city and were guests for a few days at the Bishop's residence. Then, October 14, came the coadjutor-brother, Cornelius Donahy. The following day the three Jesuits moved into St. Patrick's rectory, the understanding being that the fathers were to administer the parish of that name, then sixteen years in existence, until such time as they should be assigned a parish of their own as the Bishop had agreed to do. Father Dierckes was local superior of the little Jesuit group and Father Driscoll pastor of the church. In June, 1912, Brother Donahy met death by drowning while a third father, who had been residing in Superior in the intervals between his engagements as a preacher of parish missions, was withdrawn. From this time Father Dierckes, whose regular occupation had been that of travelling missionary, began to reside permanently in Superior and to lay plans for the future school.

During the few years the Jesuits were in charge of St. Patrick's something was accomplished towards putting the parish on a better basis. Soon the number of communions showed a notable increase and eventually only a few of the parishioners were found neglecting their Easter duties. There was no parish school, the congregation being in no position to finance one, and all that could be done in a religious way for the children was to give them catechism on Sundays, which service was rendered by the pastor, assisted by the nuns of a neighboring convent. By 1913 the devotion to the Sacred Heart had taken a strong hold on the congregation. "Whatever success we have had, spiritual or temporal," wrote one of the fathers, "seems without doubt to be due to this devotion. The most important outcome has been the frequency of communions."

In the interim steps were being taken towards beginning the college. A lot two hundred by three hundred feet at Hammond and Twenty-first Streets, an undeveloped part of the city, was acquired for \$9094.12, the Missouri Province supplying the purchase-money. This location was regarded as satisfactory for the purpose in view, which was to provide a site for the college and at the same time a nucleus of growth for the parish which the Jesuits hoped to organize. A charter for the new institution, to be known as Allouez College, was obtained from the state authorities of Wisconsin, Father Driscoll being named president and Father Dierckes treasurer of the corporation. Some distance east of Superior is the site of the old Jesuit mission of La Pointe, identified with Father Claude Allouez, who lives in history as the "Apostle of Wisconsin." It was his name that the new school was to bear. Pending the collecting of funds sufficient to erect a permanent structure, a house was purchased by Father Dierckes for thirty-two hundred dollars and

fitted up temporarily for the reception of students in the fall of 1914. A survey of the situation indicated that some hundred students would register for the opening session. Everything seemed to be moving smoothly toward a successful start when on October 8, 1914, Father Dierckes was found dead in his room, having to all appearances passed away while engaged in prayer. The sad occurrence halted preparations, other difficulties presented themselves and Allouez College was never actually set on foot. Finally, in 1916 Father Driscoll, who had remained in Superior after the death of his associate, was recalled and St. Patrick's parish was thereupon restored to the Bishop together with the new Jesuit parish of the Immaculate Conception, which Father Driscoll had begun to organize.

§ 15. OPENINGS IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

While America was in the pioneer stage of development with all sorts of needs in the ministry and in education to be supplied, repeated attempts were made by western prelates to introduce the Jesuits into their dioceses. Details of some of these attempts have been recorded on preceding pages of this history. Further instances in point, of early or more or less recent date, will here find mention.

Bishop Cretin had hardly been named to the see of St. Paul when he appealed (*c.* 1852) to Jesuit headquarters in Rome for missionaries to work among the Indians of his diocese. Moreover, St. Paul, at the moment only a new-born frontier town but big with promise of future growth, would be open to the Society. "The diocese of St. Paul can offer a vast field to the zeal of the Jesuit Fathers under still another aspect. They can found a college at St. Paul, which will shortly be a very important town. It will soon have more than 100,000 souls. The climate is quite healthy and admirable, the soil is fertile. It would be well to come and seize some important post before our innumerable Protestant ministers come to take possession of the best ones." The Bishop of St. Paul in this petition to the Father General notes that he had already appealed to St. Louis but that the answer from that quarter was always "no men." "What houses of France or America can send us five or six men?" Cretin's letter ends on a note of fervid appeal: "In the name of Jesus whom you love, in the name of Mary, your Mother, so tender and dear, in the name of St. Joseph, in the name of your great saints, St. Francis Xavier, St. F. Regis, St. Louis Gonzaga and St. Stanislaus, acquiesce in my wishes and obtain for us some of your good missionaries, whom I have always regarded as the most capable of ecclesiastical workers."

Nothing came of Cretin's effort to enlist the Jesuits for service in his diocese though he had previously succeeded in engaging the vice-provincial in St. Louis to attempt a mission among the Winnebago, a venture which quickly proved abortive. Some twenty-five years later Bishop Grace, Cretin's successor in the see of St. Paul, was eager to have the Jesuits establish themselves in his episcopal city. Again, in January, 1884, came still another invitation to the Jesuits from the diocesan authorities of St. Paul to open a house in the Minnesota metropolis. The answer from St. Louis had again to be a negative one.

Indiana on more than one occasion called for the Jesuits. The instance of Terre Haute has been told. Mention, too, has been made of Bishop Bruté's offer to them in 1839 of the site of Notre Dame University, and of Bishop de la Hailandière's invitation to them in the early forties to open a college in Indianapolis. Subsequent efforts to bring them to that city are on record. In the March of 1877 Bishop de St. Palais offered Father Thomas O'Neil, Missouri provincial, the seminary property in Indianapolis together with St. Joseph's parish, which was carrying a debt of nineteen thousand dollars. On advice from the Father General the offer was declined presumably because the debt seemed too heavy a burden to assume. Twenty years later Bishop Chatard proposed to the Jesuits that they establish themselves with college, church and parish in the extreme northwestern part of the city. Property for church and college at Thirty-fifth and Meridian Streets was to be had for twelve thousand dollars. Father Fitzgerald, the provincial, commissioned four fathers, Michael Dowling and Joseph Grimmelsman among them, to examine the offer on the ground and report on the advisability of accepting it. They reported unanimously against acceptance, chiefly on the ground that the location was too remote from the settled portion of the town. By one of the visiting fathers it was described as "a neighborhood of cornfields and pastures." Very likely it so appeared at the moment; but the rapid and often arbitrary growth of American cities has repeatedly belied the forecasts of the shrewdest. Today the Indianapolis locality in question is one of typical urban development. At the time, however, lacking all means of communication with the city, the locality could easily have seemed an unpromising one for a day-school. While this offer was under consideration, it was credibly reported that Father Alerding, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, was willing to cede his parish to the Jesuits if this were an inducement to them to settle in Indianapolis. But no such step was taken by the Jesuits in 1897 nor on the one or two subsequent occasions when efforts were made to have them open a house in Indianapolis. In 1903 the United States arsenal property and buildings in that city were on the market and could be

acquired for one hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars. Here was a tempting opportunity to seize and the authorities of the diocese advised the Jesuits to act. But the price demanded, though apparently only one-third or one-fourth the actual value of the property and its improvements, was a staggering one for the fathers, who had to be content to see this fresh opportunity slip. In 1909 and 1910 the question of a college of the Society in Indianapolis again came to the fore, but as on previous occasions led to no positive results.

The first Jesuit house to be established in the state of Indiana (the Terre Haute residence of the fifties was only an experiment) dates from 1934, in which year Very Reverend Father Charles H. Cloud, provincial, accepted on behalf of the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus Mr. Charles Ballard's splendid gift of his property, the West Baden Hotel, West Baden Springs, Indiana, with all its appurtenances, including the beautiful grounds of several hundred acres. The hotel building now houses, under the name of West Baden College, the School of Philosophy of the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus.

At intervals in the course of the years additional openings in the educational field presented themselves, but in most instances no advantage could be taken of them. Thus invitations came through the respective bishops of the dioceses to establish Jesuit schools in Lincoln, Nebraska; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Nashville, Tennessee; East St. Louis, Illinois; Superior, Wisconsin; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The East St. Louis and Superior invitations were accepted, but the schools started in those centers proved abortive. One Jesuit educational undertaking of relatively recent date, which was initiated as promising a service of major proportions to the Church, remains to be chronicled.

In the fall of 1921, Archbishop (later his Eminence, Cardinal) Mundelein of Chicago, opened a theological seminary of the archdiocese on a spacious property adjoining the small town of Area (now Mundelein), Lake County, Illinois. The teaching and spiritual training of the students were committed from the beginning to the Society of Jesus, which now has a staff of seventeen fathers in residence at the seminary. Father John B. Furay, S.J. has filled the two posts of superior of the Jesuit group and director of studies since the institution began. Beautifully landscaped grounds and an imposing series of newly constructed buildings of colonial design, adequate to every need of faculty and student-body alike, make of the Mundelein Seminary of St. Mary of the Lake at once an attraction to the eye and a fitting home for the young ecclesiastics whom it is devotedly engaged in equipping for the ministry.

§ 16. CURRICULA AND STANDARDS

In previous chapters of this history some idea has been given of the organization on their academic side of the mid-western Jesuit colleges in the pioneer stage of their development. One feature especially of these colleges calls for comment here, namely, the continuity which, until the first or second decade of the current century, they maintained between secondary and collegiate instruction. In fact hardly any hard and fast line at all was drawn between the high school and the college as distinct units in the educational scheme. The twentieth-century American high-school is today featured by a four-year program of study and an entrance requirement of eight grades of primary education satisfactorily completed. Moreover, it is conceived as a self-centered and independent unit in the American educational system and not as a mere preparatory step to the college, to which, however, it is the obviously logical and necessary approach. But this conception of the high-school did not always obtain in the United States and was in fact a gradual evolution of circumstances extending over a long stretch of time. At St. Louis, as also at Cincinnati, Chicago, and other midwestern cities where Jesuit schools had been set up, undergraduate instruction in the classical course was carried on as late as the eighties as a six-year unit with no very precise line of demarcation between secondary and collegiate instruction. As to class-nomenclature, the style in vogue at the parent school, St. Louis University, was in the main followed also in the other Jesuit schools of the Middle West. Beginning with the session 1858-1859 the classes in the "classical course" of St. Louis University bore the names, Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry, First Humanities, Second Humanities, Third Humanities. At a later period the three last-named classes were designated First, Second, Third Academic. What is ordinarily understood as secondary or high-school education was therefore the business of the classes labelled Humanities or Academic. The high school was accordingly functioning all the time in these Jesuit institutions as a department of secondary education, though not standing apart in administration from the department of arts and sciences, with which in the public mind it was largely identified. All the registrants, whether of secondary or collegiate grade, were officially described as "college students," fledglings of the first year of secondary instruction being thus on the same level as college seniors, so far at least as their classification in the student-body was concerned.

During the period 1887-1920 the Missouri Province schools underwent a marked process of reorganization and development. Two main movements featured this process, one towards academic uniformity for all the members of the group on the basis of a common program of

standards and curricula, the other towards a closer rapprochement on the scholastic side of the schools in question to the non-Jesuit schools of the country. Previous to 1887 the seven Missouri Province schools (St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Detroit, Omaha, St. Mary's), had been handicapped, so it was felt, by a lack of uniformity in curricula and other scholastic conditions. These schools were administered in more important matters from the same center, St. Louis, their professors were frequently shifted from one school of the group to another, and, moreover, as Jesuits, had all been similarly trained and prepared for their educational careers. It was desirable, therefore, that the seven schools be coördinated in keeping with traditional Jesuit educational procedure. The situation as it stood prior to 1887 has been described in these terms: "The names of the classes differed in different colleges; the three highest classes were commonly called Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Poetry, though Humanities or Belles Lettres held attraction for some instead of Poetry. Some colleges graduated their students after six years, some after seven. The High School classes were called Grammar or Academic or Humanities with first, second and third prefixed. Most colleges had a preparatory (pre-high school) class, some, two. A boy who had finished the sixth grade was fit for entrance into Third Academic or First Year High."

These disparities in the programs of the midwestern Jesuit schools were rectified by a uniform course of studies, which appeared in 1887. It owed its origin largely to the initiative of the father provincial, Rudolph Meyer, a man of wide experience in college management and keen interest in Jesuit educational problems. A provincial congregation of 1886 having requested him to appoint a committee of fathers to prepare a uniform plan of studies to be made mandatory on all the colleges, the request was complied with and the committee's report under forty-five distinct heads transmitted by Father Meyer to the colleges, June 2, 1887. It was put into effect the following September. It represented in substance a closer approximation than had previously obtained to the official Jesuit educational program of the *Ratio Studiorum* and it stressed especially, at least in the study of Latin, Greek and English, the three progressive pedagogical steps of the Ratio, namely precepts, models, practice. The names adopted for the classes were: Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry, Humanities for the college; First, Second, Third Academic for the academy or high school; Preparatory (pre-high school); First, Second, Third, Fourth Commercial. Arithmetic was prescribed in the first two Academics and geography in all three. Algebra was begun only in First Academic. For graduation in the college, which meant obtaining an A.B., Latin and Greek were prescribed as also calculus and astronomy. All in all the study-course of 1887 was

one of marked rigidity, practically no elbow-room at all for electives being allowed. In comparison with the public high schools, entrance requirements were set at a lower level, students being admitted into Third Academic from the sixth grade of the grammar-school. For such as presented themselves from the eighth grade, a special class was provided, which enabled the student with the aid of extra coaching in Latin and Greek to finish the classical course of the academy in two years. While the instruction supplied by the academic classes was of a substantial and worth-while kind, in content and other respects it differed by a wide margin from the type of instruction imparted in the average secular high schools. These latter insisted on the eight-grade requirement and were in a position accordingly to eliminate English grammar, arithmetic and geography from their schedules. Moreover, and this was a capital difference, they were organized on a four- and not on a three-year basis. The Jesuit academy and the American high school, apart from any consideration of their relative efficiency as agencies of secondary education, were still rather disparate things. So obvious did this soon appear that some of the schools in the Jesuit group began to designate Humanities a high school class, thus reducing the college classes to three.

Inquiries made after the 1887 course of studies had been a year in operation revealed that it had afforded general satisfaction. A program of studies issued in 1893 in the provincialate of Father Frieden showed no very important departures from Father Meyer's program of five years before. In fact, it was not until almost twenty years later that attempt was made to revise the latter in any substantial way. Meantime, changes of far-reaching importance were taking place in the educational world. Parochial schools were not only rapidly increasing in number but their standards were steadily mounting higher. In 1902 the boys enrolled in the eighth grade of the St. Louis Catholic parish schools totaled only about fifty; in 1920 their number had risen to seven hundred and fifty-eight. The parish schools were thus being palpably strengthened on the academic side and pastors had become interested in seeing the students complete under their control the eight full grades of elementary education. Moreover, Latin and Greek, particularly the latter, were everywhere losing ground, especially in institutions under state control. Out of these conditions of general unsettlement in the educational field rose the movement to adjust the Jesuit schools in some reasonable way to the standards and scholastic organization obtaining with a rough sort of uniformity in secular high schools throughout the country. In 1904 St. Louis University High School introduced a four-year program of work though it continued with the other secondary schools of the

Missouri Province to require for admission only six grades of elementary instruction.

The policy of adjusting Jesuit educational practice to actual environment and needs may be said to have received official recognition in the general congregation of 1906, which made this significant pronouncement: "Under present conditions a new revision of the *Ratio Studiorum* is not to be attempted. Not even the *Ratio* of Father Roothaan can be satisfactorily carried out on account of the special needs of different countries. For this reason the provincial Superiors after consultation with their advisers and the most approved teachers should devise plans of studies for their Provinces and for the various districts in which the same conditions prevail." Father Henry Moeller, the Missouri provincial in attendance at the general congregation of 1906, was quick to act on the suggestion emanating from that body. Committees were named and set to the task of outlining courses of study both for high school and college which, without yielding anything of an essential nature in the traditional educational practice of the Society, were to parallel outside educational programs to such extent as circumstances might seem to make expedient. The result of this movement initiated under Father Moeller was the appearance under Father Meyer, provincial for a second period (1907-1912), of the course of studies of 1911, followed by the so-called supplement of 1912. The outstanding feature of this new course was that it prescribed an eight-year schedule, four years in high school and four years in college, for all schools of the province without exception. Moreover, it enjoined on the schools the adoption of the eight-grade requirement for admission into the high school. Prior to this period the three-year course was still in operation in certain colleges of the Middle West, while the course of 1893, the last previously issued, had provided for only three years of high school work.

Under Father Burrowes, provincial during the period 1913-1919, the perfecting process to which it was expected the new course of 1911 would be submitted as time went on was taken up and carried through with vigor. Early in 1914 he projected a revision of the high school schedules then in force with a view to bring them into alignment with the standardized schedules followed with more or less of uniformity in the public secondary schools of the country. The revision was to affect the study-programs of the province high schools not so much *qualitatively*, with reference to their content of assigned class-matter, as *quantitatively*, with reference to the number and distribution of class-periods and subjects of study. A preliminary draft of four distinct courses, classical, English, commercial, and scientific, all outlined in harmony with the principle that no student was normally to carry more

than four subjects, was drawn up and subsequently, in the summer of 1915, unanimously approved by the principals of the high schools in a meeting at Campion College, Prairie du Chien. It was then issued in printed form to the high schools with the express commendation of Father Burrowes. As a result of the introduction of this course of 1915 the number, character and distribution of studies in the present-day schedules of the midwestern Jesuit high schools became of the same general type as those obtaining in the public high schools. The prevailing system of credits and unit-courses was adopted, a minimum of sixteen unit-courses being required for a high school certificate and the conventional class-names and catalogue nomenclature introduced. The criticism of oddity, ill-timed conservatism, and overloaded study-programs sometimes directed against the schedules formerly in vogue in the midwestern Jesuit high schools had place no longer.

Though the course of studies of 1915 was concerned chiefly with the high school, it made valuable contributions towards organizing the college courses along legitimate modern lines. Requirements for the various academic degrees were definitely stated and the college courses organized on the principle of semester hours. Yet, as no definite and clear-cut statement of the courses offered in the various subjects of study was yet available for insertion in the catalogues, steps towards meeting this need were taken by Father Burrowes's successor as provincial, Father Francis X. McMenemy. The work of a commission appointed by him to study the problem was embodied in a report issued in June, 1920. This document, the provisions of which were made mandatory for the ten colleges under the jurisdiction of the Missouri provincial, represented a far-reaching and decisive step in the movement that had been going on for several years within the province to organize its colleges on what may be called the American plan. The report in 1920 listed nearly two hundred courses with descriptive comment, besides formulating according to the accepted system of majors and minors the requirements for the various academic degrees. A letter of Father McMenemy accompanying the report expresses the hope that "the newly drafted college curriculum, preserving as it does the substance of the *Ratio* while it interprets our traditional system in the terms of current educational procedure, may under God be the harbinger of a new season of prosperity and growth for the college departments of the Province."

Thus within little more than a decade the process of adjusting the Jesuit schools of the Middle West to current educational conditions was brought to a satisfactory head. The transformation was effected, however, at the expense of certain features which were long considered to be highly important if not vital in the Jesuit educational system but

which a truer understanding of the *Ratio Studiorum* revealed to be not necessarily of its substance. The view was taken, a view that had met with the indorsement of the Father General, Francis Xavier Wernz, that the *Ratio* is essentially a body of administrative and pedagogical detail rather than an organized system of curricular studies in the modern acceptance of the terms. Hence alleged departures from the *Ratio* in the newly introduced courses of study were such in appearance only, the substance and spirit of the document remaining in the meantime intact. What is significant, Father Wernz laid it down that even obvious departures from the *Ratio* might be allowed if circumstances warranted the step. "St. Ignatius, it is clear," he wrote in 1910, "did not introduce new methods, but used those which he found ready at hand. Let us do the same." This declaration was made by Father Wernz in connection with the approval which he gave to the so-called system of branch-teachers as distinguished from that of class-teachers. The branch-teacher handles, as a rule, one subject only, Latin it may be or English, going from one group of students to another, while the class-teacher deals with a single group of students, whom he instructs in successive periods in various branches of the curriculum. The latter system had been traditional among the Jesuits and the departure from it in the Missouri program of studies in 1915 was noteworthy as indicating the general trend towards a closer approximation of Jesuit practice to current educational procedure. Father Wernz was himself an advocate of the system of branch-teachers in the arts college as making for better instruction as also for the development of the professors into specialists in their respective fields.

Another break with tradition was registered by the elimination in 1919 of Greek as a required subject for the A.B. degree. For a decade prior to that date the Missouri Province had on various occasions gone on record, now in a provincial congregation, now in meetings of the prefects of studies, as favoring the abolition of obligatory Greek in the classical course. A Latin-English course, with a modern language or other subject substituted for Greek, was desiderated as a concession to the increasingly large proportion of students who were ready to carry Latin but were reluctant to add Greek to the burden. Jesuit schools the world over when free to follow their own programs had been accustomed to require Greek also for all students taking Latin. The situation, however, in the Middle West, was such as to make this arrangement a hardship on numerous earnest students, an unnecessary one, so it was felt, with the result that with the Father General's permission obligatory Greek ceased after 1919 to be a curricular feature of the midwestern Jesuit schools, whether secondary or collegiate. As a final comment on the educational programs now obtaining in these in-

stitutions, it may be added that a limited electivism came to replace the rigidity of earlier schedules. A further outcome of their reorganization along the lines indicated has been that they were thereby placed in a position to meet the requirements of the standardizing educational agencies now in the field and be entered in their lists of accredited schools. The spirit now animating the Society of Jesus in the United States in the conduct of its numerous institutions is embodied in the slogan of the all-American meeting of Jesuit college deans at Prairie du Chien in 1921, "every Jesuit college a standard college."

CHAPTER XLI

MISSIONS, HOME AND FOREIGN

§ 1. ST. STEPHEN'S, WYOMING

The Society of Jesus in the Middle United States was originally organized as an Indian mission, the first conducted by the Society after its reestablishment in 1814. A Jesuit group that thus owed its origin to missionary zeal might well be expected to cultivate this same spirit as one of its cherished traditions. And so it has turned out to be though there have been intervals in the history of the middlewestern Jesuits when they were not directly lending their services to the aborigines. De Smet's Rocky Mountain Missions passed out of their hands in 1852, while the missions among the Potawatomi and Osage collapsed at the end of the sixties with the breaking up of their reservations. Thereafter, up to the mid-eighties, a decade and a half, the middlewestern Jesuits, organized as the province of Missouri, had no regularly established missions serving the Indians of the West. It returned to its pristine field in 1886 when it took in hand St. Stephen's Mission among the Arapaho and Shoshoni in Fremont County, Wyoming, west-central part of the state.

The first steps looking to a Catholic Indian mission in this quarter of Wyoming were taken in July, 1882, by Reverend D. W. Moriarity, a diocesan priest of the Vicariate-apostolic of Nebraska, in the jurisdiction of which Wyoming was included. The Vicar-apostolic, Bishop James O'Connor, was interested in the Indians of his vicariate and in his eagerness to initiate active missionary work on their behalf had commissioned Father Moriarity to try to make a start either with the Shoshoni or the Arapaho. The Shoshoni were found to be under the spiritual care of the Episcopalians, who conducted a school for the tribe at the military post, Fort Washakie. The choice thus fell perforce upon the Arapaho, the largest group of which under Chief Black Coal were located about twenty-five miles to the east of Lander near the junction of the Big and Little Wind Rivers. Father Moriarity having proposed to build a school here, informed Bishop O'Connor early in 1884 of his desire to put hand to the work early in the spring of that year. Meantime, the Bishop had been negotiating with Jesuit superiors to take the proposed mission permanently in hand for he had intended Father

Moriarity's connection with it to be temporary only. Appeal had been made to St. Louis but without result; actual obligations were too pressing to think of taking on new ones. Finally Father Lessmann, superior of the German Jesuits of Buffalo, agreed to assume charge of the Wyoming mission, sending thither Father John Jutz as superior with Father Aschenbrenner and Brother Ursus Nunlist. Father Jutz, the first of the three to arrive, made his headquarters at Lander, the care of which he turned over to Father Aschenbrenner on the latter's arrival, going thence to Black Coal's camp, with whom he renewed the negotiations for a school initiated by Father Moriarity. The latter remained some six weeks after Father Jutz's arrival, giving him the benefit of whatever experience and knowledge he had picked up during his two years' stay on the reservation. Returning to Lander, Father Jutz there met Brother Nunlist, who had just arrived from Buffalo, and with him started for the new mission, the father driving a buggy and two ponies and the brother on horseback. By September, with the help of a carpenter and his assistant, a frame house twenty-five by twenty-five feet had been built. Up to this time no guarantee of government support for the projected school had been obtained. Moreover, Father Aschenbrenner, pastor and school-teacher at Lander, was without adequate means of support, the eighteen families who composed the congregation not being able to make provision in this regard. The outlook seemed highly unpromising so that word finally came from the Buffalo superior to Father Jutz to withdraw from the mission, which could hardly be said to have begun. This he did in November, 1885, without having had opportunity to communicate with Bishop O'Connor and inform him of the step he was taking.

In his embarrassment the Bishop now turned to the Missouri provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer. In the late spring of 1886 Father Stephan, director of the Catholic Indian Bureau, called on the prelate's behalf at St. Louis University where he petitioned the provincial, in case he could not see his way to accepting the mission permanently, at least to send a father and a brother for two months in order to secure the government allowance for the school, which would otherwise be forfeited. The answer was to be given the same day. Hurriedly taking the opinion of such of his consultants as he could reach in so short a time, he found them favorable to Father Stephan's petition. Assurance was accordingly given that the mission would be accepted, but only provisionally, Father Stephan having engaged to procure other missionaries for the work within two months. When notified of this engagement at the expiration of the stipulated time, the father answered that the Jesuits clearly had a right to withdraw, having done all they had undertaken to do, but that he had not succeeded in

enlisting other missionaries. Bishop O'Connor, when notified of these facts and of the inability of the Jesuits to take permanent charge of the mission, was greatly disturbed and begged them for the love of souls not to abandon the field. The outcome was that the province of Missouri continued to operate the mission for five years, delivering it over in the summer of 1891 to the superior of the Jesuit Rocky Mountain Missions.

The Missouri provincial on taking over the mission in June, 1886, immediately dispatched Father Paul Ponziglione of the Osage Mission and Brother John Kilcullin to Wyoming. He had written the first of that month to Ponziglione:

Dear Father Paul:

Your Reverence said to me that old as you are in the service of God you would be ready, if called upon, to offer yourself for the good of the Indians.

Now, I would not think it right to ask you at your age to undertake any new Mission. But may I ask you to start one, and stay for *one* or *two* months at the new foundation?

Fr. Stephens of the Catholic Indian Bureau comes with letters from Fr. Behrens [superior of the German Mission of Buffalo] and from Bishop O'Connor at Omaha. Fr. Behrens promises to send missionaries in two months to the new mission in Wyoming, which is under Bishop O'Connor's care.

If you think you could do something A.M.D.G. by starting that Mission, please telegraph to me at once. The Government contract requires the Mission to be begun before July 1st. In case that you think you can go, you can start directly for Creighton College, Omaha, Neb. Bishop O'Connor will give all the necessary instructions. According to the accounts given me, the arrangements are good and you will not suffer much discomfort. I shall also have a Brother in Omaha in good time, who is to act as teacher, etc.

Of course it is intended only to start the Mission and by no means to expose you again to all the privations to which you were exposed. Even had we to keep the Mission ourselves—which is not the intention—I would send some one else and let you go back to your beloved home and the scenes of your former labors and trials.

Having arrived June 30 at St. Stephen's, Father Ponziglione after some difficulty managed to recover the movable property Father Jutz had left in the custody of the Indian chief as also to secure a title to the land. Two months after his arrival he started to build a large brick house to be used as a convent for the education of Indian girls. In September, 1886, Father Francis X. Kuppens arrived from St. Louis to replace Father Ponziglione, who, being unwell, was instructed to return to Kansas. The locality Father Ponziglione had picked out for

the convent proved to be sandy and insecure, so that Father Kuppens, found it necessary to take down the building, reconstructing it in 1888 on firmer ground. This he did with money furnished him by Miss Katherine Drexel of Philadelphia. Bishop Burke of Cheyenne, which diocese had been erected August 9, 1887, with the state of Wyoming for territory, laid the corner-stone of the convent in June, 1888. In a letter to Father Meyer written after his return to Cheyenne he announced that Father Kuppens had received a government grant of one hundred and sixty acres of good land, after which he proceeded to say: "The Mission is in the best and most beautiful part of the territory with every prospect of a great future. The manner in which Father Kuppens has got on and the great interest he has taken in the Mission up to the present, I might say, under every disadvantage, is perfectly astonishing. He is a man of great experience and zeal (according to knowledge) and he told me that he has never been associated with any mission or work that has brighter prospects for its future success. He feels confident that when the Indians will have gone, and of course they will go, and before they have gone, the school will be filled with white children and that a great school or college will take the place of the Indian Mission School."

Father Kuppens must indeed have been an optimist to foresee a development such as is here forecast. To this day the dream has not become a reality. But at all events he did contrive to set up a good school, which opened January 1, 1889, and counted ninety Indian pupils before the academic year was over. The teaching was in the hands of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, whose services he had secured. On January 23, 1890, Father Ignatius Panken arrived at the mission, while in mid-March Father Kuppens returned to St. Louis, being replaced at St. Stephen's by Father Ponziglione. Father Panken was pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church for the Catholic Negroes of St. Louis at the time he received his summons to become an Indian missionary. Writing in the third person, he tells the incident as follows:

On the 5th day of January 1890 Very Rev. J. P. Frieden, S.J., Provincial of the Missouri Province came to St. Elizabeth's Church in the afternoon, telling Father Panken, S.J., to come to St. Louis University as soon as practicable. Accordingly F. P[anken] went and he was told then and there by his Provincial to go to St. Stephen's Mission, Wyo. A few instructions and admonitions of about 10 minutes duration ended the conversation. F. P[anken] went to work immediately arranging the affairs of church and school, instructing his substitute, buying necessary articles for traveling in a Missionary country during the month of January, and left on Sunday evening January 12th.

The school, which had been temporarily closed, was reopened by Father Panken after Father Kuppens's departure in March, 1890; but the Sisters of Charity withdrew from the mission the following summer.

The taking over of St. Stephen's Mission by the Missouri Jesuits gave great satisfaction to Father Anderledy, the General, who wrote that God would bless their province for entering again into the Indian mission-field. Among Father Meyer's consultors there was a feeling that the Jesuits of the Middle West should engage permanently in missionary work among the red men for the reason among others that justice seemed to require of them some service of this sort in return for means procured in Europe on behalf of the Indian missions. In view of financial aid thus received some of the Missouri members had been allowed to attach themselves to the Rocky Mountain missions; but this was considered by some of the fathers to be inadequate as a balancing of the obligation in question and they urged that the province undertake some steady missionary work on its own account. That the province had not done its duty towards the Indians was unlikely; but at all events it did within a few years reenter the missionary field though not in the United States.

In July, 1891, St. Stephen's Mission was transferred to the Jesuit Rocky Mountain Missions, to which it remained attached until the establishment in 1907 of the province of California when it came under the care of the latter. The province of Missouri had always regarded it as a temporary mission only (*missio temporaria*), and though it had put it in good running order and otherwise administered it effectively, it readily relinquished the management of it into other hands. But in 1913 St. Stephen's was reattached to the Missouri Province by the Father General, Francis Xavier Wernz. With aid received from the Catholic Extension Society of the United States Father Placidus Sialm, now become superior of St. Stephen's, built chapels at Arapahoe, five miles from the mission, at Fort Washakie, twenty-eight miles to the west of it, and at Pilot, a Mexican settlement five miles to the northwest. At Riverton, six miles from St. Stephen's, at Shoshoni, thirty-one miles distant, and at Denore and Crowheart, a journey of seventy miles, services were regularly held for congregations of whites. Father Sialm was succeeded as superior of the mission in 1913 by Father Aloysius Keel, who in turn had as successor, 1922, Father Michael Hoferer. Father Keel again became superior in 1925. The school, which receives a government subsidy for the education of the children, not adequate, however, to meet the expenses involved, had an attendance in June, 1929, of seventy-one boys and the same number of girls. The girls' classes have been conducted since 1893 by Sisters of St. Francis from

Pendleton, Oregon. On January 8, 1928, the boys' school-house and the church were destroyed by fire but both have been replaced by more substantial structures.

§ 2. BRITISH HONDURAS

With their departure from St. Stephen's in 1891 the middlewestern Jesuits were again left without any Indian mission to administer. But Father Luis Martin, elected General of the order in 1893, was of the mind that the Missouri Province, in default of field-work among American aborigines, should undertake some or other foreign mission as a means of fostering the apostolic spirit among its members. In 1893 he asked of the province an expression of opinion as to whether it would be in a position in a few years to take in charge the Mission of the Zambesi in South Africa. A meeting of superiors and former superiors, which convened in St. Louis, April 4, 1893, declared against the proposition. It was thought that the Zambesi was too remote, the travelling expenses for missionaries going thither from America being almost prohibitive. The climate, too, would prove oppressive for Americans. Further, the Bishops of the United States would look askance at a foreign mission conducted for Negroes, when millions of Negroes in the United States furnished a field for apostolic effort nearer home. In fine, "our Province is a quasi-mission. The colleges are inadequately staffed with teachers, and are without endowments or adequate financial means. Further, the Province is without a seminary for its theological students. In fine, many of the Province members, for the reason that the Province was a quasi-mission, have left home and country to labor here *ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*." As far as the cultivation of the apostolic spirit in the province was necessary at the moment, this might be promoted by sending men to Alaska or South America or other regions where their services could be utilized to excellent purpose.

The difficulty of geographical remoteness that militated against the acceptance of the Zambesi Mission did not obtain, at least in the same measure, in the case of British Honduras, the spiritual care of which Father Martin assigned to the Missouri Province in 1893. This colony was at that time and is still organized ecclesiastically as the Vicariate-apostolic of Belize, which comprises the entire Crown Colony of British Honduras, Central America. British Honduras is bounded by the Mexican province of Yucatan on the north and by Guatemala on the south and west while its eastern edge is washed by the waters of the Caribbean Sea. Belize, government headquarters of the colony and its chief town and seaport, lies eight hundred and sixty miles south by west of New Orleans. The vicariate-apostolic counted in 1930 besides a bishop, twenty-two priests of the Society of Jesus, nine churches with resident

priests, fifty-four mission-churches, fifty-seven stations, and a Catholic population of approximately twenty-nine thousand. Belize has a population of about thirteen thousand, one-fourth of which is Catholic.

The stations outside of Belize where there are one or more Jesuit priests in residence are: Corozal and Orange Walk in the north, the former on the coast, the latter in the interior on New River; Stann Creek and Punta Gorda in the south, both on the coast, and Cayo and Benque Viejo in the extreme west near the Guatemala border. Communication between the various stations must be made for the most part by boat or on horseback over forest trails where one has often to cut a way with a hatchet through the dense tropical growth. "It is almost impossible," writes Father William T. Kane, a sometime Jesuit resident of the colony, "even to estimate with anything like accuracy the racial proportions of the population. Perhaps rather more than two-fifths are of more or less Indian descent; another two-fifths, negroes, are the products of miscegenation; of the remainder some three thousand are a mongrel black people improperly styled Caribs; three hundred or so are whites; the rest are unclassified and unclassifiable. The Indians are chiefly Mayas, descendants of the ancient Toltecs, copper-colored, with high cheek bones and almond eyes. Many of them speak Spanish—of a sort; amongst the blacks a barbarized English prevails under the linguistic title of 'Creole,' quite unintelligible to English-speaking people. The Caribs speak an African dialect into which, in a curious manner, many French words have crept." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7:450.)

The Catholics on the whole are a church-going people, loyal to their pastors and fairly regular in observance of their religious duties. But they have their share of human frailties. "In this tropical land," witnesses a Belize pastor, "everything tends to make people lead an easy life. Concubinage is not looked down upon as it should be and drunkenness is common. It is particularly difficult to bring home to an Indian or Carib the solemn duty of having their marriages blessed by the Church. There is no decisive public opinion against illicit relations between the sexes and couples unlawfully cohabiting may continue to do so without loss of social standing. But much has been achieved by the missionaries in the way of rooting out the evil and in a particular station (Benque Viejo) the rate of concubinage was brought down from eighty-five to twelve per cent."

The first priest known to have visited the colony appears to have been the Franciscan friar, Fray Antonio, who in 1832 was ministering to a small group of Catholic refugees settled in Mullins River, a village a few miles south of Belize. In 1848 occurred the first notable increase in the Catholic population of the colony when seven thousand Spanish

refugees, driven out of Yucatan by Indian uprisings, settled within its borders. Some Jesuits passing through British Honduras in 1850 were asked by the refugees to secure them pastors. The result was that the following year, 1851, the Vicar-apostolic of Jamaica, a Franciscan, in whose jurisdiction British Honduras was included, visited Belize in person bringing with him two Jesuits, Fathers Dupont and Dupeyron. The latter were placed in charge of the local congregation. Other members of the Society followed them in succeeding years, churches and schools were built throughout the colony, and stations with resident priests, eight in number, were established at various points outside of Belize. The mission thus organized was placed under care of the Jesuit province of England. In view of the difficulty of communication between Jamaica and British Honduras the latter territory was in 1888 erected into an autonomous prefecture-apostolic with Father Salvatore Di Pietro, a Sicilian Jesuit, who had spent many years in the colony and had been three times superior of the mission, named as first prefect-apostolic. Five years later, in 1893, British Honduras was made a vicariate and the prefect-apostolic, Di Pietro, appointed vicar-apostolic. He was consecrated in Belize under the title of Bishop of Eurea and governed the Church in British Honduras with devoted zeal for six years, being succeeded on his death by Father Frederick C. Hopkins, S.J., who was consecrated Bishop of Athribis *in partibus* in St. Louis, November 5, 1899. Bishop Hopkins, after a quarter-century of an unusually energetic and strenuous career in the episcopal ministry, met death by drowning in 1924 and was followed as head of the Vicariate-apostolic of Belize by Father Joseph A. Murphy, S.J., of St. Louis University, who was consecrated Bishop of Birta *in partibus* March 19, 1924. Like his predecessor he received episcopal consecration in the College (Jesuit) Church, St. Louis.

Though the Mission of British Honduras had passed into the hands of the St. Louis Jesuits in 1893, the duties of superior of the Jesuits resident in the colony continued to be discharged by Bishop Di Pietro up to his death in 1898. After this an arrangement was introduced by which the Jesuits received their own superior appointed by the Father General, though in all matters pertaining to the parochial ministry they remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop. Father William J. Wallace thus became superior, March, 1900, of the Jesuit Mission of British Honduras. He was succeeded in the office in turn by Fathers William A. Mitchell, John F. Neenan, Joseph B. Kammerer, Anthony H. Corey and Marvin M. O'Connor.

At the period of the transfer of British Honduras to the Missouri Jesuits, Belize had its Catholic select school, established in 1887 by Father Cassian Gillet, S.J., with an initial attendance of two boarders

and twelve day-scholars. The boarding-department soon succumbed, but the day-school was maintained with a fair measure of success. At the same time Bishop Di Pietro felt that the educational needs of the colony could not be met without a boarding-school. Moreover, a great good was to be realized by providing school facilities of higher grade for the Catholic youth of the neighboring Central American republics, which were notably behindhand in this respect. Belize was easily accessible from these republics and enjoyed, besides, the inestimable advantage of stable government. Funds were accordingly collected both in the colony and the states for the erection in the rear of the presbytery or fathers' residence of a moderately sized building, in which on February 3, 1896, a boarding- and day-school under the name of St. John's College was formally opened with Father William J. Wallace, S.J., as director. The boarding-school was discontinued after a few years but was subsequently reopened though its maintenance in the contracted quarters in which it was installed became increasingly difficult. Finally, Father William A. Mitchell, superior of the mission, acquired from the government a piece of property of twenty-five acres abutting on the sea a mile or so beyond the southern limits of the town. Here was erected in 1916 a building of impressive appearance, having a front of two hundred and sixty-two feet and a depth of seventy. It was constructed of wood, other building material not being easily obtainable in the colony. Later years saw the erection of a gymnasium and of the Fusz Memorial Chapel, named for a benefactor in the states. With the opening of the new St. John's College the registration began to rise, standing in 1929 at ninety. As a dispenser of serious and well-balanced education of the Jesuit type, St. John's College, Belize, achieved a place of its own in the educational life of Central America. But its career was abruptly cut short. With the complete destruction of its buildings accompanied with appalling loss of life among faculty-members and students alike in the great hurricane of September 11, 1931, the institution ceased to be. The Jesuits, eleven in number, who died on the tragic occasion were: Fathers Francis J. Kemphues, Bernard A. New, Charles M. Palacio, Leo A. Rooney, William J. Tracy, William S. Ferris, the scholastics Alfred A. Bauermeister, Deodat I. Burn, Richard F. Koch, Richard W. Smith, and the coadjutor-brother, John B. Rodgers.

Much of human interest and edifying tenor may be written of these American Jesuits at work in the sub-tropics. The name of Father William A. Stanton would alone lend lustre to the record of Jesuit missionary activity in British Honduras. As a scholastic he had served as an instructor in St. John's College, Belize, and after his ordination saw missionary service for some years in the Philippines. Then he

found his way back to British Honduras, arriving in the colony on October 10, 1905. Thirteen days later he set out with Bishop Hopkins for Benque Viejo in the heart of the bush where it creeps up to the Guatemala border. Benque was reached November 1. Attempts had previously been made to establish a mission at this point but without result. This was the task to which Father Stanton now addressed himself and in which he scored an obvious success, the mission of Benque looking to him as its founder. He had with him on his arrival some tinned provisions, a few cooking utensils, one set of white Mass vestments, an altar stone and a few odds and ends of household furniture. For the first few months he lived in a borrowed Indian hut of thatch while the people were building him a house, doing his own cooking and turning hunter when he needed meat. Some seeds which he obtained from the states enabled him to begin what turned out to be a successful vegetable garden. Meanwhile, during the first four months when he was without a companion priest, he managed to visit thirty of the forty pueblos in the district, preaching in Spanish and Maya, baptizing and otherwise performing his pastoral functions. His parishioners were Maya-speaking Petenero Indians, who had moved from the nearby Petan district of Guatemala; but they were without trace of Spanish blood and in this respect unlike the Yucatan Indians of Orange Walk and Corozal, also Maya-speaking. For a space of four years the young missionary went on discharging his remarkable ministry at Benque, forgetting self, courting hardships, helping his people to better themselves in spiritual and economic ways. But while his apostolic career, brimming over with energy and zeal, was thus running at high tide, he was seized with a deadly internal cancer and reduced to helplessness. He made a long and painful journey for medical aid to St. Louis, where he died at forty on March 10, 1910. His life, an inspiring one from any point of view, has been engagingly written by a fellow-Jesuit.* Father Stanton sustained in his own brief span of life one of the cherished traditions of his order, the combination of missionary zeal with scientific research. His studies in Honduran and Philippine fauna and flora were persistent and of a sort that issued in distinct contributions to these important fields of knowledge.

In the summer of 1921 St. John's College underwent in the Providence of God the most harrowing experience in all its history next to the great tragedy of 1931 that brought it to an end. Yellow-fever, brought in by some newly hired servants, broke out within its walls and took a toll of four lives, two in the faculty and two in the student-body. The

* William T. Kane, S. J., *A Memoir of Rev. William A. Stanton, S.J.*, (St. Louis, 1918).

brother-infirmarian, Charles Studer, a native of Washington, Missouri, where he was born in 1869, was called on August 29. Twelve days before, on the 17th, he had begun nursing the patients who were down with the contagion. Three days later, reluctantly and only under peremptory orders from the physician, he took to bed, having himself contracted the disease. On the tenth day he felt that the end was at hand and declared himself more than willing to go to meet the Master. Fortified with the last rites of the Church, he died calmly, meriting in view of the peculiar circumstances of his death the name which recurs with frequency in Jesuit history, a "martyr of charity." Brother Studer, though not a professionally trained nurse, was a past master in the art of tending the sick. He was at all times quietly and unobtrusively efficient and on all counts an excellent example of the type of coadjutor-brother which in the mind of St. Ignatius best serves the purposes of the Society of Jesus. One who knew him intimately wrote that "he never seemed to get tired and he never shirked an unpleasant task."

The same yellow-fever epidemic of 1921 carried off the scholastic, Gabriel Bachner, on September 10 of that year, his illness having lasted ten days. He had arrived at Belize only the month before, having volunteered for the mission while a student of philosophy in a Spanish scholasticate. He was born in Cincinnati, January 6, 1895, and was only twenty-six when he passed away. He had been an office-boy to Father Francis Finn, S.J., the writer of Catholic juveniles, whom he greatly admired and whose literary career as a writer for the young he hoped one day to imitate, for he himself wielded a ready pen. "I am glad to go to Honduras," he said on receiving his appointment to Belize, "though I did not ask for that post in particular. I believe we do best by leaving the whole disposition of ourselves to our Superiors. To this day I do not know why I was sent to Spain. Certainly I did not ask for it. With God's grace I shall never try to fix my own destination but leave it in His hands and those of His representatives on earth." Of certain undoubtedly real discomforts he spoke as being of such a nature that "any Jesuit blessed with health as I am would be ashamed to complain of them. They will never hurt anyone." Gabriel Bachner was of a prepossessing appearance, tall and physically strong, and he struggled with a man's strength against the progress of the dread disease; but the end was peaceful and came while his brothers in religion were praying at his bedside. "His body was taken to the hospital by boat for burial preparation at about six o'clock. The sea was almost dead calm. The sun was setting beside the college. In the Kraal and in the yard the boys had placed themselves here and there in silent groups. A little nearer the water's edge, his fellow Jesuits stared seaward, where, under the dark canopy of clouds, the tiny boat, seeming to

stand up out of the water, carried away the white shrouded figure out of their sight."

Bishop Frederick C. Hopkins, S.J., a native of Birmingham, England, where he was born in 1844, had spent thirty-six years in active service in British Honduras, twelve as a priest and twenty-four as bishop, when death claimed him with abruptness at the age of seventy-nine. During all these years he was a conspicuous figure in the civil and religious life of the colony. His energy and zeal in the discharge of his pastoral duties were untiring. When almost an octogenarian he was still travelling about his vicariate on official business and it was while voyaging to Corozal to make his annual visitation of the northern district that he met his tragic death in the Caribbean Sea on April 10, 1923. He had boarded an unseaworthy old hulk, the F.M.I., with other passengers, men, women and children, almost seventy in number. At two in the morning, when the boat was within seven miles of Corozal, the cry was suddenly raised that she had sprung a leak and was rapidly sinking. There was consternation on board and a wild scramble for lifebelts, boxes, barrels, anything that would float. Above the uproar rose the Bishop's voice, "save the women and children first." But his plea was disregarded. Nearly all the women and children perished while the Bishop was the only man aboard to lose his life. Two days later his disfigured body was picked up on the Yucatan coast.

"He was as near sainthood as any man we ever met," wrote the editor of the *Clarion*, a secular weekly of Belize. "During the whole period of his long stay in the Colony no one, we venture to say, has been better known as a staunch friend of the Colony and as an active worker for the betterment of its people, materially, morally and spiritually. Devoted as his Lordship has been to spiritual works, absorbed, we may say, in sacred duties, it is a marvel how active he has been along other lines and how admirably public spirited he has shown himself at every call." This was the impression Bishop Hopkins made on the outside world. On his fellow-workers in the ministry the impression he made was that of a man extraordinarily devoted and single-minded in the pursuit of duty. "His talents, whether great or small," wrote two of them in a joint tribute to his memory, "he made the most of and with God's help the work he succeeded in producing is a masterpiece."

§ 3. THE SIOUX MISSIONS

While British Honduras gave the American Jesuits of the Middle West an opportunity for missionary labor in foreign parts, an opportunity which Father General Martin desired them to enjoy as a means of fostering the apostolic spirit, it did not renew their contact with the

western Indian tribes which had engaged their zeal in the early period of their career. There was accordingly a special appropriateness in the transfer by Father General Wernz in 1913 of the Jesuit Indian missions of South Dakota and Wyoming to the Missouri Province. These missions had been under the jurisdiction of the province of California, the two situated in South Dakota having passed to that jurisdiction in 1907 from the Buffalo Mission, which had established them. De Smet's life-long dream of a mission among the Sioux had thus seen its realization through the zealous efforts of the German Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission, from whose hands the two Sioux establishments eventually passed into those of De Smet's own province of Missouri.

St. Francis Mission was founded in 1886 by Father John Jutz, who had made an unsuccessful attempt at missionary work among the Arapaho of Wyoming. He wrote July 14 of that year to Father Ponziglione, who had recently arrived at St. Stephen's: "I have not yet forgotten St. Stephen's Mission and the Arapaho Indians. I wish you God's blessing a thousand times for your work. If I can do anything for you in any way, I shall be glad to do it." He then proceeded to assure Father Ponziglione that he should be quite content if conditions at his new mission of St. Francis were as promising as those at St. Stephen's. The water-supply at St. Francis was uncertain and if the pump did not work, which had already happened four or five times, one had to go and fetch water a distance of three miles. The weather was very warm and, in fine, "there was more wind than at Wind River." St. Francis Mission among the Brulé Sioux is located on the Rosebud reservation eighteen miles from Kilgore on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. Three counties, Mellette, Todd and Tripp and a part of Bennett County, all in South Dakota, are included in the reservation, which has an area of more than fifty-six hundred square miles and an Indian population of six thousand. Two of the fathers are occupied mainly in field-work, living and laboring among the Indians. Missionary journeys last from one to three weeks, sometimes longer, and are followed as a rule by a few days of rest and preparation at headquarters.

Holy Rosary Mission, dating from 1887, owes its origin, like its sister mission of St. Francis, to the Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission. It is situated in the southwestern section of South Dakota, thirty miles to the northwest of the nearest railroad station, Rushville, Nebraska, and five miles from Pine Ridge Agency, headquarters of the reservation of the same name. "The surrounding country is made up for the most part of ridges of hills crowding closely upon one another, with gorges and canyons running in every direction and no vegetation, but a species of short grass and sparsely scattered pine trees." The Sioux

settled on this reservation, which comprises the three counties Shannon, Washington and Washabough with an area of nearly thirty-four hundred miles, are mostly of the Oglalla band and number some eight thousand. Besides the mission church there were in 1930 twenty-two chapels scattered over this territory, the nearest of them five, the farthest, sixty miles from the mission as the crow flies, which means considerably more than a hundred miles by road. One of the fathers had charge of eighteen of these chapels, which necessitated his being on the road the greater part of the year, travelling anywhere from five to fifty miles a day and covering between three and five hundred miles a month. Mass was often said in the Indian homes, usually log houses or tepees. Father August Lindebner was engaged in this strenuous ministry for over thirty years and in 1920 at the age of seventy-four, when he had charge of four stations, made a sick-call of one hundred and twenty miles in the face of a cutting blizzard which sent the mercury below the zero mark.

As was the case in the earlier Jesuit missions among the Potawatomi and Osage, the schools for the Sioux children have been the chief agency through which the South Dakota missions seek to realize their program of religious, social and cultural endeavor on behalf of the Indians. At St. Francis in 1928-1929 there were some four hundred and fifty children in attendance in about equal proportions of boys and girls ranging in age between six and eighteen years. At Holy Rosary in the same session one hundred and seventy-five boys and one hundred and eighty girls were registered. These children are clothed, fed and lodged at the expense of the missions from September to July. The government grant from the Sioux tribal funds of one hundred and eight dollars for each child does not cover the cost of the year's meals. Hence there is need of additional sources of support as donations in money and other contributions. In view of the circumstance that they are partly subsidized from tribal funds, the schools are under government inspection. They have enjoyed high credit with examining officials for academic standing and effective management. The girls and the lower classes of boys are taught by the Sisters of St. Francis of Stella Niagara, New York, while the instruction of the older boys is carried on by Jesuit scholastics. Industrial education is on the program of studies required by the government and, as a matter of fact, is necessary to enable the students to earn a livelihood in their after-school careers. This feature of the children's training, as regards the boys, is in the hands of the coadjutor-brothers, whose services in other ways to the mission are indispensable. "Practically every foot of the two immense piles of Mission buildings, from the cutting of the lumber to the carving of the altars in the churches and house-chapels, has been

the work of the Brothers. The bricks of the Holy Rosary Mission buildings were made on the grounds with the hired help of just one expert burner; the concrete structures at St. Francis, more than 1,000 feet long, were put up by the Brothers with the Indian boys as helpers. Their garden work has received special commendation on all sides from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs down to the passing visitor."

Father Florentine Digmann, associated for over forty years with St. Francis's, was the chief personal factor in the upbuilding of this model mission. In the face of all sorts of embarrassments, including physical hardships, lack of money, ill-will and opposition in quarters unfriendly to the mission, he brought it through the uncertainties of the years to its present prosperous development. He had a faith in the institution that was proof against trial and a sense of divine blessing upon its work that was fully justified by the event. Father De Smet never saw, not even in the successful Potawatomi and Osage missions of his day, such large-scale and effective educational activities as are being carried on today by his Jesuit successors among the Sioux children of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations. The school has reacted upon the entire tribe, uplifting it to what is for American aborigines a rather high level of civilization and culture. Cato Sells, United States Indian commissioner, on the occasion of a visit to St. Francis Mission, where he saw the Indians engaged in work on a new building, remarked: "This reminds one of the old buildings in California which the missionaries put up with the help of their Indians." At sight of a successful vegetable garden he said to a government agent at his side: "Why can't we have such in the Government schools? There is no doubt that the missionaries by example and encouragement do much to uplift and civilize the Indians." Msgr. William H. Ketchum, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, took occasion more than once both in public and private to declare it to be his deliberate conviction that history records no other example of such rapid and solid progress from barbarism to civilization as has taken place among the Sioux of North and South Dakota. Moreover, he was ready to make every sacrifice to prevent the Catholic Pine Ridge and Rosebud Mission schools from closing their doors. These two are today the largest Indian schools in point of registration and material equipment conducted by the Catholic Church in the United States.

§ 4. THE COLORADO MISSIONS

The range of parochial obligations carried by the Missouri Province widened by a considerable margin with the accession to it of Colorado on the occasion of the dissolution in 1919 of the Colorado-New Mexico

Mission. In Denver the Church of the Sacred Heart at Larimer and Twenty-sixth Streets is the center of a well-organized and populous parish with five fathers steadily employed in attending to its needs. Loyola Chapel, built for the convenience of Sacred Heart parishioners residing in a quarter somewhat distant from the church, is also served by Jesuit fathers. The parish schools are well organized, the high school department being the first one under parochial management established in the diocese of Denver. In Pueblo three parishes were under Jesuit direction in 1919, St. Patrick's for the Americans, St. Francis Xavier's for the Mexicans and Our Lady of Mt. Carmel for the Italian residents of the town. Of these St. Patrick's was the most considerable. Its school, conducted by Sisters of Charity, numbered about three hundred children. St. Patrick's and St. Francis Xavier's were transferred to the diocesan clergy in 1925. The Italian parish of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel is still in Jesuit hands.

Three other Colorado parishes, Del Norte, Conejos and Trinidad, fell to the charge of the Missouri Province in 1919. These were not organized on the plan of the average urban parish with its single group of Catholics settled in a limited area, but were rather extensive fields of real missionary work on behalf of numerous distinct groups scattered at intervals over a wide range of territory. At Del Norte, a town of approximately a thousand inhabitants on the Rio Grande in the northwest corner of the fertile San Luis Valley, was the residence of two Jesuit priests, who attended six chapels in widely separated localities. The parish area of nearly four thousand square miles ranged over three counties. Much of the land was inaccessible, being inhabited only by scattered sheep-herders. In Del Norte was a stone church built in 1900 by Father Bueno, S.J., the first consecrated church in Colorado. In the six stations, Creede, Plazza Valdez, Monte Vista, Center, Saguache and La Garita, the congregations were, with the single exception of Creede, made up mostly of Americans. The celebration of Mass in private houses in default of a church or chapel is a thing of comparatively rare occurrence at present in the United States, however common it was in the pioneer period. But the Del Norte pastors had frequently to resort to the practice. In three out-of-the-way localities Mass was said in private domiciles about three times a year for Mexican groups of from twenty-five to fifty. The bulk of the Catholics in Del Norte and the other congregations of the southern San Luis Valley are faithful members of the Church. While the Jesuit ministry in this field was attended with gratifying results, it became a problem for superiors of the Society how to staff these parishes of rural Colorado with the necessary force of workers. Hence parishes of this type were readily turned over to the Bishop when he found it possible to accept

them. Del Norte and its dependent stations were transferred to the Bishop of Denver in 1925.

Conejos, oldest parish in Colorado, dating from 1857, came into the hands of the Jesuits in 1871 when Father Salvatore Personé took it in charge. Like Del Norte it was a network of scattered missions or stations, twenty-five in number, grouped irregularly around a central residence at Conejos, a settlement in the San Luis Valley some ten miles north of the New Mexico line. The most important of the missions were Capulin, Antonito, La Jara, Ortiz and Los Sauces. Spanish was the language on most people's tongues up and down the parish of Conejos, the pastor of which at the time Missouri took it over was Father C. Alvarez of the province of Mexico. On October 30, 1920, the Spanish-speaking Theatines assumed charge of Conejos in succession to the Jesuits. "A great deal of good has been done here for the glory of God," notes summarily a Jesuit domestic account of the parish.

If Del Norte and Conejos were busy centres of a ministry that had more about it of rough missionary life than of the ordinary pastoral care of souls, Trinidad was also such but on a much larger scale. The parish of Trinidad, a town in southeastern Colorado only a few miles above the New Mexico line and on the main route of the Santa Fe railroad, was organized by a diocesan priest in 1865. Two years later the same priest built a church of the adobe type usual in the Spanish Southwest. In 1870 came the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati to take in hand the parochial school. Four years after the arrival of the sisters the Jesuit fathers Personé and D'Aponte preached a mission in Trinidad and the following year, 1875, the parish was given to the Jesuits, Father Pinto being appointed pastor. A stone church of imposing proportions built through his efforts was blessed May 31, 1885, while a rectory of pleasing design and ample dimensions was also erected during his pastorate.

Of the six fathers of the Trinidad residence employed in ministerial work in 1929 one, the superior, was charged with the local congregation of the Holy Trinity and another with the Italian congregation of Mt. Carmel, which had its own church, while the remaining four were engaged in the outlying missions. Holy Trinity parish is organized as a single parochial unit comprising the whole of Las Animas County, the largest in Colorado, with an area of nearly five thousand square miles and a population of about forty thousand, nearly half of whom are Catholics. Most of the parishioners live in the western part of the county, the coal-mining district, while the eastern part is thinly populated with farmers and ranchers. Spanish is the language of at least fifty per cent of the Catholics, Italian of approximately twenty-five per cent, Polish, Bohemian and other Slavic languages of almost

fifteen per cent, English of the remaining ten per cent. In Trinidad one needs for the exercise of the ministry Spanish, Italian and English; in the farming-district, Spanish chiefly, and in the mining-camps, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, Slovak and English. Probably nowhere in the United States is the Pentecostal gathering "of every tribe, language and nation" better paralleled than among the polyglot inhabitants of Las Animas County, Colorado. Knowledge of certain languages other than English is an indispensable requirement for one who undertakes to dispense the word of God in this interesting corner of the Lord's vineyard.

Outside of Trinidad the number of missions and stations attended in 1919 reached to about seventy. Of these thirty had churches, one of them of stone (Delagua), two of concrete (Morly and Berwind), three of frame (Starkville, Primero and Hastings), and the remaining twenty-four, of adobe. These adobe buildings, severely plain both inside and out, would be quite in place anywhere in the Philippine Islands. Holy Trinity parish is the largest in Colorado both in extent of miles and number of souls. By an apt coincidence the county with which it is coterminous is named Las Animas, "Souls [of Purgatory]" County. From seven hundred to a thousand baptisms are annually administered by the Trinidad missionaries, who have under their charge approximately four thousand families or twenty thousand souls. Five members to a family is a moderate count for the Mexican, Italian and Slavic elements of the parish, among whom race-suicide is a thing unknown.

To care for seventy groups of Catholics scattered over a vast territory is a charge of some magnitude. The advent of the motor-car has somewhat, perhaps considerably, lessened its difficulty. The roads, though rough, are passable in good weather but after rain or snow travelling by auto has its hardships. Communication by railroad is sometimes possible; the trains, however, run at inconvenient hours for the missionary or do not stop at stations that have to be visited while the majority of the stations, even some of the largest, are not on the railroad at all. Clearly Mass cannot be said at every station all Sundays of the year. Only the more important stations have Mass regularly every Sunday; but to carry out this program the visiting priest has to "binate," that is to say, celebrate Mass twice on the same day, first in one church and then in another. Some of the churches have Mass only once a month and that on a week-day while others are visited by the priest only four or six times a year. Sick calls from distant points of the immense parish are not of uncommon occurrence. As all the priests reside together at Trinidad, a long ride sometimes of seventy-five miles and generally by auto is necessary in order to answer such calls. All in

all, the big-scale parochial ministry "by excursion" of the Jesuits serving Holy Trinity parish in Trinidad is probably unique in the United States.

§ 5. PATNA, BRITISH INDIA

With British Honduras, Indian missions in South Dakota and Wyoming, and over a hundred mission stations in Colorado on its hands, the Missouri Province would seem to have been carrying all the burden of missionary effort to which under the circumstances it was equal; but a condition in the Orient arising out of the World War resulted in the assignment to it of still another missionary field, and this of vast extent. By Apostolic Letters issued by the Holy See September 10, 1919, a new diocese bearing the name of Patna was erected in the northeastern section of British India. Through its territory of thirty-eight thousand square miles, which embraces the whole of the independent kingdom of Nepal and the northern portion of the newly established civil province of Behar-and-Orissa, runs the historic Ganges, on the south bank of which rises the ancient city of Patna. In a suburban quarter of the city known as Bankipore the first bishop of the new diocese, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Louis Van Hoeck, was to fix his see. Bishop Van Hoeck, a Belgian Jesuit formerly attached to the Mission of Bengal, was consecrated on March 9, 1921, as a suffragan of the Archbishop of Calcutta. Prior to the World War this region had been cultivated by Austrian Capuchins, who were repatriated when the great conflict broke out, leaving the field without hands to work it. The same papal enactment which set up the diocese of Patna conveyed to the Society of Jesus this now abandoned territory, which the Jesuit General, Father Ledochowski, in his turn assigned to the Missouri Province. On the morning of March 16, 1921, five fathers of its jurisdiction under Father William Eline as superior arrived in Patna to take the mission in hand. For a native population of twenty-six millions this was a staff of slender proportions, but the years added to its numbers and by 1936 the Patna Mission had a roll-call of seventy-seven members, of whom thirty-five were priests, thirty-six, scholastics, and five, coadjutor-brothers. There was, moreover, the Jesuit Bishop of Patna, the Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Sullivan, American-born, who succeeded Bishop Van Hoeck in 1929, the latter being transferred to the new see of Ranchi, British India. Besides the Bishop's residence in Bankipore, the mission counted in 1936 thirteen distinct residences, located in as many settlements, one of them, Dinapore, a military cantonment, the others for the most part railway stations. At Bettiah there is a high school for boys with a staff of six fathers, nine scholastics and two coadjutor-brothers. The work of the fathers in the residences is in cases restricted

almost entirely to the pastoral care of the little groups of Catholics in their neighborhood. But missionary operations among the unconverted natives, especially the Santals, are also being carried on and with gratifying results. Hopes are entertained of an increasingly successful ministry in this direction, the mission-staff being encouraged in its efforts by the words which the Father General addressed to the Patna missionaries who opened the field in 1921: "Let the first mission of the American Provinces among the idolators become an example to all other missions and demonstrate to everybody what the Americans can accomplish in this field of labor for the greater glory of God." A devastating earthquake which occurred in the Patna region in 1934 wrought widespread havoc of life and property and the mission is at present writing slowly retrieving the losses it suffered on the occasion.

At the setting-up in 1928 of the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus, the Patna Mission became attached to it, the Mission of British Honduras remaining under the charge of the Missouri Province. Father William Eline, first superior of the Patna Mission, was succeeded in office in 1929 by Father Peter J. Sontag, who in turn found a successor in 1936 in Father Francis N. Loesch. East India, as a land hallowed by the classic missionary labors of St. Francis Xavier, holds out a lively challenge to apostolic enterprise and zeal. At the same time work in this field is beset with grave difficulties, especially on the economic side. To procure the material means needed to finance its activities, the Mission of Patna maintains a procurator's office in Chicago.

CHAPTER XLII

THE PAROCHIAL MINISTRY

§ 1. THE ENVIRONS OF ST. LOUIS

In the purview of their Constitutions the churches administered by Jesuits should be of the type known as collegiate, such, namely, as have no canonical parish rights or obligations but are meant to afford the priests in attendance an opportunity to deliver sermons or instructions and administer the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist. Experience, however, has shown that collegiate churches do not easily, at least in English-speaking countries, fit in with the conditions under which the Church is at present carrying on her work. The result has been that with one or other exception the churches now in Jesuit hands in the United States are parochial and not collegiate. The significance of this is that the American Jesuits, if they are to exercise the sacred ministry at all, and they cannot decline doing so without failing in the most indispensable function of their order, must do so largely through the channels of the parochial ministry. Work in this field has accordingly been always held of high account by the middlewestern Jesuits. Some of the circumstances and incidents that have marked the progress of such work as carried on by them since the Civil War period are here set down.*

St. Ferdinand's parish in Florissant, the first taken in hand by the Jesuits on their coming to the West in 1823, claims the oldest Catholic church edifice in Missouri. It was built in 1821 and is still in daily use. The rectory, built of brick like the church, belongs to the forties. Immediately adjoining the church on the north is Venerable Mother Duchesne's historic convent of 1819, vacated in 1846 by the Religious of the Sacred Heart, whose educational work in Florissant was taken up the following year by the Loretines or Sisters of Loretto. The parish-school of St. Ferdinand's parish dates from 1887. In August of that year the Sisters of Loretto, who for almost thirty years had conducted the public school of the village, were subjected in the customary examination before the school-board to a series of pettifogging and unduly

* Cf. *supra*, Chap. XIX, § 1. For some particulars on the College Church parish, St. Louis, in the post-Civil War period, cf. *supra*, Chap. XL, § 1. For St. Elizabeth's parish, St. Louis, cf. *infra*, Chap. XLII, § 10.

rigorous queries with the intent, so it was felt, of making them fail in the test. Having declined under the circumstances to answer the questions, they were unable to secure the usual teacher's license issued by the school-board. Thereupon, in September, 1887, the pastor, Father William Boex, S.J., opened a school for the children of the parish in the sisters' house as temporary quarters. A year later a parochial school house was blessed by the Jesuit provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer. Pastors of St. Ferdinand's in recent years have been Fathers Michael Speich, Joseph Milet, and William Trentman.

In 1871 a church succursal to St. Ferdinand's with the title of Holy Rosary was built on the Shackelford Road (also called in the vicinity Rosary Road) about six hundred feet to the south of the Seminary buildings. Previous to that year the Creole Catholics living in the immediate vicinity of the Seminary or west of it in the bottom-lands were accustomed to attend the services held for their convenience by the Jesuit fathers in the upper story of the old Indian school, a two-story frame structure dating from 1828 and situated a few yards from the main building of the Seminary. Father Charles Coppens, who later became prominent in Catholic educational life in the United States as the author of numerous text-books on various subjects, was in the early seventies resident at the Seminary as a professor, discharging at the same time the duties of a quasi-pastor for the neighboring Catholics who attended Sunday Mass on the Seminary premises. To provide the latter with a more becoming house of worship than was afforded by the upper story of the former Indian school, Father Coppens collected some three thousand dollars, with which he built the neat little structure that tops the high ground at the south end of the Seminary property. Father Coppens wrote exultingly at the time, 1871, of the consoling evidences of renewed spiritual life among his parishioners that were coincident with the opening of the new church. "Stringtown," as the locality for the Seminary was long known, was now to be dropped for the name "Rosarytown," and the postoffice to be opened there, according to common expectation, which, however, was never realized, was to be known as Rosary P.O. Holy Rosary Church continues to be a succursal church, without parochial rights or obligations, the sixty or more families who attend its Sunday services belonging respectively to St. Ferdinand's and the Sacred Heart parishes, Florissant, in the proportion of two to one. For baptisms, marriages and funerals, the worshippers at Holy Rosary have recourse to their respective churches in the village.

The parish of the Sacred Heart for the German-speaking Catholics of Florissant is an offshoot of the parent-stem of St. Ferdinand's. In the forties and fifties German Catholic immigrants began to settle in and around Florissant. To bring them the comfort of instruction and other

priestly assistance in their own language, Father Francis Horstmann was stationed at Florissant as assistant to Father Van Assche. Later, Father Ignatius Panken was assigned the spiritual care of the German Catholics. In 1866, by which time their number had increased to thirty-five families, the organization of them into a parish had proceeded so far that plans were made for the erection of a church. Both Archbishop Kenrick and Father Coosemans, the Jesuit provincial, had sanctioned the undertaking and on June 3, 1866, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid by the Archbishop before a great throng of people from St. Louis and other outlying localities. The title of the Sacred Heart, under which the existing Florissant church had been blessed in 1821, was bestowed on it, the former church having long since come to be called after its secondary title of St. Ferdinand. The church property, an entire town block of two and a half acres, bounded by St. Denis, Jefferson, St. Louis and St. Jacques Streets, was acquired from Dr. Hereford at a moderate price. It lies on high ground in about the center of the village and before its purchase in 1866 for the Sacred Heart Church had been selected as a site for the village hall, the foundations of which were actually begun. The property had also been picked out at one time by the Religious of the Sacred Heart as a site for a new convent. In the beginning of 1867 Father Panken was succeeded as pastor by Father Ignatius Peuckert, who on March 3 of that year gave out the contract for the new church above the foundations at a stipulated cost of sixteen thousand dollars. On September 14, Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the cross was raised on the top of the spire, and on October 6, 1867, Rosary Sunday, Archbishop Kenrick being absent in Europe, Father De Smet blessed the church in a service of great solemnity.

Catholic education for their children has been a tradition with the parishioners from the first days of the parish. Even before the first church had been built a two-story school house had been erected at a cost of fifty-five hundred dollars and opened September 15, 1866, with two Sisters of the Precious Blood and a lay teacher in charge. In 1872 a second school house, two stories in height, was built for the larger boys at a cost of twenty-five hundred dollars. On November 28, 1889, a new school of imposing proportions, to supplant the older buildings, was solemnly blessed by Very Rev. Henry Muehlsiepen, vicar-general, Father James J. Conway, S.J., preaching a notable sermon, in which he extolled the zeal of the congregation in the cause of Christian education. In 1887 a tower, which still stands, was added to the church, which later, in 1893, was dismantled to give way to a new and more imposing structure. The corner-stone was laid by Vicar-General Muehlsiepen, April 3, 1893, and the completed church dedicated to divine service on November 23 of the same year by Archbishop Kain. The erec-

tion in 1904 of a sisters' house on the south side of the church completed the fine group of parochial buildings which the German Catholics of Florissant have raised to minister to their spiritual needs. The line of Jesuit fathers who have served the Sacred Heart parish since its beginning includes Fathers Horstmann, Panken, Peuckert, Bauhaus, Val-lazza, Etten, John Otten, Kessel, Pickert, Goesse, Hoehn, Paulus and Harder.

Eight miles to the southeast of Florissant lies the village of Normandy, so called in memory of a well-known pioneer family of the locality, the Lucases, whose progenitor on American soil, Judge Jean Baptiste Lucas, was a native of Normandy in France. The first priests to minister regularly to the Catholics of Normandy were the Jesuits of St. Louis University, who undertook this charge early in 1855, a temporary chapel having been erected the preceding year by Judge Lucas's daughter, Mrs. Ann Hunt. Later Mrs. Hunt conveyed to the Jesuits ten arpents of land on the understanding that they were to hold Sunday services regularly in the Normandy chapel. On this property a handsome church of stone, which is still in use, was built in 1857 to replace the temporary chapel. St. Ann's church was enlarged in 1872, and a steeple added in 1875. A parish school was opened in 1860 and a rectory of brick built in 1868. The first regularly assigned pastor of the Normandy parish, named for St. Ann in recognition of Mrs. Ann Hunt's part in its origin, was Father Adrian Van Hulst, who was in charge over twenty years, 1858-1879. Before occupying the rectory at Normandy, Father Van Hulst resided at St. Louis University, whence at 4:45 A.M. every Sunday and holy day of the year he started with meticulous regularity in fair weather and foul for St. Ann's, driving a horse and buggy that became familiar objects of interest to residents along the way so accurately timed was their appearance at any given point. Arrived at St. Ann's, he heard confessions, said two Masses, preached two sermons, gave Benediction and taught catechism. Then in the afternoon there were visits to the sick, catechism classes in outlying districts, instruction of converts and sometimes a search for stray sheep to the limits of his far-reaching parish. St. Ann's parish, Normandy, was given over by the Jesuits to the Passionist fathers in 1889, the last pastor of the Society in charge having been Father Peter De Meester.

By 1877, in addition to the school at Normandy, other parish schools had been started in St. Ann's parish, one at Woodlawn near the Wabash Railroad and another one, apparently, at Rosehill. This latter was the district of the future St. Rose's parish, which grew out of St. Ann's. With money collected by himself, the proceeds of two bazaars, and a thousand dollars from the parish-fund of St. Ann's, Father Van Hulst built, sometime during the period 1878-1879, a frame structure,

school below and church above, on the site now occupied by St. Barbara's Church, Hamilton and Minerva Avenues. The new church, named for St. Rose of Lima, was served in succession by Fathers Real and Stephens of the Seminary at Florissant. In August, 1880, Father Kuppens was appointed pastor of St. Ann's, Father Van Hulst having been transferred in the preceding mid-December to Chicago. Late in 1880 Father Van Agt was attached to St. Ann's, whence he served St. Rose's regularly up to his removal to Chicago the following year. In 1883 the parish was taken in charge by the Archbishop.

The Catholic parish in Bridgton, near Florissant, was organized by Father Gleizal in 1851 and turned over to the diocesan clergy the following year.

The parish of St. Charles, Missouri, began to be served by the Jesuits immediately on their arrival in Missouri in 1823. Father Van Quickenborne's stone church of 1828 stood until the erection in the old graveyard square of a more capacious edifice of brick. The corner-stone of this, the third of the local churches to bear the name of St. Charles Borromeo, was laid March 2, 1869, by Archbishop Kenrick. It stood on the south side of Decatur between Fourth and Fifth Streets and was consecrated on October 13, 1872, by the Coadjutor-bishop of St. Louis, the Right Rev. Patrick J. Ryan, Mass on the occasion being celebrated by Father Van Assche, one of the few surviving members of the pioneer Jesuit group of 1823. Forty-three years later the edifice was brought down by a cyclone. "On July 7, 1915, about 4 P.M.," writes the chronicler of the St. Charles residence, "a storm of great violence passed over our little town, demolishing our church entirely and the residence in part, all in as little time as it takes you to say, 'demolish'." The school-hall was straightway fitted up for parish services and work begun on the removal of the ruins and the erection of a new church on the site of the one destroyed. On April 16, 1916, Archbishop Glennon laid the corner-stone of the structure, which was of stone and Romanesque in design, and dedicated it to public service on May 27 of the following year. A tragic accident occurred during its construction. On October 6, 1916, four of the workers on the building fell from a considerable height, one of them dying some days after as a result of his injuries, while the three others suffered prolonged disablement.

The boys' parochial school opened in St. Charles in 1829 by Father Van Quickenborne would seem to have been the first school west of the Mississippi conducted under parish auspices. Ever since that time St. Charles Borromeo's parish has steadily maintained its own schools, which since 1893 have been under the direction of the Sisters of Loretto. Previous to that year the girls' department had been conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart established in St. Charles since 1828. In

1894 a building to serve as residence for the sisters and school house for the girls was erected by the parish at a cost of nine thousand dollars.

The spiritual care of St. Charles and the outlying district rested on the Jesuits alone up to the organization of another parish, St. Peter's, for the German-speaking Catholics of the town. Originally a Creole settlement, St. Charles has lost practically all the earmarks of its Creole origin, French as a spoken language having long since disappeared.

§ 2. OSAGE COUNTY, MISSOURI

The parishes established by the Jesuits in Osage County, Missouri, had all been vacated by them before the end of 1885. At Westphalia Father John B. Goeldlin was pastor during the period 1857-1871. Father William Niederkorn was in charge for a decade, September, 1871, to September, 1881, when he was succeeded by Father Peter Krier, who remained in charge of the residence for two years with Fathers Gonser and Vallazza as assistants. With the withdrawal of Father Krier the Jesuit ministry in Westphalia inaugurated forty-five years before by Father Helias came to an end, the diocesan priest, Father Anton Diepenbrock, taking over the parish in September, 1883. Richfountain and Loose Creek were retained by the Jesuits a little longer.

The line of Richfountain resident pastors began with Father John Bax, who labored there for a short spell in 1847 before going to the Osage. Among his successors in the administration of this flourishing parish of Bavarian immigrants were Fathers Francis X. Schulak, Michael Haering, Martin Seisl and Aloysius Averbeck. Father Averbeck built a new church in 1879-1880, which was blessed by the Auxiliary of St. Louis, Bishop Ryan, on October 16, 1880. He rendered another notable service to the people of Richfountain by draining with public aid a malarial swamp in the vicinity of the village. Hundreds of excellent acres of land were thus reclaimed and a noxious breeding place of disease was eliminated. The old one-room school erected in 1858 bore, engraved in stone, the motto *Spes Patriae*. The School Sisters of Notre Dame assumed management of the school in September, 1883, and a year later Father Vallazza, the last Jesuit pastor, ceded the Richfountain parish of the Sacred Heart to the diocesan clergyman, Rev. Joseph Pope. The parish membership, numbering one hundred and thirty-five families in 1930, is still largely Bavarian in racial complexion with a slight intermixture of Westphalians and Rhinelanders. From this prosperous parish the Church had recruited, prior to 1930, six priests and twenty nuns of various sisterhoods.

Loose Creek, which had acquired the status of an independent resi-

dence with Father Niederkorn's appointment as superior in September, 1881, was the last of the Osage County stations vacated by the Jesuits. On the cession of the Westphalia residence in September, 1883, Father Krier returned to Loose Creek, of which he became superior and remained such until 1885 when the parish was taken in hand by a diocesan priest. With Father Krier, as assistants during his two years' stay at Loose Creek, were at different times Fathers Francis Vallazza, Nicholas Schlechter, Paul de Haza Radlitz, Aloysius Averbeck and Henry Wolters.

With Loose Creek was also given up Linn, the seat of Osage County. This parish under the name of St. George was organized by the Jesuits at the close of the Civil War when the town began to look up and lay plans for its future. An addition was made to the town by two enterprising citizens, who, Masons though they were, offered a site for a church with a view to attracting German Catholics to the new county seat. Archbishop Kenrick accepted the offer and the deed was delivered. A committee of three, two of them Catholics and one a Lutheran, collected funds for a church, and Father Goeldlin of Westphalia drew up plans for the structure, the corner-stone of which was laid by him on Pentecost Monday, 1867. Before the year's end the church was under roof, but it was not blessed until April, 1874. Father Niederkorn, superior at Westphalia in succession to Father Goeldlin, saved the struggling mission from the collapse which threatened it. Father Averbeck, first resident Catholic pastor, arrived in 1885, but was recalled by his superior in November of that year, the parish being thereupon definitely transferred to the diocese.

In the history of these German rural parishes of Missouri one circumstance is outstanding, the zeal of pastors and flock for the Catholic education of the children. Wherever possible a school was sure to be built. Lay teachers, male and female, were at first employed and often the pastors themselves turned school-masters. It was not until the sixties that the first nuns, School Sisters of Notre Dame, arrived in Osage County, taking over the Westphalia school. Their work prospered and in 1868 they opened a girls' boarding-school under the name of St. Joseph's Institute in a three-story building of brick erected for the purpose. A circular in which the sisters appealed to the public for the funds necessary to finance the enterprise described the institution as "situated in the pleasant village of Westphalia, Osage Co., Mo., eleven miles from Linn, the County seat, and twelve miles from Osage Station on the Pacific Railroad. It occupies not only a central but an elevated position in the town of Westphalia, whose population are an industrious, enterprising and moral people while the surrounding county is thickly dotted with the numerous habitations of busy farmers alike industrious

and moral and all devotedly attached to the cause of the noble institute now in course of construction in their midst." The career of St. Joseph's Institute as a boarding-school was a brief one; but the School Sisters of Notre Dame continue to this day to conduct the Westphalia parish school.

At Loose Creek lay teachers were first employed; the school was placed on a satisfactory basis only with the coming of the Sisters of the Precious Blood, five of whom arrived December 7, 1874, to occupy the house which Father de Haza Radlitz had built for them that same year. Under their direction the Loose Creek school prospered greatly. At Richfountain the congregation was supporting a school close to the church, and two others, besides, in localities some distance away. The congregation was a small one. The school near the church had an attendance of only thirty, while the two out-of-town schools had even a smaller number of pupils. These parish schools were supported in part by a grant from the county funds, but the grant was never large enough to make it possible to engage really competent teachers. Richfountain, however, received in its turn a community of nuns, School Sisters of Notre Dame, who began classes in September, 1883. At the time the Jesuits gave up the parishes there were over five hundred children in the Westphalia, Richfountain and Loose Creek schools.

Father Helias lived alone at St. Francis Xavier's in Taos, dispensing with the aid of cook and other servant. His meals, prepared for him in a neighbor's house, he carried every day with his own hands into the rectory, for he would have no woman servant under his roof to cook for him or render other domestic services. His daily routine was marked by strict observance of the Jesuit rule as far as this was possible for him in his environment. He much preferred, so he was heard to say on occasion, to be in the company of his fellow-Jesuits in St. Louis; but he felt he could make himself more useful on his old battle-ground than elsewhere. Every day he rang the Angelus bell, morning, noon and night, so that its accents borne on the quiet country air became a familiar sound to the parishioners about. But on the morning of August 11, 1874, no Angelus bell rang at the accustomed hour. Presently worshippers coming for the morning services found the father dead in the rectory yard, his face prone on the ground. Apoplexy had come to him as had long been his expectation. A death-notice written in his own hand in German, English, and Flemish was found among his papers. "Pray for the soul of Ferdinand Benedict Mary Gislenus Helias, S.J., missionary. Born at Ghent, the 3rd day of August, 1796, died in America in full submission to the will of God (August 11, 1874). Take heed, watch and pray, because you know

not when the time shall come." The date of death is inserted on the scrap of paper by another hand.

Thus passed away in his seventy-ninth year the pioneer builder of Catholicism in the central Missouri counties. The author of the *Westphalia Annual Letters* of the current year wrote of his burial in Taos, August 13:

We were all gathered together, the four fathers of this mission, for he was the father and founder of all the churches and congregations hereabout, having been sent hither in the year 1838. Alone for many years he visited them, alone he bore the brunt of exceeding labor, not to mention outrageous insults from ungrateful men. As to his virtues, written evidence is certainly available better [than anything which can be put down here]; but this at least must be said that, having come of a very noble and wealthy family in Belgium, he became poor for Christ's sake, and that whatever he received or could spare he was wont to distribute to the poor.

Except for two years when he was attached to the College Church in St. Louis, Father John Goeldlin was engaged continuously from 1849 to 1872 in pastoral duties at Westphalia. In the latter year he contracted pneumonia while going a great distance in exceptionally cold weather on a sick-call. He rallied from the acute stage of the illness but his lungs were left permanently impaired. A visit to his native Switzerland failed to restore him and he returned in November, 1873, to the states. On August 15, 1874, he was at Westphalia to celebrate in the midst of his parishioners the twenty-fifth anniversary of his priesthood. It was a great popular demonstration witnessing to the hold the erstwhile pastor had on the affections of the parishioners and congratulations and gifts came flowing in from the stations about. Meanwhile, Father Goeldlin was in steadily declining health. The soft air of the South seemed to hold out the only hope of recovery. He arrived in a state of prostration at the Jesuit College in New Orleans and there died piously in the Lord February 11, 1875, at the age of fifty-seven. "He was always," says an obituary, "a pleasant man to deal with, child-like and without guile in private life and so all who ever knew him miss him greatly."

Like Fathers Helias and Goeldlin, Father William Niederkorn, born in Gessingen in the duchy of Luxemburg, February 18, 1823, spent most of his priestly life in the central Missouri parishes. His earliest education he received at the hands of his brother Dominic, a parish priest, who after his example entered the Society of Jesus in Missouri. William Niederkorn was one of Father De Smet's recruits for the American missions, arriving at Florissant in 1848. After ordination in 1855 he served his apprenticeship in the ministry at St. Joseph's in

St. Louis, going thence in 1862 to Osage County, where he remained until 1881. He first attended St. Boniface's and St. Thomas's and then, during the period 1865-1871, was in charge of Loose Creek, where he built a new church. He was superior of the Westphalia residence for a decade, 1871-1881, after which he was pastor of St. Gertrude's in Franklin County, 1882-1883. A chronic hernia then incapacitated him for the ministry and he died at the novitiate, Florissant, July 6, 1886, at the age of sixty-three. The people of Loose Creek and Westphalia had reason to venerate his memory for the pastoral zeal and energy with which he ministered to their needs over a long stretch of years.

At Loose Creek as in other German parishes in Missouri Father Paul de Haza Radlitz showed himself a devoted pastor of souls. He was a native of Kothén (Anhalt) in Germany, where he was born January 25, 1830, his family being of the nobility. From his arrival in America in 1867 up to his death in the Alexian Brothers Hospital at St. Louis, July 16, 1884, his occupations were always those of the sacred ministry.

The departure of the last Jesuit pastors from Osage County in 1885 was in pursuance of a policy that had been adopted by the Jesuit superiors more than thirty years before. Father Murphy, vice-provincial of Missouri, 1851-1856, in pursuance of the Father General's directions that he was to reduce as far as possible the excessive number of parishes manned at that time by the vice-province, had attempted to convey Westphalia and Washington to Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis; but the latter was himself short of clerical workers and could not at the moment provide for these two busy centers of parochial work. The time eventually came when the archdiocese was in a position to make the desired arrangement and in the end Archbishop Kenrick accepted from the Jesuits the parishes they had founded in Osage and Franklin Counties.*

§ 3. WASHINGTON, MISSOURI

In the designs of Providence the parish of Washington, Missouri, turned out to be the starting-point of practically all Catholic development in Franklin County and for some distance beyond. The Jesuits

* Father Krier, last Jesuit pastor of Westphalia, drew up in September, 1894, a list of stations served from Westphalia. The list, which is by no means complete for the entire period of the Jesuit ministry in that locality, is as follows, the distance in miles from Westphalia being indicated in parenthesis: Taos (c. 8); Wardville (Cedron), formerly called Church of the Assumption (c. 12); Loose Creek (18); Maria Hilf (18); Richfountain (9); Viesman (20); Linn (12); Bailey's Creek (18); St. Isidore, no longer in use as a church, (14); Koeltztown (12); St. Thomas (18); St. Elizabeth, diocese of Kansas City, Mo. (24).

began to organize the Washington parish of St. Francis Borgia in 1838, one of their number beginning to reside in the town that same year. Little by little all the elements of a well-developed parish were added to the pioneer and distinctly primitive organization of the thirties and forties. A sisters' convent was built in 1860 and a spacious church of brick in 1868. On December 26, 1884, a new parish hall was blessed with appropriate ceremony, a step forward in parish development which gave great satisfaction to pastors and flock alike. Its construction had involved an outlay of fourteen thousand dollars. Six years later, June 15, 1890, occurred another parochial event of note, the laying of the corner-stone of a new sisters' convent at Second and Cedar Streets. The structure was of brick, three stories in height, with mansard roof, measured fifty-five and a half by one hundred and two feet, and cost twelve thousand dollars. The expense was met, partly at least, by a conventional method of financing parochial enterprises, namely, a bazaar, which netted three thousand dollars, and by dramatic entertainments given by the young men of the parish. The completed convent, the last of the buildings erected by the Jesuits in Washington, was blessed by Father Mathauschek, January 6, 1891. In the same year sodalities for married men and women were canonically established, making altogether four Marian sodalities functioning in the parish. In March, 1886, a branch of a mutual benevolent society popular in German parishes, the Catholic Knights of America, was organized.

By the beginning of the nineties six schools had been started by the Jesuits of Washington and were under their direction. At Krakow a new school house was erected and another at Clover Bottom. Schools were also maintained at Port Hudson and St. Peter's. Though a by no means negligible tuition-fee was charged for attendance at these parish schools, four hundred children were on their rolls in 1889, not a single Catholic child being registered at the time in the neighborhood public schools. In 1892 the attendance at the Washington and other parish schools ran over five hundred, the teaching-staff being made up of a layman, five laywomen and as many nuns.

Besides the town parish of St. Francis Borgia, outlying stations were served by the Jesuits of Washington, who numbered four in 1889 and three in 1894, when the residence passed out of their hands. Twice a year the superior, Father Mathauschek, visited Gasconade County, where there were two small churches with congregations, mostly of Poles, to provide for. At Owensville, a non-Catholic physician, Dr. Gustave Ettenmueller, offered property for the erection of a church with rectory and school to take the place of the two smaller existing churches. His offer was accepted and in November, 1891, Father Mathauschek dedicated a new church under the title of the Immaculate

Conception, the congregation consisting largely of Polish immigrants. Holy Trinity congregation in Bem, Gasconade County, also dates from Mathauschek's time. In 1890 Union and Port Hudson were being visited once a month by Father Charles Bill and New Haven as many times by Father Henry Wolters, who also made trips to Pacific and Loose Creek in Osage County to hear the confessions of French parishioners.

At Krakow, five miles south of Washington, there was, as early as 1855, a chapel dedicated to St. Gertrude. Called at first St. Gertrude's, the locality had gradually developed into a village known as Krakow with Father Mathauschek, at this time one of the Washington assistants, in charge of the parish. He built a new church in the village, which was dedicated November 21, 1869, and continued to serve it until his appointment as superior of the Washington residence, September 8, 1880. He was succeeded at Krakow by Father Joseph Boever, and later by Father Joseph Rimmele and William Niederkorn. In 1886, when Father Tschieder was for a brief spell superior at Washington, Father Mathauschek was again placed in charge of Krakow, but in 1887 he was again at the head of the Washington residence and so remained until the Jesuits withdrew from it. Krakow was subsequently in charge of Father Charles Bill and after him of Father Aloysius Averbeck, who was the last Jesuit pastor in the place. The Franciscans on taking over the Jesuit ministry in Franklin County in 1894 transferred Krakow to the diocesan clergy.

The station of the Holy Family at Port Hudson, first visited by Father Eysvogels in 1851, was taken in hand November 4, 1892, by the diocesan priest, Father Mathias Thomas Sevcik. At the end of January, 1893, Port Hudson was again in charge of the Jesuits, who attended it for some months from Washington. New Haven, originally Miller's Landing, was visited by them until 1894 when Father Sevcik took charge. The parish of St. John the Baptist, established by the Jesuits in a locality known as Rengel, subsequently Gildehouse, was ceded by them to the diocese about 1858, Father John Boetzkes being the first resident pastor after the transfer.

The parish of the Immaculate Conception in Union, seat of Franklin County, was organized from St. John's, Gildehouse, by Father Edward J. Vattmann, who subsequently became Catholic chaplain-in-chief of the United States army. When Father Vattmann left St. John's and its dependent parish in Union about 1867, the latter was placed in the hands of the Jesuits, who continued to administer it until their departure from Franklin County. The first Jesuit to attend Union was Father Mathauschek, as he was also the last, going there to bury a child July 24, 1894. St. Joseph's parish, originally known as Pevelings-

ville and today as Neier, was in the hands of the Jesuits from the time of Father Eysvogels, who in 1850 built the first church, until 1881, when Father Boever, the last priest of the Society to serve the parish, was replaced by a diocesan priest, Father William Boden. The Martyrs of Japan was ceded by the Jesuits to the secular clergy in 1881 and St. Anthony's, Sullivan, in 1887. The Japan mission was under Jesuit direction four years, having been opened in 1877. Sullivan's first church of logs was built by Father Seisl.

The chief figure in the Jesuit parochial ministry in Franklin County during the last two or three decades that it ran was Father Alexander Mathauschek. He was of Silesian origin, having been born in Schlaupe, Prussian Silesia, November 9, 1835. In personal appearance he was striking, his tall and erect military figure at once challenging attention. His family was of high rank and his education had been originally for the army. "His bearing," an historian of the archdiocese of St. Louis, has written, "especially on horseback was that of a cavalry officer; and yet in his intercourse with people of town and countryside he was the Father, full of sympathy and disinterestedness." He arrived in Washington on October 31, 1864, and remained in residence there for thirty years. The twenty-fifth anniversary, September 3, 1889, of his ordination to the priesthood was an event of importance, civic as well as ecclesiastical, in Washington. "In this his field of labor for twenty-five years," said the *Franklin Observer* on the occasion, "he will ever be cherished by young and old for the radiance of his genial presence, for his careful attention to his priestly offices; for his gentleness; his dignity; his faithfulness to trust; for his long and useful services."

The house diary of the Washington residence is a witness to the ministerial activities of the pastors as they went back and forth between headquarters and the surrounding stations. It was kept up faithfully to the very day the Jesuits passed over their pastoral charge to the sons of St. Francis. A few entries occurring on the last page or two of the diary are cited:

July 23 [1894]. Fr. Mathauschek went to Labbadie on a sick call and Fr. Nieters [diocesan priest] went home in the afternoon.

July 27. Father Mathauschek went to Union for the burial of a child and from there to Krakow.

August 1. Fr. Averbeck went to Krakow to bury a child. Fr. Sevzick [diocesan priest] returned again today to take charge of New Haven, Port Hudson and Owensville. Father Mathauschek came home in the evening from Port Hudson.

August 24. Today the news arrived that Franciscan Fathers were about to take possession of this place.

August 30. Father Auerbeck paid us a visit and returned home again. The library was boxed today to send to St. Louis. Fr. Roos will leave tomorrow for St. Louis. Father Auerbeck is to leave next Monday and Fr. Mathauschek as soon as possible. Finis.

The difficulty the Washington pastors had been meeting with in serving the dependent stations appears from the following entry in the minute-book of the consultorial board of the residence:

January 28, 1892. Rev. Fr. Superior asked the Consultors what should be done for the stations as there are only three Fathers here at present. He had written to the Vicar-General, but he had no priest to send just now. Perhaps he might send one next summer. The Consultors then informed Rev. Fr. Superior that Fr. Hennes of Pacific was willing to visit New Haven on two Sundays of every month, saying the first Mass at home and the second at New Haven. As for Port Hudson we would give them services once a month on week days and feasts not of obligation and the same for Union, as far as possible.

Two Franciscan fathers of the province of the Sacred Heart, the headquarters of which were at St. Louis, arrived at Washington, August 21, 1894, to take over the parishes. These were Fathers Paul Teroerde, O.F.M., and Sebastian Cebulla, O.F.M. There was in 1892 a debt on St. Francis Borgia's Church of twelve thousand dollars; but the church and other parish holdings had a valuation of over one hundred thousand dollars. No compensation or consideration of any kind was stipulated for in this transfer of the property to the Franciscans, as the Jesuits apparently regarded it as diocesan in character and therefore not the property of the Society. But the library of the residence, as being their own private possession, they took with them on their withdrawal, while the household furniture was sold to the Franciscans for a modest consideration. The ministerial field cultivated by the Jesuits for six decades thus passed into the keeping of the zealous followers of the great Saint of Assisi.*

* A manuscript list (Missouri Province Archives) by some unknown hand of the stations attended at one time or another from Washington runs as follows, the direction and number of miles from Washington being indicated in parentheses: Port Hudson (16 w.); Owensville (40 w.); Durbin (52 w.); Japan (30 s.); Brazil (40 s.); Sullivan (28 s.); St. Joseph (Neier) (16 s.); Union (10 s.); St. John's, Rengel P. O. (Gildehouse) (8 s.w.); Pacific (18 e.); New Haven (14 w.); Berger (20 w.); Herman (30 w.); Augusta (8 n.e.); Dutzow (5 n.e.); Holstein (Peers) (14 n.); Rhineland (42 n.). St. Clair and Marthasville were also visited. The latter name was sometimes applied to the German settlement at Dutzow, the two places being close together.

§ 4. CINCINNATI

From their first arrival in Cincinnati in 1840 the Jesuits had cultivated the parochial ministry in that populous city. Around St. Xavier's on Sycamore Street circled for a long space of years the currents of a many-sided and vigorous parish life; later, with the shrinking of the parish territory and its decreasing fitness as a residential quarter great numbers of families were lost to it. As a result parish activities became reduced to a smaller scale. But St. Xavier's continues to this day to be a center of spiritual influence that is almost city-wide in its reach. An incident of note in the parish history of the eighties was the burning of the church. This occurred on the night following the Holy Thursday of 1882, and originated probably in the repository or special tabernacle constructed for the Blessed Sacrament. Father Weninger put on record the emotion he felt as from a point of vantage in St. Paul's Church, several blocks away, whither he had gone to conduct the services of Holy Week, he watched his beloved St. Xavier's in the embrace of devouring flames. His lodging was a small room behind the chancel and in it were the accumulated notes and manuscripts of years. As he realized the peril to which his papers were exposed, he made on the spot an offering of them to the Divine Will if it should please God that they be destroyed. Happily when he reached the church after the conflagration had been got under control, he found to his relief that the fire had not penetrated to his room though nothing but a thin partition separated it from the raging flames without. While the interior of the church was in ruins, the walls remained intact and around them the structure was restored.

The period following the restoration of the church was a particularly prosperous one for the parish. In 1887 the sodalists numbered four thousand and twenty-one. As in Jesuit parishes generally, devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is in effect personal love for Christ, made notable strides in St. Xavier's in the last two decades of the eighteen hundreds. In 1889 there was an average of eleven hundred and eighty communicants on the first Friday of the month. Membership in the Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart rose from 2,826 in 1859 to 5,637 in 1869, to 10,300 in 1879, and to 15,443 in 1889. This attraction of St. Xavier's parishioners to the heart of the Man God was due in large measure to the persistence with which their pastor for thirty-six years, Father Charles Van den Driessche or Driscoll, a native of Rumbèke in Belgium, had set before them this characteristically Catholic devotion. From the October of 1848, when he assumed pastoral charge of St. Xavier's, up to his death, March 2, 1885, at the age of sixty-four, he was tireless in his care of souls, in providing for the

poor and in advancing the general interests of the parish. He was, reads his obituary, "a man of singular patience, charity, meekness and self-denial. He ever had on his lips the words, 'Let us have purity of intention in all things.'" On his death-bed his thoughts turned to the parish. "Tell my people," these were his last words, "that I dedicate them to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and that I am going to pray for them in heaven to the Sacred Heart." Immediately after his death funds were collected by the parishioners for a memorial altar of marble in honor of their beloved shepherd. This was soon installed in St. Xavier's Church as a side altar dedicated to St. Joseph.

St. Xavier's parish schools stand on the east side of Sycamore Street between Fifth and Sixth. A new building for the boys was completed November 7, 1885, while a property fifty by two hundred and ten, adjoining it on the north, had been purchased shortly before for a girls' school. Early in the nineties the existing school-buildings were razed and a modern structure accommodating both the boys and the girls of the parish was erected on their site. For thirty years, 1898-1928, the parish schools, thus adequately housed, were directed by the widely known writer of juvenile fiction, Father Francis Finn.

Though its strictly parochial activities are no longer of the proportions of earlier days, St. Xavier's is in one respect doing as much in the ministerial field as ever. People flock to it in great numbers to share the direction of its large staff of confessors. The number of confessions heard annually at St. Xavier's is the largest recorded for any of the Jesuit churches of the Middle West.

Mention has been made of the pious zeal of Father Driscoll, the St. Xavier pastor, in commending his parishioners to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Society of Jesus has been brought into close historical touch with this now popular and universally practiced devotion, the essential note of which had long been anticipated in the church, among others, by St. Peter Canisius, Jesuit counter-reformer and Doctor of the Church, as we learn from a striking passage in his *Memoriale* or autobiography. With St. Margaret Mary in her divinely appointed mission of making the devotion known to the faithful was associated the Blessed Claude de la Colombière, S.J., and since his day the promotion of this form of practical piety has become one of the most cherished traditions of the Society of Jesus. In the American Middle West the devotion preceded even the arrival of the Jesuits. Florissant's second church, the corner-stone of which was laid in 1821, was dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus under the invocation of St. Ferdinand and St. Francis Regis. This appears to have been the first church in the West to take up and promote the devotion in question, a unit of the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus having been established in it by

Bishop Du Bourg. With the further spread of the cult certain middle-western Jesuits, especially of Cincinnati, were later to become identified. Of these particular mention must be made of Father Peter Joseph Arnoudt, author of the classic work, *The Imitation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*. An admirable English translation of the same work, originally written in Latin, came from the pen of Father Joseph A. Fastré, also an earnest promoter of the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in pulpit, class-room and other contacts with the laity. Father James Walsh carried on at a late date in Cincinnati the work inaugurated in that city by Fathers Arnoudt and Fastré. For some years he was in charge of the Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart. "The promise of Our Lord to Saint Margaret Mary to make fruitful the ministry of those devoted to the Sacred Heart was exemplified in his case. His penitents were few; he kept them rather long; but he made each an apostle. They used to wonder how the chapter of à Kempis which he assigned—it was one of his favorite penances—seemed always what they most needed. The love they conceived for that wonderful book led to meditation and the reading of other spiritual books." Father Walsh was followed in his ardor for the spread of the devotion to the Sacred Heart by other Cincinnati Jesuits, as Fathers Henry Bronsgeest, Eugene Brady and James Dowling. It is a circumstance worthy of note that Cincinnati became a particularly active center in the propagation of this great Catholic cult and that its subsequent widespread popularity in the Catholic parishes generally of the Middle West may probably be referred in large measure to the inspiring zeal of the Jesuits of St. Xavier's.

§ 5. MILWAUKEE

From the day in 1855 when the Jesuits took over St. Gall's parish they have labored steadily in Milwaukee in the parochial ministry, making the while a substantial contribution to the Catholic life of that city. St. Gall's developed into a strongly organized parish with schools, sodalities and other pious confraternities, among them the Society of the Holy Name, established in 1876. At the time Marquette College was started, St. Gall's Jesuit residence had a staff of six priests and four coadjutor-brothers, with Father Stanislaus Lalumiere as superior, an office he held continuously from 1861 to 1887, when he became vice-rector of Marquette College. The development of St. Gall's and the organization of the new parish of the Holy Name were due largely to his enterprising zeal while he was also active in setting Marquette College on foot. The succursal church of the Holy Name, built on the Eleventh Street side of the college property on the Hill, was dedicated October 24, 1875, and the following year a parochial school house

was erected on a site adjoining the church on the north. Eventually, with the encroachments of business and railroads, the old St. Gall's location became undesirable for church purposes and a new site for the church began to be considered. The Holy Name had its own territorial limits and organization and functioned as a distinct parish from St. Gall's; but in 1887 the Jesuit General, Father Anderledy, with the approval of the diocesan authorities, directed that the two parishes, originally one, be reunited. Circumstances delayed for some years the execution of the plan. Meantime, in 1887 St. Gall's ceased to be an independent Jesuit residence by order of Father Anderledy, who placed it under the jurisdiction of the rector of Marquette. This status it maintained until its permanent closing in 1894. It was, in fact, with a view to effecting more readily the fusion of the two Jesuit parishes that Father Lalumiere had been made vice-rector of Marquette in 1887.

During the rectorship of Father Rudolph Meyer, 1891-1892, steps were finally taken for the erection of a Jesuit church in Milwaukee adequate to existing needs. In July, 1891, a property consisting of four distinct parcels or lots measuring altogether two hundred and eighty-five by sixty feet and situated on the south side of Grand Avenue between Eleventh and Thirteenth Streets was acquired at a cost of a hundred thousand dollars. This ambitious purchase was made possible by the sale in the course of the same year, 1891, of the old St. Gall's property, which brought the considerable sum of two hundred and thirty-seven thousand, five hundred dollars. Work on the new church was begun in July, 1892, and the corner-stone was laid by Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee on Pentecost Sunday, May 21, 1893, in an imposing ceremony, nearly all the Catholic societies of the city marching in procession to the site. The architect's plans called for a cruciform edifice of pure Gothic design, measuring one hundred and ninety-two by eighty-eight feet and one hundred and twenty-five feet across the transepts, with a seating capacity of fourteen hundred and fifty and a similar capacity in a lower church or crypt. Two towers featured the outer construction, one two hundred and sixty, the other two hundred and twenty-five feet high. The original estimate of the cost was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars as a minimum; the actual cost went considerably beyond. Mrs. Cramer, parishioner, and wife of the editor of the *Evening Wisconsin* of Milwaukee, donated the imposing granite pillars of the interior, while the parishioners generally, both of St. Gall's and the Holy Name, helped liberally in defraying the expenses of construction. Work on the structure went through to the end without accident of any kind except for the loss of an eye suffered by one of the workmen from a particle of molten iron. The dedication ceremonies took place on December 16, 1894, Archbishop Katzer presiding. The

church, to be known as the Gesu after the name of the historic church of the Jesuits in Rome, was dedicated in honor of the Holy Name of Jesus and of St. Gall, the titles of the two earlier Jesuit parishes of Milwaukee being thus perpetuated. Property at the northwest corner of Thirteenth and Sycamore Streets, to be used for school purposes, was purchased in 1892; but the building was started only in the fall of 1898 and was first occupied a year later, September, 1899. It was a three-story structure one hundred and one by seventy-two feet in dimensions, contained a parish hall in addition to the class-rooms, and cost forty-seven thousand dollars.

Typical activities of a modern well-organized Catholic parish are sketched in an account (original in Latin) of the Gesu parish written in 1926 with no view to publication by a Jesuit domestic chronicler of Milwaukee:

In our church are several sodalities with large membership-rolls; married women, 750; young ladies, 300; married men, 300; boys, 500; girls, 570. Twice a month the sodalists meet to recite prayers and the Office of the Blessed Virgin, to hear a sermon, etc. The adult sodalists, especially the married men and women, are inspired with great and praiseworthy zeal. Under the direction of Father Louis Fusz the men sodalists have in the space of three years sent more than a thousand dollars to missions among the heathen. The married ladies' sodality, directed by Father Mark Palmer, has collected \$15,000 for the erection of a marble altar of the Blessed Virgin in the church; the same sodalists contributed in the past year a certain sum (\$1,640, I think), towards renovating the parish ladies' school. So also the married men and women have in the last three years collected \$25,000 towards renovating and enlarging the Sisters' house, which is parish property, and have furnished its twenty-two rooms.

From our parish as from the heart of the entire city the Society of St. Vincent de Paul distributes money, clothes, coal, etc., to the poor. A multitude of the faithful, which becomes greater every year, are drawn to our church by the devotion of the Three Hours in commemoration of the agony of Our Lord. This year 1,600 worshippers filled the church and a "magna vox" carried the exercises to a thousand others in the crypt and abroad over the air to unnumbered others in their homes, hospitals, etc. Likewise the devotion of the "Novena of Grace" has increased greatly during the last decade both in the number of participants and in benefit to souls. There are eight exercises every day, at which are present eight thousand of the faithful, twelve hundred of whom daily receive the Eucharist.

The Congregation of the Bona Mors has two thousand members, nineteen of whom have belonged to it for fifty years and more. This congregation practices not only its own special works but other good works also and very lately donated \$1,000 to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Piety flourishes among the boys and girls of the parish school. On Sundays throughout the year almost all the boys and girls receive the Holy Eucharist;

nearly all do the same daily in May and June while many of the children approach the holy table every day throughout the year. Of all the exercises in honor of the Blessed Virgin an outstanding one is the crowning of the Queen of the May. The nuns choose from among the pupils some girl who has surpassed the others in frequent Communion, scholarship and conduct. The queen is attended by other girls according to rank and merit while boys in the same rank stand around the queen as guardians. Then they march in procession for almost a mile to the church where there is a sermon, the coronation ceremony, and solemn benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

§ 6. CHICAGO

Cardinal Gasquet has told of the vigorous parish life of medieval England; but it may be doubted whether the Ages of Faith ever witnessed such a many-sided and elaborately organized parochial unit as was the Holy Family, Chicago, at the high-water mark of its development. A census of the parish in 1881 showed a population of 20,320, grouped into 4,267 families, with 3,408 children attending the schools of the parish and only 592 enrolled in public schools. In another decade the parish had expanded still further, the number of children at the parish school in the early nineties being recorded as approximately forty-five hundred. The schools were six in number, the Holy Family (1857), the Sacred Heart Convent School (1860), St. Aloysius (1867), Guardian Angels (1875), St. Joseph's (1877) and St. Agnes (1888). In 1875 the Holy Family schools were educating twenty-seven per cent of the parochial school children of Chicago. If to these are added the pupils attending the Sacred Heart and St. Pius parish schools, which a few years before were integral units of the Holy Family school system, the percentage rises to thirty-six and a half per cent. After 1896 all the schools except the one conducted by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart were placed under the care of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whom Father Damen had brought to Chicago in 1867. As a unique instance of private educational effort and enterprise on an impressive scale the Holy Family schools attracted notice even beyond Chicago and Cardinal Gibbons was led to describe them as "the banner schools of America." For a long period of years they were under the direction of Father Andrew O'Neill, of whose crowded life one gets an idea from this rapid summary of his achievements: "Arriving in Chicago he found two little wooden school houses; when called by the Master, this good and faithful servant had built and organized six well-equipped schools. The largest of these schools, the Holy Family, had at times over 2,000 boys; St. Aloysius, the next in size, had over 1,000 girls. When the parish was in the days of its glory all the schools housed

over 4,595 children. Father O'Neil went from school to school supervising and teaching catechism."

The grouping of the parish members into associations of varying scope, religious, social and recreational, was carried to a remarkable degree. At least a score of societies, some of them with a membership running into the thousands, served the needs and promoted the interests of both sexes and all ages of life. Six Marian sodalities for as many groups, married men and women, young men and women, working boys and girls, were healthily active. There were, besides, altar and acolythical, total abstinence and temperance societies, mutual benefit associations, literary, dramatic, and athletic clubs, night schools, libraries, military cadets, brass bands, and an employment bureau. To provide rooms for these organizations, especially the sodalities, a parish hall was erected in 1880 at the southeast corner of May and Eleventh Streets. The Holy Family Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society was organized in 1870 and the Patriotic Sons of Father Matthew in 1890. It is recorded of a parishioner that after serving for more than forty years as an officer of the Temperance Society he retired with the pledge of total abstinence which he had taken from Father Damen, unbroken. One of the organizations set on foot by the Jesuit pastors of the Holy Family spread thence over the United States and even into Canada. This was the Catholic Order of Foresters, a benevolent insurance society established in 1883 under the direction of Fathers Hugh M. P. Finnegan and James M. Hayes. Since its foundation up to 1923 nearly thirty thousand widows and orphans shared its benefactions and this to the extent of more than thirty million dollars. A Women's Catholic Order of Foresters founded by Holy Family parishioners in 1891 with the cooperation of Father Edwin D. Kelly also become nation-wide in its membership and in 1923 had sixty-seven thousand members carrying insurance to the total amount of sixty-one millions.

In 1865 the first steps were taken towards organizing the parish of St. Stanislaus, later the Sacred Heart, which was an outgrowth of the Holy Family. In March of that year Father Damen built a frame school house on Evans, now Eighteenth Street, opposite John Street, the ground on which it stood being the gift of Mr. John Welsh, an alumnus of St. Louis University. In 1868 the original building received an addition fifty by forty feet and in this enlarged structure, known as St. Stanislaus Chapel, the Holy Sacrifice, the first in the history of the parish, was offered by Father Damen on January 1, 1869. Placed at first under the patronage of St. Stanislaus Kostka, the Jesuit saint, the parish was later named for the Sacred Heart, under which title a spacious church of brick was erected at the southeast corner of John and Luke Streets (Nineteenth and South Peoria). The corner-stone was laid

by Bishop Foley on June 22, 1874. It is interesting to note, as indicating contemporary concern for racial groups, that the program of the occasion called for sermons in English, German, French and Bohemian. Father John B. McMullen, who was to become first Bishop of Davenport, had scarcely begun to preach in English when a sudden downpour of rain put an end to the ceremonies. The church was dedicated by Bishop Foley September 19, 1875, Bishop Hennessy of Dubuque preaching the sermon. A spacious four-story pastoral residence of brick was erected in the seventies. Later, Lithuanian and other Slavic groups displaced largely the original Irish population of the parish, which on June 20, 1931, was taken over by the archdiocese.

In the fall of 1871 was opened St. Veronica's school on Van Horn Street near Ashland Avenue. This was later the parochial school of St. Pius's parish, organized by the Jesuits of the Holy Family in 1873 and turned over to the archdiocese the following year. With the new parishes of the Sacred Heart and St. Pius appropriating large sections of the Holy Family territory, the latter shrank within narrower limits though its Catholic population went on increasing up to the nineties. In that final decade of the century a decline began as the social complexion of the Holy Family district began to undergo transformation before an advancing tide of Jewry and other racial elements. In 1930 the parishioners of the Holy Family totalled approximately three thousand as contrasted with the twenty-five thousand of the early nineties.

§ 7. DETROIT

The Church of SS. Peter and Paul, formerly the cathedral of the diocese of Detroit, came into Jesuit hands in 1877 and has since been the center of a busy parochial life. The parish-schools enjoy the services of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. Noteworthy is the circumstance that the advent of numerous immigrant-groups, notably Italian and Syrian, within the parish limits has changed radically the complexion of the parish, which originally was largely Irish and French. At the instance in 1905 of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Falconio, the Jesuits assumed spiritual care of the Italian (chiefly Sicilian) groups of the city, opening on their behalf the Church of the Holy Family at Hastings and Fort Streets. The Jesuits, particularly Father John Boschi, served the church from its erection in 1910 until the diocesan clergy took it in charge. Meantime, large crowds of worshippers continue to attend the Sunday services at SS. Peter and Paul's, the evening lectures especially proving an attraction. The sixty-five-year-old presbytery, once occupied by Bishops Lefevere and Borgess, was replaced in 1922 by a new one of the same architectural design as the college building, which

it adjoins on the west. With the acquisition of a new University site at Six Mile (now McNichols) Road and Livernois, a new Jesuit parish under the title of the Gesu was organized in the locality, a combination church and school building being built on Holmur Street immediately north of Six Mile Road. Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary are in charge of the school. A new Church of the Gesu, occupying a site in the immediate vicinity of the University, was later erected, services being held in it for the first time on August 15, 1936.

§ 8. MANKATO

The parish of SS. Peter and Paul, Mankato, Minnesota, was taken in hand by the Jesuits of the Buffalo Mission in 1874. Since that time the Society has steadily maintained a residence in this Minnesota town, the Missouri Province taking it in charge in 1907. Father Schnitzler, who opened the residence, had with his associates some sort of idea that Mankato would one day develop into a major centre of population and become, in fact, a gateway to the Northwest. Here, they believed, was a logical place for a college. Father Schnitzler accordingly began and carried through, with the services of Brother Paul Halfman as architect and builder, the construction of a spacious three-story brick building, one hundred and fifty by sixty-five feet, with a capacity for nearly two hundred students. The church was dedicated by Coadjutor-bishop John Ireland on October 1, 1886. The project of a college proved abortive. Mankato did not meet with the growth that had been looked for and there was little demand in the town for higher education as the event proved. On the other hand, St. Paul and Minneapolis forged ahead of Mankato in population and developed into Catholic educational centres. With St. Thomas College, St. Paul, only eighty miles away, there was little prospect of obtaining patronage and support for a college in Mankato. Even the attempts made between 1872 and 1880 to use the new building for a commercial high school ended in failure. Later one of the fathers conducted at intervals a Latin class for such boys as gave indication of a vocation to the priesthood. This modest enterprise was justified in its results, a number of Jesuit priests from the Mankato parish owing their call under God to the instruction thus received. Realization in part of the original plan came at last in 1921, when, during the superiorship of Father John B. Theis, a high school, which is still in operation, was opened in the old college building.

At the transfer in 1907 of Mankato to the Missouri jurisdiction Father Theodore Hegemann was superior of the residence. He was especially active in promoting the spiritual interests of the men of the

parish, reorganizing their sodality and obtaining for it full canonical recognition. Parish sodalities were especially well organized, that of the married ladies alone counting over four hundred members. The church and schools have between them eight of these Marian confraternities, while other societies of a religious, benevolent or social nature have also been established. In March, 1910, was laid the corner-stone of a parish house under the name of Loyola Club. The building, which was dedicated August 1, 1911, was equipped with club and recreational facilities and proved a focal point for the Catholic social life of Mankato, especially for the younger men. On the night of March 24, 1927, the pioneer college building was burned to the ground, but has since been replaced by two modern and attractive structures, one housing the grade and the other the high school. All in all SS. Peter and Paul's parish, Mankato, presents an interesting type of vigorous parochial life. By the turn of the twenties nineteen young men of the parish had become Jesuits, one, a member of the Congregation of the Precious Blood, and one, a diocesan priest, while nearly a hundred young women had gone from it to various sisterhoods. A memorial tablet in the vestibule of the church tells of some fifty priests of the Society of Jesus together with a goodly number of coadjutor-brothers who gave their services to the parish during the period 1874-1924.

§ 9. THE SLAV PARISHES OF NEBRASKA

In the late seventies Bishop O'Connor, Vicar-apostolic of Nebraska, appealed to the Father General, Peter Beckx, for priests to take pastoral charge of certain groups of Bohemians settled in the interior of Nebraska. Most of the missionaries sent in answer to this appeal were Polish, for, in addition to the Bohemian parishes, others made up largely of Poles were to be cared for. The parishes which thus came to be administered for varying periods of years by Jesuit priests included Wilber and Crete in Saline County, Olean in Colfax County, and New Posen and Chognice (or Polander) in Howard County.

Saline County, southeastern Nebraska, with its rich soil and other agricultural advantages became known as a veritable garden-spot of the state. Wilber, the county-seat, and Crete, the chief town, were both flourishing settlements situated on the beautiful Blue River. To Saline County had come in the seventies some five hundred Bohemian immigrant families of the farmer-class, who put their old-world experience to good account in successful tilling of the Nebraska soil. But the religion of such of them as professed to be Catholics sat upon them lightly. The errors of John Huss have done their work in diluting and thinning out the faith among great masses of his countrymen down to

the present day. A German priest on occasional visits to Wilber found his labors so poorly requited that he discontinued them altogether. He was followed by a native Bohemian priest of zeal and energy, who, taking up his residence in Wilber, contrived to get funds enough together to put up a church under the invocation of St. James; but the prevailing apathy of his flock in religious matters together with the virulence of the anti-clerical element of the place so discouraged and depressed him that he sickened and died. The church was thereupon put up for sale and auctioned off by the parishioners.

Bishop O'Connor, not knowing in what other manner to remedy the distressing situation, now appealed, as was said, to the Jesuit Father General, to send him priests to work among these difficult Slav folk of his jurisdiction. Happily the General was able to accede to his request. In 1879 Father Philip Maly arrived from Prague, followed later by Fathers Francis Turk and Francis Pold and Brother John Kramar. Bishop O'Connor wrote to the provincial, Father Higgins:

It gives me great joy to know that, at length, substantial, systematic, permanent help is so near at hand for our poor Poles and Bohemians. In my humble opinion the Society has never undertaken a work in this country as fruitful of good as this will be on which it has now entered for these people. Twenty-five years hence, we will have a hundred thousand Bohemians, and, perhaps, as many Poles in this state, settled on the soil. At present I see no certain way or indeed any way of saving these thousands to the Church except through the ministry of your Fathers. If they undertake it, it will be done and well done. Secular priests cannot be procured for these peoples and before the Benedictines and Franciscans could give them the assistance they need, the fate of the great majority of them would be decided. Will you please give the Father General my heartfelt thanks for the interest he manifests in them and the efforts he is about to make to save them.

With five hundred dollars donated by the Vicar-apostolic Father Maly on his arrival at Wilber was enabled to purchase a vacated Protestant church. For living quarters he had to content himself with a ridiculously small annex built on to the church until, after he had occupied it three years, the parishioners were moved to pity and provided him a more seemly habitation. When Father Maly first opened the church for services, his congregation numbered some forty families; but on his beginning to preach to it the necessity of observing the Church's laws in regard to marriage, support of the pastor and other matters, this number visibly declined. But eventually results were obtained. Father Pold's salary rose from zero in 1884 to one hundred and ninety-three dollars in 1889. During the same period baptisms increased from thirty-eight to ninety. But the virus of free-thought ran riot in the

parish. At the same time the minority that remained orthodox was most devotedly so, as the chronicler of the incidents we are rehearsing is at pains to emphasize. "They have given themselves entirely and loyally to Christ and practice all the Christian virtues. But Christ's ignominy is their portion also together with insults and persecution from the members of the other party." It appears, in fact, that the bulk of the Wilber Czechs had quite fallen away from Catholic belief and practice. On this little stage was exemplified the cleavage that obtained generally in the Czech body between the loyally Catholic and the anti-clerical, free-thinking groups..

Religious conditions at St. Wenceslaus's in Crete, Saline County, where most of the Catholics were of Bohemian stock, were also a challenge to pastoral zeal. Father Pold, who had been stationed for a while in Praha, Colfax County, was (*c.* 1885) made resident pastor of this town by Bishop O'Connor. Nativism and its twin-sister, anti-Catholicism, ran riot for a while in Crete; but Father Pold bravely took up the cudgels in defense of the old Church, putting out a pamphlet in rebuttal of the gross calumnies that were being bruited about. This energetic clergyman returned to Europe in 1888, followed by Father Maly in 1889, and the parishes of Crete and Wilber were thereupon restored to the Bishop.

The Bohemians were not the only Slav people to find new homes at this period in Nebraska. In the mid-seventies Polish families to the number of two hundred emigrated to the same region, settling principally in three contiguous counties in the middle of the state, Howard, Sherman and Valley. In answer to a further appeal from Bishop O'Connor for priests to minister to the immigrants, the Jesuit province of Galicia (or Poland) sent him Fathers Joseph Sperl and Francis Stuer, who arrived in 1882 in New Posen, Howard County, where they made their headquarters. On May 1, 1883, Father Sperl died suddenly of apoplexy, leaving Father Stuer to carry on the work single-handed, a highly difficult thing to do as he was in declining health and some of the outlying stations were distant sixty miles from the residence. Then, early in May, 1884, came from Cracow Father Ladislaus Sebastyanski, who had already seen sixteen years of strenuous labor in preaching missions up and down his native Poland. He was accompanied by Brother Marcellus Chmielewski, who was to prove himself a capable assistant as school-teacher and organist. Though he spoke Polish fluently, Father Stuer was German-born and so unacquainted with Polish ways with the result that his ministry at New Posen was attended with embarrassment. He accordingly withdrew thence to Chognice, ten miles distant, where he had built himself a residence and where with the

Bishop's approval he made his headquarters. From New Posen as a center with six dependent missions Father Sebastyanski now carried on a vigorous ministry, saying Mass on week-days in the out-of-town missions. The two stations of St. Liborius and SS. Peter and Paul were soon well provided for as regarded church and rectory and turned over to diocesan priests. Three new churches were built, St. Joseph's in Elba, St. Stanislaus's in Boleszyn and St. Anthony's in New Posen, the last to replace an earlier church destroyed by fire. New Posen was given, moreover, an attractive-looking rectory and a parish-school. All in all sixteen thousand dollars had been expended by Father Sebastyanski at the end of five years and the entire mission served by him was unburdened with debt.

The labors of the energetic Father Sebastyanski were not confined to his Nebraska parishes. Two or three times in the course of the year he withdrew from them to preach missions to Polish congregations in various parts of the country, having to his credit after a few years the erection of seventeen mission-crosses. As he was personally quite unable to meet all the demands made upon him in this necessary and fruitful phase of the ministry, the plan was suggested of a central house for Polish missionaries. On assurance of sympathy and financial support from clerical friends he accordingly took steps towards its realization by purchasing with the cordial approval of the Bishop of the diocese and his own provincial, Father Rudolph Meyer, a piece of property of five acres adjoining St. Anthony's Church in New Posen. For a time the hope, a rather extravagant one perhaps, was entertained that this obscure little settlement in Nebraska would become the "central mission of all the Polish missions and parishes in America." At all events the pastoral zeal and energy expended upon this corner of the Lord's vineyard yielded fruit abundantly so that Bishop O'Connor, on making a visitation of New Posen in 1888, declared openly from the pulpit his keen satisfaction over what was being done there for the good of souls.

At our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Chognice, Howard County, resided during the period 1884-1896 Father Stuer and Brother Chmielewski. An incident occurring more than once in the immigrant period of the Church in the United States is recorded of the little station. In their efforts to clear the new church of debt the parishioners arranged a loan through one of their own number, a man apparently above suspicion, for he had himself donated the ground on which the church was standing. But he was, as the event disclosed, at heart an anti-clerical and in the process of negotiating the loan contrived to secure a lien upon the church, which he thereupon claimed as his own. Nothing was left for the congregation to do but liquidate the church debt without delay, which they proceeded to do. The obligation was apportioned among the

one hundred and five families of the parish, special religious services were held for the success of the undertaking and, beyond all expectation, money flowed in freely enough to extinguish the debt in a very short time. It was a triumph for the parishioners and their pastor, who did not delay to thank God earnestly for so happy an issue of the embarrassing situation. The Jesuit residence of Polander (Chognice) was closed in 1896, Father Stuer having been the only pastor in charge since its beginning in 1884.

Olean (Oleyen) in Colfax County was the center of a group of stations, which in 1890 numbered nine, each having its little church. Father Turk was in residence here as early as 1882, being joined the following year by Brother Kramar in the capacity of school-master. The Jesuit ministry in Olean centered around these two, who remained there steadily up to June, 1892, when the place reverted to the care of the Bishop. The congregation of the Sacred Heart at Olean was of mixed complexion, German and Bohemian, with the former element predominating so that there was preaching in Bohemian only once a month. Two other Bohemian parishes were found in the vicinity, St. Wenceslaus's at Dodge, and St. Mary's at Tabor, both five miles distant from Olean. The first church at Olean, later turned into a school house, was replaced by a second one of more ample dimensions and with a steeple of a hundred feet while in 1889 a rectory of frame was built for Father Turk and the coadjutor-brother, who before that time had been left to their own devices to secure lodging where they might. Olean, though for a period on the way of development, came to grief. Lack of vision on the part of the townsfolk proved their undoing. Olean was picked out for a railroad station, which however, on account of a pronounced grade at the town itself would have to be placed about a mile away. But when the company sought to purchase property here for the station, their efforts were blocked by the citizens of Olean, which as a result lost all the advantages of railroad communication with the outside world. Two stations, around which settlements grew up, were located on either side of Olean, east and west. The effect on Olean was disastrous. Business was ruined, the post-office transferred elsewhere and, with the arrival of resident priests at Dodge, Tabor and Howell, all within a radius of five miles of Olean, the latter parish lost three-fourths of its territory. Some of those responsible for the unhappy outcome were inconsiderate enough to attempt to fix the blame of it on Father Turk, who withal had the sympathy and support of the more sensible part of the congregation. Olean owing to its reduced importance seemed in a fair way of losing its resident pastor, but was reassured on this score by the Bishop. But the Jesuits soon discontinued their ministry in this place, Father Turk and Brother Kramar being transferred thence

to New Posen in the June of 1892. Much good had been effected at Olean and more would have resulted if only a way had been found to harmonize the two elements, German and Bohemian, that made up the congregation.

The departure of the Jesuits from Olean marked the termination of their ministry among the Bohemians of central Nebraska. There remained in their hands only the two Polish residences of Polander and New Posen, and these were turned over to the Bishop in 1896. Central Nebraska, at the time the Polish Jesuits arrived there in the seventies and eighties, was really a missionary country, a designation which was in fact technically applied to the United States generally up to their withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the Propaganda in 1908. But by the mid-nineties diocesan priests began to be available for the parishes of central Nebraska, which were bettering their organization, while the region generally began to emerge from the crudities and drawbacks of the pioneer period.

§ 10. WORK FOR THE NEGROES

Though lack of men and other circumstances made it possible to attempt it only on a modest scale, ministerial work on behalf of the Negroes was taken in hand at an early date. It would have been strange indeed if with their own domestic tradition of the heroic ministry of St. Peter Claver before them, the middlewestern Jesuits had shown themselves indifferent to the urgent spiritual needs of the colored folk about them. Whatever was actually attempted on behalf of this class of the American population has been practically restricted to six centres, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Florissant, Omaha, Chicago, and Toledo. Father Joseph Joset, assigned by Father Roothaan to the Oregon Missions, arrived in St. Louis too late to join one of the spring mountain expeditions of 1843. His departure for the Far West thus delayed for a year, he was set to learn German to qualify himself thereby for service in the German-speaking parish of St. Joseph; but the forlorn condition of the Negroes moved him and he would have labored by preference among them. He wrote to Father Roothaan in July, 1843: "As the Negroes have no church and pastor of their own, they fall into the hands of the heretics. How gladly I should spend myself for these souls also!" The General was impressed by Joset's words and wrote to him: "Would it were possible to help the Negroes also! Your Reverence must not fail to acquaint Superiors with anything that may occur to you as helpful towards the spiritual relief of so many souls." Like this devoted Rocky Mountain missionary of later years, Father Arnold Damen, eminent Jesuit preacher of his day, was also drawn towards the

Negroes. On a visit to Natchez in 1855 he was visibly impressed by the distressing religious status of the southern blacks and wrote thence to the Father General asking that he be permitted to labor in this inviting field. A few years later Father Peter Arnoudt was making a similar appeal to the General. Residing in St. Louis, he was acutely alive to the religious needs of the free colored population of that city and felt within himself what he could not but regard as a divine call to work on their behalf. "I know by experience," he assured the General, "that these people when they give themselves to Christ are treated by Him with marvellous liberality and can live a life of singular innocence with the utmost ease."

In 1856 the Sisters of Mercy of St. Louis began under Jesuit direction to conduct a night school for colored children. Two years later Father Peter Koning, a convert from Lutheranism, was assigned the spiritual care of the Catholic Negroes of the city, being the first St. Louis Jesuit to receive a commission of this kind. The upper of the two galleries of St. Xavier's (College) Church was fitted out as a chapel and here Father Koning held services for the not very numerous congregation which he managed to get together. He even succeeded in organizing a Marian sodality for Negro girls. But, so Father Druyts let the General know, "greater good would be accomplished if these people had their own church." Father Koning was in charge of the Negro congregation until the beginning of 1861 when he was replaced by Father Maes. A remarkable incident occurred in connection with his death, which took place at St. Louis University January 21, 1862. When the body of the deceased father was laid out in the College Church, a young Protestant lady, Mary Wilson by name, on touching it, suddenly and unexpectedly received the light of faith and was subsequently received into the Church. She entered the Society of the Religious of the Sacred Heart and while a novice at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, was cured of a critical illness by St. John Berchmans, which miracle was officially accepted in the cause of his beatification. Another striking circumstance is related in connection with the last illness of Father Koning. When his case seemed to be beyond human aid, Father Coosemans, then rector of St. Louis University, solicited on his behalf the prayers of a holy lay sister in a local convent whom he knew to be a very special recipient of divine favors. Some days after the father's death, the nun on meeting Father Coosemans assured him that she had prayed earnestly for Koning's recovery until God made known to her that she should rather pray for the fulfillment of the divine will. For, added the nun, God calls the men of the Society to a high perfection, to which all do not attain. Some of them He quickly calls to Himself in His

mercy while others He rejects from the Society, for it cannot be that anyone dying a Jesuit should be lost. "These words," added the pious Father Coosemans in reporting the incident to the Father General, "did me good and inspired me to be more faithful to the grace of God so that I may have the happiness not only of living but of dying a devoted child of St. Ignatius and of the Society."

"The little Negro congregation," wrote the vice-provincial, Father Murphy, in January, 1861, "has made a new spurt under Father Maes who took over its direction since the beginning of this month. This good Father, who is full of zeal especially for the poor, has also charge of the parish school [of St. Xavier's], which counts about four hundred pupils." Three years later Father Coosemans, in view of the circumstance that the chapel where the Negroes assembled on Sundays was quite too small for their needs, was expressing the hope that it might be possible to do in St. Louis what had been done by the Maryland Jesuits, who bought a Protestant church and put it at the service of the Negroes. All along Coosemans showed himself deeply interested in the venture made by his associates to promote the spiritual welfare of the colored folk of St. Louis, the last letter which he wrote to Rome as provincial being taken up with the arrangements finally made with Archbishop Kenrick to provide a separate house of worship on their behalf.

Father Maes was followed in the care of the Negroes by other Jesuits, as Fathers Henry Baselmans, Philip Colleton, James M. Hayes, and Michael Callaghan, none of whom remained more than a year or so in the charge, except Father Callaghan, to whom was due much of the preliminary work that made possible a church for the Catholic Negroes of St. Louis. This came during the pastorate of Father Ignatius Panken, successor in 1872 to Father Callaghan, who had withdrawn from the Society of Jesus to attach himself to the diocese of Covington. During the Christmas week of 1872 a fair for the benefit of the Catholic Negro congregation was held in Vinegar Hill Hall at Fourteenth and Gary Streets, a building that had already served as a Baptist and earlier as a Presbyterian meeting house. Father Panken while attending the fair one night conceived the idea that the hall in question might be made to serve as a church for his colored flock. The building was accordingly purchased for five thousand dollars, put in repair at a merely nominal expense by a Mr. D. Sullivan, and on May 18, 1873, with a procession of ten thousand Catholics featuring the occasion, was dedicated as St. Elizabeth's Church by Coadjutor-bishop Ryan of St. Louis. Here the Catholic colored people of St. Louis continued to worship for forty years until Father John McGuire, pastor of St. Elizabeth's,

acquired the old Walsh mansion at 2721 Pine Street and in the summer of 1912 opened church and rectory in these new quarters.

For twenty-two years, 1872-1894, Father Panken, with one brief interruption, was in charge of St. Elizabeth's, devoting himself with singular zeal to his Negro flock. Fathers Boarman and Meuffels were pastors for short terms while Father Michael Speich filled the post without interruption for sixteen years, 1896-1911. His successors in the pastorate of St. Elizabeth's were Fathers John McGuire, Joseph Lynam, Joseph Milet, William Markoe, Augustine Bork, David Hamilton, and again William Markoe. In 1928 Father Markoe succeeded in acquiring a choice property at Taylor and Cook Avenues as a site for a new St. Elizabeth's church and school house, but circumstances have not permitted of its use for this purpose.

On October 12, 1880, a group of four Oblate Sisters of Providence (Colored) arrived on Father Panken's invitation to take in hand the direction of St. Elizabeth's school. Previous to their coming classes had been held in the basement of the church, but three weeks after the arrival of Sister Mary Louis Noel and her companions the school was installed in a building purchased a few weeks before for twenty-seven hundred dollars. A boarding-school was added to the day school as also later on an orphanage, which was soon detached and conducted as a separate institution. The original school-building received in the course of years new additions, providing increased classroom space and other facilities. The Oblate Sisters of Providence remained in charge until the opening of the new St. Elizabeth's on Pine Street in 1912 when the schools were placed under the direction of Mother Drexel's Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

The organization of the Catholic Negroes of Cincinnati into a congregation was begun about 1865 on the initiative of the Jesuit missionary, Father Francis Xavier Weninger. He made generous contributions to the project while Father Adrian Hoecken, who was put in charge of the new congregation, collected money in the city with the result that some four thousand dollars were made available for a church and school. On May 10, 1866, property was purchased on the north side of Longworth between Rice and Elm Streets, title to it being held by Father Driscoll, pastor of St. Xavier's. Later, at Father Weninger's suggestion, the title was transferred to the Archbishop of Cincinnati, since the property "was acquired on behalf of the Negroes who belong to his flock." Meantime, however, the Jesuits were to continue to take care of these poor souls "out of charity and zeal," leaving to the Archbishop the strict obligation of providing for their salvation. Services for the Negroes continued to be held on the Longworth Street site until 1873 when another location for the church was found on New

Street immediately east of Sycamore. Finally, in 1908, St. Anne's Church, under which title the house of worship for the Catholic Negroes of the city had been known all along, was established on John Street between Richmond and Court. With this last change of location charge of the congregation passed from the hands of the Jesuits into those of the diocesan clergy. The first Jesuit pastor of St. Anne's Church was Father Adrian Hoecken, who had seen twenty years of service as Indian missionary in the Rocky Mountains. He remained some seven or eight years in this charge when he was followed, 1874, by Father Henry Bronsgeest and later by Fathers Victor Van der Putten, Joseph Rimmele and John Driessen. The last named remained at the post for nearly twenty-five years, being the last Jesuit to be charged with the spiritual care of the Catholic Negroes of Cincinnati.

Numerous families of Negroes are to be found scattered in the environs of the Jesuit Seminary at Florissant. Work on their behalf had been undertaken at intervals by the pastors of St. Ferdinand's in Florissant, but organized and sustained effort in this direction may be said to have begun with the inauguration October 30, 1915, at Anglum, four miles south of the Seminary, of catechism classes conducted by the junior scholastics of the Seminary. Numerous baptisms of Negroes followed. Mass began to be said in a private house with the Archbishop's permission and on August 4, 1918, took place the dedication of a neat little chapel, eighteen by thirty feet, put up by Brother John Ward, the Seminary furnishing the labor gratis. In this chapel, dedicated to St. Peter Claver, the Apostle of the Negroes, Sunday morning services were held followed in the afternoon by catechism classes for the Negro children. The following year a second chapel for the Negroes, twenty-eight by fourteen feet, was opened at Sandtown on the banks of the Missouri directly opposite St. Charles. It bore the graceful name of St. Mary's ad Ripam and in it Mass was celebrated once a month. Services in this chapel were later discontinued. In 1926 still a third house of worship for the colored folk of the Seminary environs was built. It stands in South Kinloch, is dedicated to the Holy Angels and is served regularly by a resident Jesuit priest. Holy Angels Church has its school, which is taught by School Sisters of Notre Dame. This ministry on behalf of a neglected portion of the Lord's flock was originally and is still in part carried on by the Jesuit professors of the Seminary, who find therein occasion to exercise that zeal for souls which the Society of Jesus would see energizing in the souls of all its members. The pioneers in this field were Fathers Matthew Germing, under whom the Anglum and Sandtown churches were erected, and Arnold J. Garvy, to whom is due the church at South Kinloch. This last has been served for many years by Father Otto J. Moorman.

Work on behalf of the Catholic Negroes of Omaha was taken up by Father Francis B. Cassilly in 1918. Only five colored persons, two of them non-Catholic, could be mustered for the initial gathering, but the numbers interested in the venture grew rapidly. Services began to be held monthly, first in the parish hall of the Sacred Heart parish and later in a chapel of the Sacred Heart Church. As the colored congregation grew, services become more frequent and finally a meeting-place of its own became a necessity. Accordingly, in June, 1920, a frame residence at 2429 Parker Street was purchased for five thousand dollars and the Community House of St. Benedict the Moor established therein, the patron-saint chosen being, as the Roman Martyrology for April 3 declares, "surnamed the Black on account of the color of his skin." Mass was subsequently said every Sunday for this first Catholic Negro congregation in Omaha, which soon outgrew its new home. On April 3, 1923, Father Cassilly made a fresh purchase, acquiring an improved piece of property on Grant Street between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth. The building was blessed on April 14, had its first Mass the following day and on August 27 began to house a grade-school conducted by Sisters of Mercy. The Catholic Negro population of Omaha was estimated in 1923 at about two hundred souls, whose spiritual needs were being provided for by the Church of St. Benedict the Moor.

In 1933 the building which had previously housed St. Joseph's School of the Holy Family parish, Chicago, began to be used for the education of Negro children. The school is under the direction of Father Arnold J. Garvy, S.J., assisted in the teaching by Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth.

In Toledo, in 1931, Father Augustine A. Bork began, at Bishop Alter's request, to take spiritual care of the Catholic Negroes of the city. The work progressed satisfactorily and a church for this neglected portion of the flock was eventually secured.

Father Weninger's activities on behalf of the Negroes of Cincinnati have been adverted to. One major contribution of his to the Catholic movement for the religious uplift of the colored race in the United States deserves to be noted. He originated, it would appear, the idea of the annual collection taken up by the American Catholic hierarchy for the Indians and Negroes. He proposed the idea by letter to his Holiness, Leo XIII, so he assures us in his memoirs, the result being that instructions were issued by the Holy See for the introduction of the collection in question into the dioceses of the United States.

CHAPTER XLIII

SERVICE IN MANY FIELDS

§ I. PARISH MISSIONS AND LAY RETREATS

The preaching of parish missions, long identified with the name of Father Arnold Damen, has never been allowed to lapse among the middlewestern Jesuits. That veteran missionary passed from the scene at the close of the eighties; but a group of zealous travelling preachers of the divine word has been steadily maintained in the field since his day. In 1935 the number of fathers so employed was ten, a quota as large as was practicable in view of other pressing demands upon the personnel. Among those engaged in this ministry since Damen's time, some of them associated with him at one or other time in his labors, may be mentioned Fathers Coghlan, Ward, Henry Bronsgeest, Hillman, Verdin, Schultz, Van der Erden, Finnegan, Mulconry, Boarman, Moeller, Eugene Magevney, Simon Ryan and McKeogh. A type of these strenuous ministers of the spoken word was Father Joseph Rosswinkel (1852-1922), whose career as travelling missionary covered twenty-six years, with a record of some five hundred missions preached by him over a vast range of territory. He conducted, moreover, seventy-seven retreats for the clergy in various dioceses of the Midwest, his services in this regard meeting with cordial appreciation from prelates and priests.

It is now nearly three quarters of a century since Jesuit priests first took up the preaching of parochial missions in the western states. This is clearly a stretch of time long enough to furnish a basis of experience as to the efficacy of this particular phase of the sacred ministry. The experience has been to the effect that these parochial missions or revivals are followed in the main by substantial and permanent results. Testimony on this head, very often of a striking character, has come from priests who personally engaged in the work. Thus one Jesuit father noted (1925) that in the course of a two-weeks mission to which he lent his services eighteen marriages were revalidated. Moreover, he witnessed that while he was a confessor in a certain city, church missions conducted in other churches of the city were always followed by a noticeable and permanent increase in the number of his regular penitents. And in this connection it may be explained that the object of the

typical parish mission is not so much to reclaim faithless Catholics and put them once more in the way of regular observance of the Church's laws as to fortify the church-going element and keep it up to as high a level as may be of Catholic religious practice.

In addition to the missionary groups employed on behalf of the English parishes in the midwestern region a few Jesuits, among them Fathers Joseph Jordans and John Spirig, were engaged during a period of years in giving missions in German to congregations that could be reached more readily through the medium of that language. This was the work inaugurated by Father Weninger and continued by him through three or four decades with conspicuous success. The gradual disappearance of the German language in the United States since the passing of the period of immigration from the Fatherland has made the need of German-conducted missions less pressing until, as an aftermath of the World War, the need was practically at an end. The preaching of German parochial missions by Jesuit fathers of the Middle West was discontinued in 1923. On the other hand, parish missions in Polish continue to be given in considerable numbers, numerous congregations of Poles throughout the country being more familiar, at least as far as religious matters are concerned, with their vernacular than with English. Attached to the Jesuit residence of Toledo, Ohio, for a period of years were four or five missionary fathers, native sons of Poland, who were regularly employed throughout the year preaching missions to their countrymen both of the central and eastern States. Headquarters of this staff were later established in Chicago, where the Polish Jesuits opened a residence in 1934.

A noteworthy movement in the Catholic Church in the last few decades has been that concerned with spiritual retreats for the laity. The retreat movement may be said to have started with the publication in 1548 and subsequent use of the book of *Spiritual Exercises* composed by St. Ignatius Loyola. Retreats for the laity, based on this classic text of the Jesuit founder, were in vogue in Europe many generations ago; but they fell into desuetude and revived interest in them with their actual widespread extension and popularity in the Church is a phenomenon of our own day. In particular little is heard among the middlewestern Jesuits of these retreats for lay folk until at a comparatively late stage in their history; only in the first decade of the current century was attempt made to conduct such retreats in series for successive groups of laymen gathered for the purpose within the walls of a college or novitiate. Later, laywomen were brought within range of the movement.

In 1908 Father Adolph Kuhlman began at St. Mary's College in

Kansas a series of summer retreats for laymen, which were repeated annually up to the beginning of the thirties, when the conversion of St. Mary's College into a theological seminary necessitated their suspension. The attendance at these summer spiritual revivals has reached approximately four thousand. As a means of aiding individual souls in a religious way as also of propagating Catholic ideas and viewpoints throughout Kansas and the adjoining states from which the bulk of the retreatants are recruited, the range of influence of these retreats has been considerable. As a result of the movement initiated at St. Mary's courses of retreats have been started at Hays, Kansas, by the Capuchins, at Atchison, Kansas, and Shawnee, Oklahoma, by the Benedictines, at Wichita by the Redemptorists, and at Gethsemani, Kentucky, by the Trappists. Not only have the retreats resulted in a practical determination on the part of the men to make Catholic principles an actual force in their own lives but they have helped to spread Catholic papers, leaflets and books. Series of annual summer retreats for laymen have also been in operation in other centers besides St. Mary's, as in St. Louis; Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin; Spring Bank, Wisconsin; Milford, Ohio; Detroit, Cleveland and Denver.

At St. Mary's retreats for laymen, however far-reaching in results, were conducted during the summer season only, at which time the college dormitories were vacated by the students and lodging could thus be provided for the retreatants. The normal arrangement postulates a so-called "retreat house," devoted entirely to the business of the Spiritual Exercises and offering week-end retreats all the year around. The first institution of this kind in the West was opened in the spring of 1922 on an attractive property of seventy-five acres occupying high ground on the west bank of the Mississippi some ten miles south of the municipal limits of St. Louis. The property, popularly known as the White House from the name of the picturesque country-residence which stood on it at the period of the purchase, was acquired by St. Louis University, February, 1922, for forty-five thousand dollars, under a financial guarantee furnished by the Laymen's Retreat League of St. Louis. The initial retreat opened April 20 of the same year on behalf of a group of laymen from East St. Louis, Illinois. The original White House having been destroyed by fire February 23, 1923, on its site was erected a substantial stone structure of Old English Gothic design. A chapel of similar design, the gift of Mr. Dayton Mudd of St. Louis, as also ample dormitories have since been added, the entire group presenting architecturally a unique and charming picture. Two Jesuit fathers are steadily employed in the conduct of the retreats, which are of three days' duration and occur regularly at week-ends

throughout the year, the Christmas holidays and Holy Week alone excepted. During the period 1922-1929 some two thousand Catholic men of St. Louis and its vicinity, with an occasional non-Catholic among them, availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered to come to close quarters in silent retirement and prayer with God and the things of eternity. The retreat movement centred at the White House has from its beginning been under the direction of Father James P. Monaghan, who has likewise presided over the growth of the institution on its physical side from the selection of the property to the erection of the various buildings.

Retreats for laymen had an ardent and successful promoter in the person of Father Theodore Van Rossum, a native of Emmerich on the Lower Rhine, Germany. Having entered the Society of Jesus at twenty in a novitiate near Münster, he later came to America, was rector of Canisius College, Buffalo, 1883-1888, superior of the Buffalo Mission, 1892-1898, and rector of St. Stanislaus Novitiate near Cleveland, 1898-1909. While filling the last-named post he was also master of novices from 1898 to 1908, in which latter year the noviceship was transferred to Florissant. In the last thirteen years of his life his duties were mainly those of spiritual father and director of retreats. Of all the ministries of the Society, the dearest to him was the giving of retreats, scores of which he conducted on behalf of members of the hierarchy, priests, religious of both sexes, and lay people. His reputation for personal piety and wise and illuminating counsel in things of the spirit became widespread and numerous persons not of the Society eagerly sought his direction.

The first laymen's retreat organized by Father Van Rossum was in the summer of 1906. Of the sixteen who had engaged to come only two put in an appearance; but the zealous priest insisted on giving the retreat to these two. Before he died hundreds of men, among them, merchants, doctors, lawyers and other followers of business and the professions, were annually making the retreats at St. Stanislaus, so successful had the movement become despite initial difficulties. In the beginning criticism of Father Van Rossum's venture was not lacking, doubt being expressed by some of his Jesuit confrères as to whether American laymen could be got to go through a private retreat with the earnestness that insures substantial results. But experience put an end to skepticism on this score. "Doubters had only to come and see and hear for themselves—see the men go through the exercises and observe strict silence all day and hear them pray and sing in the chapel and in the woods while making the stations of the cross" and their doubts gave place to appreciation of Father Van Rossum's fruitful

work. This ardent priest, whose obvious personal piety was a life-long influence unto good, died in Cleveland, April 22, 1922.

The movement to provide Detroit with a permanent centre for laymen's retreats took definite shape under Father John Donohoe (1860-1926), who in 1922 purchased for \$179,300 a property at Grosse Pointe on the outskirts of the city. The site was subsequently judged to be unsuitable for retreat purposes and was sold in the spring of 1926 to Edsel Ford for \$263,500. Father William Cogley, who had taken the retreat work in hand on Father Donohoe's death in August, 1926, thereupon purchased for \$291,000 a forty-acre estate of great beauty known as Deepdale and situated in the vicinity of Birmingham, a town on the Woodward Avenue superhighway some miles beyond the northern limits of Detroit. Pending the erection on this property, now known as Manresa, of an adequately appointed retreat house, the existing mansion was temporarily fitted out for the reception of retreatants whom it was found possible to accommodate to the number of twenty-one, the first retreat being held in September, 1926. The mansion was subsequently destroyed by fire, whereupon plans began to be laid for the erection of a building specially designed for retreat purposes. The building has been carried through to completion and affords every facility for promoting the laymen's retreat movement in the Detroit region.

For the Milwaukee region Spring Bank, an attractive property located on Lake Oconomowoc, was leased from its owner, the Catholic Hospital Association, and adapted for week-end retreats, which were inaugurated in the fall of 1926. The work was suspended the following year, but was later resumed at the hands of the Cistercian fathers.

Recruiting for the retreats takes various shapes, circular-letters, leaflets, magazine articles, and captaincies, some or other individual being appointed to muster the members of a group and captain them. The parish priests often become interested in enlisting men of their parish for a retreat and sometimes make it with them. With a view to keep alive the inspiration received from the exercises and promote the movement generally Laymen's Retreat Leagues have been organized in connection with the various retreat-houses.

Closed retreats for women are now being conducted in numbers, generally within the precincts of a sisters' convent. Special retreat-houses for women paralleling those for men are few in number in the United States, the only one in the Middle West under Jesuit direction having been located on the outskirts of St. Louis. Work in this center was begun in 1926 with Father James Preuss in charge but, not meeting with the financial support which the experiment required, was discontinued in 1929.

§ 2. A DIVERSITY OF MINISTRIES

An interesting attempt to better the condition of the homeless working boy of the city is associated with the name of Father John Poland (1846-1907), member of a pioneer Catholic family of Cincinnati and a man of scholarly tastes and ripe literary culture, who did excellent work in the professor's chair and on the lecture-platform. But he contrived amid his academic pursuits to find time for projects of religious and social uplift. In St. Louis he was for some years director of the Young Men's Sodality and in this capacity had the responsibility of planning for the erection of a new sodality hall on Grand Avenue. In Cincinnati he conceived the idea of providing a refuge for homeless boys of the street, and accordingly began on December 3, 1885, an institution in a rented house on Seventh Street east of Main. Only six boys were at first received but the numbers grew, rendering larger quarters imperative. After being maintained successively in three distinct locations, the Home moved in 1893 to the east side of Sycamore Street between Fifth and Sixth, where it remained until 1915, in which year it found attractive quarters in the Fenwick Club building in Pioneer Street. For the twenty-two years the institution was located on Sycamore Street it was under the management of Miss Margaret McCabe. In 1895 it was incorporated and through aid received from benefactors and other sources was placed on a secure financial basis. Father Poland's active interest in the Working Boys' Home continued as long as he lived. It is told of him that, having received from a relative on the occasion of his silver jubilee to the priesthood a gift of twenty-five dollars, he handed it over to a group of boys from the Home who had come to tender him their congratulations. At his death the inmates of the refuge told their beads around his remains.

Father Poland's concern for the homeless working boy was shared by Father Francis P. Nussbaum, who first engaged in this field of social work while attached as professor of philosophy to the faculty of St. Ignatius College, Chicago. He was a native of Munich in Germany, where a brother of his achieved distinction as a physician, counting the famous Dr. Doellinger among his patients. The Jesuit was a man of learning, especially in philosophy and liturgy, his acquaintance with church rubrics making his services greatly in demand as master of ceremonies. In Chicago he organized his first working boys' sodality; later he started in Cincinnati a similar organization in connection with the Working Boys' Home. "Every Sunday evening, until failing health forced its abandonment," said a writer in a Cincinnati newspaper, "Father Nussbaum might be found in the sitting room of the home, surrounded by a crowd of boys of all ages and among them the man

of great learning was a child, interested in their boyish sports, sympathetic at the recital of their boyish troubles and rejoicing with them in their little pleasures." When Father Nussbaum died late in the evening of December 30, 1898, the boys at the Home had already retired to bed; the news was broken to them in their sleep, whereupon they rose and went in a body to the chapel to offer their united prayers for the soul of their departed father in Christ.

Work among deaf-mutes has been taken up by Jesuits at various places in the Middle West, especially in Chicago. Here, some time in the early eighties, two noted missionaries, Fathers Arnold Damen, S.J., and Henry Meurer, C.S.S.R., were called to attend a dying deaf-mute, who lacked religious instruction and could be prepared only with the utmost difficulty to receive the last sacraments. The experience brought home to these zealous men the need of meeting the spiritual necessities of this class of afflicted persons and they thereupon laid before Archbishop Feehan the need of a Catholic school for the deaf in the archdiocese of Chicago. At the prelate's suggestion Miss Eliza Starr, artist and author of note and a convert to the Catholic Church, was led to take active interest in the project. Through her influence a group of socially prominent Catholic ladies of the city were organized into an association bearing the name "The Ephpheta Society." Under the auspices of this society a school for the deaf was opened October 2, 1884, class-room space being provided by the Jesuit fathers in the former Holy Family rectory at May and Twelfth Streets. Later, as the pupils increased in number, the school was transferred to St. Joseph's Home on May Street, conducted by the Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Here for some twenty-five years these devoted women provided quarters for the school and looked to its support. Chaplains of the school were in succession the Jesuit fathers John Condon, Joseph Prince, Paul Ponziglione, Henry Dumbach, Ferdinand Moeller, Patrick Mahan, Francis X. Senn, Joseph O'Brien, and Charles Hoffman. Beginning with Father Dumbach the chaplains learned the sign language so as to be able to deal directly with their spiritual charges. Both the boys and girls in attendance, at one time as many as one hundred and twenty, were boarded at the Home. The cramped quarters finally led to the suspension of the boys' department, which in 1906 was reopened by Father Moeller as a day-school, again occupying its original quarters in the old parish rectory. A turning-point in the history of Catholic deaf-mute education in Chicago was occasioned by a legacy of one hundred thousand dollars left by Mrs. Marie T. Boardman for the erection of a separate school for the deaf to continue the work begun by the Jesuits within the limits of their parish. Mrs. Boardman's will was contested by relatives and only forty-

five thousand dollars of the original legacy became available for its intended use; but with this amount eked out by other legacies, donations and funds raised in various ways enough means were realized for the erection of a handsome and substantial structure on Belmont Avenue at Crawford. Here, in 1909, the Ephpheta School for the Deaf was installed, the Jesuit chaplain continuing in attendance until 1913 when he found it necessary to limit his activities to the care of the adult deaf.

To provide a religious and social center for former pupils of the Ephpheta Schools and for the adult Catholic deaf generally, the Ephpheta Mission for the Deaf was organized with Father Moeller in charge. Buildings for club purposes were successively rented in the vicinity of the Holy Family Church until in 1909 the mission was housed in the old rectory made available for the purpose by the transfer of the boys' school to the newly erected structure on Crawford Avenue.

The mission, equipped with chapel, club-rooms and recreational facilities, prospered greatly, as many as eight hundred deaf-mutes being entered on its register. Three sodalities, for men, married ladies and young ladies respectively, were organized while five other distinct organizations of a fraternal and educative character were set on foot. Later the growth of the mission made it necessary to seek more ample quarters and at present it is housed in a building of its own on Ashland Avenue, which funds at its disposal made it possible to acquire.

Jesuit interest in the deaf-mute developed on its largest scale in Chicago; but in other cities also of the Midwest it found promoters in young priests of the Society who were attracted to this phase of the ministry. Fathers Kroeger in Omaha, Ehrhard in Kansas City, Seeger in Toledo, Hoffman in St. Louis, and Senn in Chicago became active in the work, all having acquired the sign language as the indispensable medium of communication with their charges.

A work which St. Ignatius would have delighted in is carried on by twentieth-century followers of his in the Cook County Hospital, Chicago. This institution is the center of a hospital area covering nearly fifteen city-blocks and comprising eight distinct hospitals, the largest aggregate anywhere existing of institutions devoted to medical care of the sick. Cook County Hospital, the largest unit in the group, receives annually nearly thirty thousand patients, of whom from sixty-five to seventy-five per cent are Catholics. Of these, one-half are Slavs and of these again, one-half are Polish. The spiritual care of these fifteen or twenty thousand Catholics, while they are under the hospital roof, devolves on a staff of three Jesuit chaplains, who devote their entire time to this exacting ministry. The work was inaugurated in 1902, Father Michael McNulty being the first to engage in it. The three chap-

lains serving the hospital in 1936 were Fathers Francis X. Bimanski, Andrew J. Cook and Edward A. Jones.

Chaplaincies in institutions, private or public, especially the latter, generally offer an inviting field for priestly zeal. Reference has just been made to the work of the Jesuit chaplains of Cook County Hospital, Chicago. Elsewhere in the Middle West similar ministerial services have been and in some cases still continue to be rendered. For ninety years and more the Cincinnati city hospital has had its Jesuit chaplain as had also for a period of years the Cincinnati jail. Jesuit fathers have also regularly served the St. Louis and Toledo jails, as also hospitals in Milwaukee, St. Louis and Toledo, and the poor house in the last-named city. For years the Soldiers Home in Milwaukee was attended by a father from Marquette College while the Cook County Poor House and Psychopathic Hospital at Dunning in Chicago were long visited by a father from St. Ignatius College, Father Henry Baselmans having been particularly active in this connection. Nor must one overlook the important ministerial duties which continue to be discharged by Jesuit chaplains in Good Shepherd convents as in St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri.

A unique and previously neglected phase of priestly work was taken up in 1922 by Father John Lyons, founder and chief promoter of the Catholic Instruction League. This consists in baptizing the worse cases among the feeble-minded inmates of state institutions. This class of persons, being from birth almost if not quite intellectually dead and therefore without moral responsibility, are to be rated as "infants" and may consequently, in the opinion of theologians, be lawfully baptized. Father Lyons's first baptisms, over seven hundred in number, among these unfortunates were administered in the Home of the Feeble Minded in Lincoln, Illinois. Other state institutions at Beatrice, Nebraska, Marshall, Wisconsin, and other points were subsequently visited and hundreds of the inmates regenerated in the saving waters of the sacrament. The "apostolate of the feeble-minded" has yielded results as gratifying as they were unexpected.

The Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada owes its origin to Father Charles B. Moulinier, who presided over its activities as president for the first thirteen years of its career. It was founded at a meeting in Milwaukee, June, 1925, which was called by Archbishop Messmer at the instance of Father Moulinier, at that time regent of the Medical School of Marquette University. The purpose of the Hospital Association is, so its constitution declares, "to promote the medical, social, economic, and religious development of its members and to further scientific efficiency and skill in hospital management and the further education of the whole hospital personnel," in fine, "to increase the efficiency for public service of Catholic Hospitals." In May,

1920, the Association began to publish under the editorship of Father Moulinier a magazine, *Hospital Progress*, which was, as explained in the initial issue, "to become the medium through which the best thought and practice in hospital service to the sick will be worked into the lives of those who are consecrated to this service." One of the most worth-while activities of the Association has been the steady and effective cooperation it has lent to the American College of Surgeons in promoting its standardizing program. In 1928 Father Alphonse Schwitalla became president of the Association, and in the same year the editorial offices of *Hospital Progress*, originally located in Milwaukee and subsequently in Chicago, were transferred to St. Louis.

From the Catholic Hospital Association have issued two allied but now autonomous bodies, the International Catholic Guild of Nurses, established in 1924, and the Catholic Medical Mission Board incorporated under the laws of the state of New York in 1927. In the organization of these two bodies Father Edward F. Garesché took a leading part, being since 1927 general spiritual director of the Guild of Nurses and president of the Catholic Medical Mission Board. At the suggestion of the same father, Cardinal Hayes established a new community of nuns, "The Daughters of Mary, Health of the Sick" or "The Mission Health Sisters," whose occupation it will be to lend medical aid to the missions, home and foreign.

The Catholic Instruction League was set on foot by Father John M. Lyons in May, 1912, with the approval of Archbishop Quigley of Chicago. Its first work was carried on in that city. It has been calculated that approximately two million Catholic children throughout the United States (more than half the entire number) are attending the public schools. Obviously these boys and girls either receive no religious instruction at all or only a meagre amount of it and as a result large numbers of them are lost to the Faith. To reach these neglected children and bring them the benefits of systematic instruction in the catechism is the purpose of the Catholic Instruction League, which sets up its centers under the direction of the local pastor with a staff of lay teachers, men and women, in attendance.

The origins of the League may be briefly told. At Father Lyons's suggestion a Mrs. Lilian Kubic succeeded in the spring of 1912 in gathering in her home a group of ten little girls, who were taught sewing with a catechism lesson as a feature of the class. On May 20 six of the children were confirmed at the Church of Our Lady of Pompeii by Archbishop Quigley, the zealous lady instructor and Father Lyons being in attendance. The latter took advantage of his meeting with the Archbishop on this occasion to lay before him a plan for assisting pastors in catechetical instruction through the agency of lay teachers. The prelate was much impressed and readily gave his approval to the

plan. The first regular class or center, as the classes came to be called, was organized in Chicago in June, 1912, in a building at Twentieth and Loomis Streets, which housed one of the schools of the Bohemian parish of St. Procopius. Seven teachers who had been induced by Father Lyons to take up the work began instructing the children in small groups, the latter coming in response to an announcement from the pastor that catechism classes would be started on behalf of such children as did not attend the parish school. These classes were held after school-hours twice a week. Twenty-nine appeared the first day and the number subsequently rose to ninety-six. Eventually, as a result of the centre's activity, six children were baptized and much larger groups received for the first time the sacraments of confession and holy communion. The second center of the league was organized also in June, 1912, in another Bohemian parish of Chicago, St. Agnes. Here the first marked success of the movement was scored. When in 1920 the work of this center was taken in hand by nuns, approximately a thousand children had been instructed and had received their first holy communion.

From Chicago the Catholic Instruction League extended its activities into some twenty-five archdioceses and dioceses of the United States, meeting with sympathy and support from prelates and pastors. It was established in all the large cities west of Toledo and from Detroit south to Albuquerque and in very many of the larger towns and villages. It did excellent work in such places as Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Omaha, St. Paul, Springfield (Ill.), Tampa, Pine Bluff, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Racine, Green Bay, Peoria, and St. Augustine. In the first twelve years of its existence it gave religious instruction to some twenty-five thousand Catholic public-school children and young people in seventy-five different locations in and around Chicago, the entire number thus reached throughout the country during the same period going up to the hundred thousand mark. The centers now established run into the hundreds and it has been calculated that over two hundred thousand children have received instruction through their agency. The League has (1935) its official organ, the *C. I. L.* [Catholic Instruction League] *Messenger*.

The seal of the Church's approval was placed on the work of the Catholic Instruction League through a Brief of Pius XI issued on August 9, 1925. The introductory paragraph of the brief sets forth the chief purposes of the league: "In the city of Chicago at the Loyola University of the Society of Jesus exists the principal centre of a certain pious Society for Catholic instruction named The Catholic Instruction League. In the year 1912, John Lyons, a priest of the aforesaid Society of Jesus, with the approbation of the Archbishop of that Arch-

diocese founded the Society, the principal object of which was the religious instruction of Catholic boys and girls, who attend the public schools. But other ends were also proposed to this fruitful union: namely, to devote itself to the preparation of children and adults for Confession and the reception of First Holy Communion; to the erection of well-equipped, suitable schools for the Negroes, the Chinese and others whose religious instruction so many in the United States of North America neglect; to the promotion of the parochial schools; and finally to offering suitable and opportune instruction to Catholics and non-Catholics of good will who desire instruction concerning the Church's dogmas and morals." By this brief the Catholic Instruction League was raised to the dignity of a so-called Primary Union enriched with certain indulgences available to league members and to the children instructed by them and with the privilege of affiliating to itself "other unions of the same title and institute canonically erected in any part of the world."

In January, 1914, appeared, under the direction of Father Edward F. Garesché, the first issue of a monthly magazine designed to promote the interests of the sodalities of Our Lady established in the United States. These "Marian congregations," as they are sometimes called, are of Jesuit origin, the first one having been set up at Rome in 1563 through the enterprising zeal of a Belgian member of the Society, Father John Leunis. They are generally organized on the plan of separate units for the sexes, while within the sexes there are separate units also, differentiated by such factors as age, occupation, and condition in life, whether married or single. As a characteristic Jesuit device for promoting piety among the laity, these associations are to be found in parishes and schools of the Society though they are also established in great numbers in parishes and schools not under Jesuit control. As to the Marian sodalities in the United States, it had long been felt that they were not functioning satisfactorily, a situation that seemed to call for a periodical designed to stimulate them to new life and vigor. Hence the appearance at the instance of Father General Wernz of the above-mentioned periodical, which took the name, *The Queen's Work*. For the first few years it made its appeal on the basis of a magazine of general Catholic activities, the hope being entertained that the more specific aims of the Marian sodality as a religious organization could best be realized by first engaging the interest of the members in matters not of a directly religious nature. For a period of years a subsidiary publication was issued under the name *The Sodality Bulletin*, its contents having an explicit sodality appeal. *The Queen's Work*, having several times changed its format, though not its objective, finally began, 1928, to be issued in newspaper form, its contents being thereupon largely

limited to sodality news and other matters tending to further the sodality idea. In addition to the magazine the office of *The Queen's Work* publishes religious books and tracts, negotiates the affiliation of sodality units to the *Prima Primaria* or Primary Sodality in Rome, and through the medium of addresses and retreats given by the editorial-staff helps to forward the sodality movement throughout the country.

The progress of the sodality movement in the United States has been marked by various noteworthy gatherings organized in its interest. Conventions of sodality directors were held in St. Louis, 1914, and in Chicago, 1926. The first students' sodality convention, which took place August, 1928, in St. Louis, was marked by enthusiasm on the part of the five hundred delegates present. This conference was at the same time a national student-leadership convention. The leadership movement among the Catholic youth of the country, initiated by Father Daniel Lord, national director of sodality activities, and promoted especially through Summer Schools of Catholic Action, has assumed notable proportions.

To the category of American Jesuit periodicals which, like *The Queen's Work*, transcend province lines in the order and are national in scope, belong also *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* (1866), *America* (1909), *Thought* (1926) and *Jesuit Missions* (1927). *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart* is the widely circulated organ of the Apostleship of Prayer as established in the United States. *America*, "a Catholic review of the week," is a vigorously conducted exponent of the Church's position in all issues in which its interests are at stake. *Thought*, "a quarterly of the arts and letters," takes rank with such learned reviews as seek to bring to their readers the latest and most authentic findings of scholarship and research. *Jesuit Missions* is an energetic organ of publicity and support for the numerous foreign missions managed by the American provinces of the Society of Jesus.

§ 3. LITERARY OUTPUT

The pioneer Missouri Jesuits had scant opportunity to exercise what may be aptly described as the ministry of the pen. Few in number and surrounded by a more or less frontier environment, they gave themselves up to the more obvious occupations to be found in school, parish and Indian mission. But as their numbers grew writers began to appear among them until within the last three or four decades the literary output from their ranks has assumed respectable proportions, the books and pamphlets thus produced running into many hundreds. One or other name may here find mention.

Father Walter Hill (1822-1907) is to be numbered among the pioneers of the neo-scholastic movement in philosophy as regards the

United States, his two text-books, *Elements of Philosophy* (1874) and *Ethics* (1879), being the first attempts to make the principles of scholastic philosophy available to American students in the vernacular. Father Hill was born near Lebanon, Kentucky, January 21, 1822, made undergraduate studies at St. Mary's College, the institution conducted by French Jesuits in the immediate vicinity of his birthplace, and became a Jesuit in 1847. He had worked his way through school, being in 1838 in charge of the college saw-mill, in which occupation he won local repute by his skill in managing the oxen that were used to haul the great-sized logs. Father Hill always cherished a frank affection for his native Kentucky, where his family had been settled from the very beginnings of the Catholic Church in that state. He was a man of medium height, stockily built and of uniform good health, living to the ripe age of eighty-five. He was a vigorous, stalwart personality, an enemy of all pretension and sham, and had qualities of mind and heart that won him numerous friends, among them, Archbishop Ireland and the eminent St. Louis physicians, Doctors Louis Charles Boisliniere and Moses Linton. The appearance of Hill's *Elements of Philosophy* elicited two elaborate articles of hostile criticism from the pen of the distinguished convert, Orestes A. Brownson, who was not sympathetic to scholastic philosophy, being more drawn to other systems which it had begun to supplant in Catholic schools. He was an honest and outspoken critic and did not mince words in dealing with Hill's book. "We cannot call Father Hill a philosopher," he says. "He lacks the true philosophical instinct; and we should doubt if he has ever engaged in any original investigations or made his loans from others his own by digesting and assimilating them to his own mind." It is pleasant to note that Father Hill and his trenchant reviewer were and remained to the end the best of friends. "Let me add, Mr. Brownson," Father Hill replied to him October 10, 1874, "that I do not take your criticisms on my little work written at suggestion of my Superior in an unkindly spirit; on the contrary, I thank you for your remarks, which I can but suppose to have been well intended. The book has met with unexpected success, having reached the third edition, a copy of which I herewith transmit to you. I surely am thankful to you for what you have done towards bringing my book before the learned world; you are harsh in your manner, but I believe you to be upright in your intention. I pen this in cordial and Christian love for you, but it is not written for publication. I surely have no right to think hard of you because you differ with me in some matters of opinion."

Archbishop Ireland was much devoted to Father Hill and wrote to him on one occasion: "That I have been able to secure and enjoy your very special regard is one of my great comforts of mind. I cannot

have gone very wrong, I am able to say to myself, since Father Hill is so willing to number me among his good friends. I rejoice to hear now and then from friends who meet you that though bending under the weight of years, you are still bright of thought and gay of heart." On hearing of Father Hill's death the Archbishop wrote to St. Louis: "Father Hill has seen the allotted course of years and his passing away cannot be a surprise; yet it brings to his many friends, among whom I am happy to number myself, a pang of deep sorrow. He was such a good man; such a devoted friend; it was such a delight to see him face to face, to meet him mind to mind. He was one of my best and sweetest friends. Few there are, if any, from whose company I derived so much joy, so much light, and guidance. As I look back over the last thirty years I consider it one of my great privileges to have known him, to have loved him and to have been loved by him." Another admirer of Father Hill was Father Phelan, the vigorous editor of the *St. Louis Western Watchman*, who wrote of him after his death as "the greatest priest this generation of American ecclesiastics has produced. He resembled St. Paul in that he never taught aught but the plain and simple truths of the Catholic church. As a giver of retreats and master of conferences best known and best beloved of clergy and laity."

Father William Poland (1848-1923) wrote a crisp and lucid prose as one finds evidenced in his *Laws of Thought* (1892), *Fundamental Ethics* (1894), and *Truth of Thought* (1896). The *Laws of Thought*, a text-book of logic, was adopted in 1921 for use in the general staff-school at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Father Poland's discussions in pamphlet-form of pressing questions of the day represent perhaps his most notable service as a writer. A paper from his pen on Collectivism won admiring comment from William Marion Reedy, brilliant editor of the *St. Louis Mirror*: "The most captivately lucid Aristotelian argument I have ever read in riddlement of the collectivist theory." *Find the Church* met with particular favor and has been included among publications prepared for the blind. "It seems to me," wrote a correspondent, "that any person with unprejudiced mind, really seeking Light and Truth could not possibly fail to solve the problem by reading this booklet carefully." From Elbert Hubbard of the *Philistine* came this commendation of Father Poland's *Style in Composition*. "You have written a very sinewy bit of English on how to write it. I have read the booklet—not only once but twice—once aloud to a friend. It's all right and I cannot detect a flaw in your logic. The way to write well is to write—no mistake about that. It's only the daily theme that will ever make a writer. As to secret routes, Brother, bless you! there are none. When a man writes well he surprises himself and the next

day he asks himself, as did Swift: 'How did I do it?' I wish you'd write another booklet as good as this on The Cultivation of the Imagination. Various men have browsed around the edge of it, but none have really taken it in hand."

Father Francis J. Finn (1859-1928) achieved a measure of celebrity as the "discoverer" of the American Catholic boy, a title conferred on him by a fellow man-of-letters, Maurice Francis Egan. His boy-stories, beginning with *Percy Wynn*, the first to appear, 1889, have been read by young folk from one end of the country to the other. Moreover, many of them have found their way by translation into foreign languages so that of American Catholic writers Father Finn is perhaps the best known in European lands. Shortly before his death, which occurred November 2, 1928, in Cincinnati, the scene of his activities during the last thirty-two years of his life, he penned a brief survey of his career. "Wrote twenty-one juveniles; editor St. Xavier Calendar; took charge St. Xavier School; made it free and in twenty-five years have put aside for it an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars. Have done my share to build up a school of juvenile Catholic writers and established a juvenile Catholic library to supply boys and girls the country over with good Catholic books. Established a commercial course at St. Xavier at a nominal fee. Began with two or three and now numbers 476. It is for boys and girls. Effects wonderful. Have done all in my power to promote good books, good entertainments—my motto being rather to point with pride than view with alarm. Established Little Flower Library."

CHAPTER XLIV

THE JESUITS OF THE MIDDLE WEST: A SURVEY

§ I. TERRITORY AND PERSONNEL

The field worked by the middlewestern Jesuits has seen various shiftings of territorial limits. The terms of the Concordat entered into in 1823 between Bishop Du Bourg and the Society of Jesus assigned to the Jesuit mission centered at Florissant the entire valley of the Missouri River. Father Van Quickenborne defined this territory as beginning "at the spot where the Missouri flows into the Mississippi or rather the Mississippi into the Missouri" and then extending "westward to the head of the same river Missouri." Even this great sweep of country met with expansion when Father De Smet set up his missions on the west side of the Rockies, the entire Pacific Northwest and subsequently California coming under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit superior at St. Louis. But the connection of California with St. Louis was provisional only, pending the final determination at the hands of the Father General of the status of the new mission on the western coast. That California was for a brief spell a quasi-dependency of St. Louis arose from the circumstance that the two fathers who introduced the Society into that state in 1849 were at the moment under the obedience of the St. Louis superior. In 1852 the Rocky Mountain missions and with them California lost definitely their connection with St. Louis and became immediately dependent on the Father General.

In 1838 the Mission of Louisiana was attached to St. Louis and so remained for a decade. In the interim St. Louis had reached out to Cincinnati by taking over St. Xavier College in that city in 1840. The step elicited protested from the group of French Jesuits then administering the Mission of Kentucky, who petitioned that Cincinnati be assigned to them. On the other hand, Father William S. Murphy, superior of the Kentucky Mission, proposed that the latter be incorporated into the Missouri Vice-province, a proposal that did not meet with favor from his French confrères. Finally, a quasi-provincial congregation sitting at St. Louis in 1841 petitioned the General that, in the contingency of Kentucky being erected into a vice-province, the Ohio River be set as the boundary between the two jurisdictions of Kentucky and Missouri. In the event Cincinnati remained with Missouri

while the Kentucky Mission of the French Jesuits disappeared in 1846, their brethren of Missouri replacing them in that state in 1848.

During the earlier decades of their career the Jesuits of the Middle West showed only slight gains in membership. The original party of 1823, twelve in number, had increased to nineteen in 1831, in which year the Missouri Mission was given an independent status, which left it without further dependence on Maryland. At the erection in 1841 of the mission into a vice-province the membership numbered forty-five, which grew to one hundred and ninety-four in 1863, the first year of the province. The nineties brought a rapid expansion in numbers, the figure standing at three hundred and eighty-seven in 1890 and at four hundred and eighty-seven in 1900. In 1893 the Missouri Province was assigned the new mission-field of British Honduras. Fourteen years later, September 1, 1907, took place the largest accession of new members the middlewestern Jesuits had ever known. On that day in virtue of a decree of Very Rev. Father Wernz dated the previous July 7 the Jesuit Mission of Buffalo was dissolved, its members, two hundred and eighty, and houses being distributed between the Maryland-New York and the Missouri Provinces. The larger proportion of men, one hundred and ninety-five, went to the latter. Moreover, Missouri was given St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, St. John's College, Toledo, the Sacred Heart College, Prairie du Chien, the novitiate at Brooklyn on the outskirts of Cleveland, and the residence of Mankato. Six years later, by a decree of Father Wernz dated May 24, 1913, the Indian missions of St. Stephen in Wyoming, and St. Francis and Holy Rosary in South Dakota were attached to Missouri, which received thereby an additional staff of thirty.

The province of Missouri met with still further extension in the West when, on the dissolution of the Colorado-New Mexico Mission by decree of the Father General, Wlodimir Ledochowski, it was assigned, August 15, 1919, all the Jesuit houses in Colorado. These were the College of the Sacred Heart, Denver, the residence of the Sacred Heart in the same city and the residences of Conejos, Trinidad, Pueblo and Del Norte. With this arrangement seventy-seven new members became affiliated to Missouri. In 1920 the parishes of Conejos and Del Norte, and in 1925 St. Patrick's parish, Pueblo, were relinquished into the hands of the Bishop of Denver. Only four Jesuit houses were thus left in Colorado, two in Denver, one in Pueblo, and one in Trinidad. In 1919 Father Ledochowski by a decree dated of that year attached the recently established Mission of Patna in British East India to the Missouri Province, which thus found its field of operations extended to the tropical Orient. The most recent accession of territory to the Missouri Province belongs to 1928, in which year, at the request of the

Catholic Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, that state was transferred from the Jesuit jurisdiction of New Orleans to that of St. Louis. At the beginning of the same year the Missouri membership stood at 1,295.

§ 2. SOME JESUIT PERSONALITIES

Numerous distinctive Jesuit personalities made their influence felt in or outside the Society of Jesus in the American Middle West. Only one or other can be given notice in this summary record.

Father Isidore Boudreaux, novice-master at Florissant for twenty-five years, was followed in that office by Father Leopold Bushart, who in turn found a successor in Father Frederick Hagemann. The latter was of German origin, having been born in the village of Oelde, Westphalia, May 25, 1844. He made his literary studies at a gymnasium in Paderborn, passed overseas in 1866 after offering himself for the diocese of Milwaukee and finished his divinity studies at St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, where he was ordained a priest in 1867. Two years later he became a novice at Florissant. For some years he was in charge of the German congregation of St. Joseph in St. Louis, after which he was made assistant to the novice-master and in 1882 novice-master and rector of the novitiate. He continued to discharge the duty of initiating the young men of the order in the ways of the religious life until 1908 when he was named spiritual director of the Jesuit community of St. Louis University. He died at the novitiate, Florissant, May 8, 1928, having seen well-nigh eighty-five years of life, fifty-nine of which he had spent as a Jesuit.

Father Hagemann was to a very marked degree a man of prayer and devout union with God. His downcast eyes, his restrained and recollected demeanor, his aloofness from merely secular interests, the very timbre of his voice, strangely comforting and with a palpable suggestion about it of other-worldliness and piety—all bespoke a man who had learned the difficult art of living alone with God. One not of the Society has written that "whoever came under the fascination of his personal influence was, from that moment on, a better and a nobler man. Those eyes, so keen and yet so kindly, won you over, whether you would or not." During his twenty-six years of service as novice-master he compassed a noble work in giving hundreds of young Jesuits their first lessons in the religious life.

Father Hagemann's successor in the care of the novices was Father James T. Finn (1864-1916), who took over the charge in the fall of 1908. Father Finn, a native of Oswego, New York, entered the Society of Jesus at Florissant on his twenty-first birthday, August 9, 1884, and became rector of the novitiate March 1, 1908. Some months later he

took up the duties of master of novices, which he continued to discharge, but with interruptions due to ill-health, until the summer of 1915. A Jesuit domestic account portrays him thus:

In Father Finn a frail physique and an almost feminine refinement of manner belied the stern, resolute purpose and strength of soul that abounded within. He sought to instill into his novices a vigorous and virile spirituality and to school them in absolute fidelity to the Jesuit rule of life. On the conventions and courtesies of social intercourse, of which he was himself meticulously observant, he laid stress in measure more than is usual perhaps with men of the Society, pointing out that no Jesuit could afford to neglect or disdain these natural aids to the promotion of God's work. Father Finn bore the long illness which afflicted him with equanimity and, characteristically bright and genial to the very end, went to his reward July 7, 1916. His attitude toward life found expression in the prayer of St. Teresa, which in Longfellow's translation, he copied year after year into a fly-leaf of his *Ordo* or ecclesiastical calendar: "Let nothing disturb thee, nothing affright thee; all things are passing; God never changeth; patient endurance attaineth to all things; who God possesseth in nothing is wanting. Alone God sufficeth."

Zealous workers in the sacred ministry were numerous and of these Father Daniel McErlane may serve as a type. No one could have better exemplified in his own person the gospel of service than this Irish-born Jesuit, who died in St. Louis, May 10, 1910, at the age of sixty-two. He was rector of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, when his health collapsed and his years of usefulness appeared to be at end. But he became well, or equivalently so, "largely on his cheerfulness," and with only one sound lung to exist on, entered on a career of strenuous ministerial work that lasted for twenty years. At the College Church in St. Louis he was assistant-pastor, besides having spiritual charge of the city jail and the public hospital, in all of which employments he engaged with almost hectic energy and zeal, showing the charity of Christ at every turn and especially lending his services to the least of Christ's brethren. Social outcasts of every type made un-failing appeal to his sympathies and he went with one condemned criminal after the other to the gallows, though the gruesome business unnerved him cruelly. As a confessor he was indefatigable, having heard many hundred confessions weekly during the twenty years of his connection with the College Church. Under the caption "A Sleuth of Souls" William Marion Reedy wrote of him in the St. Louis *Mirror*:

A man died in this town one day last week. On another day he was buried and at the great church where the service for the dead was intoned there gathered such a throng of people as filled the edifice and trickled out

into the surrounding streets. The man was a Catholic priest; his name was Daniel McErlane.

He was only a true priest and a good man. Never did I see him that I did not think of Francis Thompson's poem in which he pictures Christ as the ineluctable "hound of heaven," for that was the predominant trait of Daniel McErlane—he was a Sleuth of Souls.

The so-called "lost" were the quarry of this loving pursuer. He was the friend of the jail-bird. He was the last support of the wretch going to the gallows. He sought out the ruffian in his lair brought low by drink or the diseases that flourish in the fast life or the foul or by the crazy blow of some drunken or jealous or suspicious "pal." He found the outcast by all others deserted and comforted him. He made real to such men the God who to them had been nothing but an oath. He found them raving in blasphemy and left them murmuring curiously half-forgotten prayers. Many of them were in the throng at his funeral. He was the confessor of all submerged St. Louis and strange how blithe he was under the burdens they cast upon him.

The province tradition of pulpit-eloquence handed down from the days of Damen and Smarius had here and there its representatives. Of these were Fathers Henry Calmer (1847-1900), James Conway (1855-1909), and John McClorey (1874-1935), all of them called when their powers were in full bloom. Father Phelan, virile editor of the St. Louis *Western Watchman*, penned sketches of the first two:

He [Calmer] did not pretend to native oratorical genius; he cultivated his voice, he studied expression; formed style and drilled himself in dramatic action. The result was that he became one of the most distinguished pulpit orators in the United States and by all odds the most eloquent Jesuit since the days of Father Smarius. He has been lecturing in the College Church for years and the best minds of the city have drunk at the fountain of his fervid eloquence. His lectures have been the theme of the parlor, the counting room and the workshop.

He [Conway] was a ready and entertaining preacher and lecturer and there was always in what he said the classical flavor which comes from long and close association with the masters of the world's literature. But these accomplishments are only the accidents of time, place and taste. The real worth of a man is to be found in his life and character. This is the best legacy that can be left to the world by priest or teacher. We cannot force ourselves to read the works of a man whose life was vile. Not that the information that the teacher imparts to his pupils is the best heritage of their student days; but the information plus the man. Father Conway was a man of strictest integrity and unflinching devotion to duty. He never seemed to grow weary in well-doing; and his pursuits were always of the highest ideals. He was ambitious, but only to do the work of God in God's own way. He was stricken down in the very heyday of his career, when the hopes of years

seemed on the point of fruition; but he never uttered a word of complaint and the announcement of the incurable character of his malady brought from his lips not a single murmur. He would live; but he was ready to die if such was the will of his Heavenly Master.

A gift of eloquence gave Father John A. McClorey a place among the leading pulpit-orators of the country. His voice was one of charm and power and he had resources of expression that gave his utterances striking literary form. Numerous volumes of sermons came from his pen and his last published work was a text-book on sacred oratory, through which he sought to pass on to others the arts and devices he had utilized with effect in his own experience as a dispenser of the spoken word. Father McClorey's services as a preacher were in steady requisition throughout the country, but the strenuous ministry of the pulpit to which he gave himself without reserve shattered his strength and led to his demise.

The travels of Father De Smet and his missionary adventures in the Rocky Mountain region were factors among others that lent a touch of romance to the pioneer Jesuit history of the West. His associates in this interesting field passed at intervals from the scene, the last to survive being Father Francis Xavier Kuppens (1838-1916). Educated in the Jesuit college of his native town, Turnhout in Belgium, he entered the Florissant novitiate in 1857 with a view to the Indian missions, on which he began to be employed the year after his ordination to the priesthood in Boston, July, 1863. Arriving in November, 1864, at St. Peter's Mission among the Blackfeet on the Missouri some six miles above the mouth of the Sun River, he began there a strenuous ministry on behalf of the Indians and whites of that primitive region. He was tall of stature and powerful of physique and his commanding presence gave him from the beginning an ascendancy among the tribesmen as well as among the rough pioneer settlers. Moreover, he was an expert horseman and an excellent swimmer, two accomplishments of the first importance in a newly opened country where railroads and bridges were unknown and the missionary had periodically to cover great stretches of the most difficult ground. Summoned on one occasion in the mid-December of 1866 to Cave Gulch, where rival factions in a mining-camp had killed five of their number, he swam the Missouri and arrived on the scene while the two factions were still exchanging shots.

In the spring of 1865 Father Kuppens said the first Mass in Helena, Montana, in an unfinished and windowless log cabin which stood close to the northwest corner of State and Warren Streets. At the same time he took in hand the selection of a site for the first Catholic Church

in Helena in a locality of the city now known as Catholic Hill. He wrote in 1914:

It is hardly fifty years ago since the first mass was said in Lost Chance Gulch. But, oh, what a change! How well I remember the day! A dry goods box served me for an altar; it was placed in an unfinished log-cabin, open to the inclemencies of the weather, at the foot of Catholic Hill. The congregation was sparse; but what they lacked in numbers, they made up in fervor. Though despondency and discouragement had filled my heart, still with the preparation for mass a new glow seemed to come over me. I remember yet the gist of my exhortation. I referred to the word of Aggeus the Prophet, when he encouraged the Israelites who were in dejection on seeing the poverty of the temple that Zorobabel had rebuilt over the old glorious temple of Solomon. And here we, the germ of a new congregation, were worshipping Almighty God, the Master of all things, in a most forlorn cabin. . . . Well nigh fifty years ago I spoke those words and often since then have I reflected on them. For I have seen Catholic Hill bloom as a rose garden with institutions for different charities. In the foot-hills and in the valleys, year by year, new churches have been built and congregations formed. Like a mighty oak the Mother church has spread its protecting branches far and wide over the state. But never in my most sanguine expectations could I hope or dream of the glorious results of the present day.

In the course of his ministry in Montana Territory Father Kuppens went from one mining camp to another, visiting Silver Creek, Montana City, Jefferson, Boulder Valley, Diamond City and Virginia City. At Silver Creek he selected a site for the church, he himself hauling the first log for the new building. While stationed at St. Peter's Mission he learned from some of his Blackfeet parishioners of the wonders of what is now Yellowstone Park. Curious to see for himself this enchanted land of Nature's handiwork, he visited it with a party of young Indians as guides. Shortly after his return to the mission, he met for the first time the Irish refugee, General Thomas Francis Meagher, then acting-governor of Montana Territory. A warm friendship at once sprang up between the two. The Jesuit communicated to the General what he had seen in the Yellowstone region and urged him to visit it. This the latter did a short time before his tragic death by drowning in the Missouri and on his return assured Father Kuppens that he would make every effort to have the government reserve the locality as a national park.

In the latter part of April, 1866, St. Peter's Mission among the Blackfeet was closed and the mission-staff ordered west of the mountains. Three days after they reached St. Ignatius, a messenger arrived from Acting-governor Meagher requesting that Father Kuppens come

over without delay with power of attorney to convey to the United States authorities the old St. Peter's mission-site near Sun River. Directed by his superior to answer the governor's summons, Father Kuppens made the trip east over the Rocky Mountain divide in a thrilling ride that brought him to his journey's end in twenty-four hours. At Fort Benton the governor and Father Kuppens took passage in a downstream boat for the mouth of the Judith River where the expected detachment of soldiers had been obliged to leave their own boat on account of low water. The craft in which the governor and his companion were travelling stuck fast on a sand-bar and they were obliged to continue their journey overland through a series of hardships and mishaps which Father Kuppens in his declining years graphically put on record. At the Judith they met the military detachment and negotiated with its officers the transfer to the government of the abandoned mission-site and buildings.

In 1868 Father Kuppens was recalled from the Mountains and assigned to duty at St. Mary's Potawatomi Mission in Kansas. Part of his homeward journey was made in a novel manner. He had hoped to meet Father De Smet at Fort Benton and take passage with him on the same steamer to St. Louis. Disappointed in this expectation, he forthwith constructed a light raft with his own hands and on this precarious craft made his way with the current from Fort Benton to Sioux City, over six hundred miles distant, where he came up to De Smet. Besides his work with the Potawatomi of Kansas, he had later missionary experiences with the Sioux of Grand River, Dakota Territory, and the Arapaho of Wyoming, besides being employed for many years in the parochial ministry in Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Charles, Missouri. The last fourteen years of his life were spent at the novitiate, Florissant, where he died April 8, 1916.

Jesuit outward activities, those which come to public notice in college, parish or mission-field, often depend for their prosperous issue on the domestic and, as far as the public is concerned, unobserved activities of the coadjutor-brothers. The services which the latter lend to their associates in priestly orders by discharging various household tasks, many of them involving manual labor, are of the first order and make possible in large measure the conditions under which the ministerial and educational work of the Society is carried on. In Jesuit pioneer days in the West, a situation not unknown in more recent times, brothers were often employed as teachers in schools, Indian or parish, under Jesuit direction. Thus Brother Thomas O'Neill (1825-1895) was for thirty years and more connected with the Holy Family parish school in Chicago as teacher, but more especially as superintendent of discipline. Witnesses of his methods later "marvelled when they recalled in memory the

instant obedience to bells, the perfect order in ranks, and the silence when Brother O'Neill with his military bearing and fine stern face overlooked the serried lines of nearly 2000 boys." The brass band and fife-and-drum corps organized by him became locally famous and in 1865 had the distinction of heading President Lincoln's funeral cortege.

Brother Charles Lynch (1860-1919) was for thirty years mechanic, foreman of the hired help, and general utility man at St. Louis University. Tactful charity, a readiness to serve, a correct and edifying outward demeanor, an instinct for helping others in a spiritual way when opportunity offered—these among others were traits one might observe in him. "Brother Lynch's religious life," commented one who knew him intimately, "proves that a lay brother in the Society, while cultivating the quiet virtues of the hidden life, may find occasion for the exercise of apostolic zeal and that the sterling qualities which distinguish certain types of American manhood, may, by God's grace and proper guidance, be an aid rather than an obstacle to the practice of the supernatural virtues characteristic of the grade of temporal coadjutor in the Society."

A mere recital of the long stretch of years spent by some of the coadjutor-brothers in domestic occupations makes an impressive record. Brother Joseph Waldvogel (1847-1920) during all the forty-six years he followed the life of a Jesuit knew only one occupation, that of baker. "Never ill, until his edifying death came to him, he attended to the usual trying routine of his charge in the bakery up to the very end; the few moments of his necessary rest snatched now and then in his unremitting toil being spent in the recitation of his rosary." Brother John Meier (1832-1916) for forty years of the sixty which he spent as a Jesuit was employed as shoemaker, in which occupation he was a pattern of steady and conscientious discharge of duty. Brother Francis Melchers (1834-1920) saw sixty-four years in the Society. He filled various charges, chiefly that of infirmarian, and was "an authority on all that pertains to the culture of fruit and the vine." While caring for the sick at St. Louis University during the cholera epidemic of 1866 his health as a result of overwork became permanently impaired and he was never thereafter free from suffering, which he bore with unfailing patience. "The more pain the better," was his reply to one who had offered him sympathy.

Brother Thomas Brady (1837-1912) was for nineteen years in charge of the novitiate mill at Florissant and for thirty years labored as painter, glazier and shop-keeper at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. "I always take everything as coming from the hand of God," a casual remark dropped by him while he was taking care of a sick person, reveals his spiritual attitude towards life. Brother Frederick Wen-

strup (1823-1908) served for forty years at the Osage Mission as tailor, infirmarian and sacristan and for nineteen years at the novitiate as tailor. His prayer had always been, so he confided one evening to a companion-brother, for two things, to die suddenly and to die on a Saturday, the Blessed Mother's day. On the morrow, which was a Saturday, just as the priest was elevating the host, Brother Wenstrup, who had communicated immediately before the Mass, suddenly collapsed and died in the novitiate chapel, October 10, 1908.

The career of Brother George Bender (1842-1925) could be written around the single word—service—a word much overworked, but for all that expressive of some of the noblest realities in life. For half a century he filled various charges at St. Mary's College as prefect, instructor, storekeeper and bandmaster, always scrupulously concerned for the accurate discharge of the day's work and always maintaining that spiritual view-point which alone ennobles the humdrum and prosaic tasks of life. He was not Catholic-born, having been given the gift of the Faith with dramatic suddenness shortly before he became a Jesuit in 1866. Before that turning point of his career he had seen much of life in a few years, having been ship-cook, sailor, factory-hand, and Union soldier in the Civil War, fighting under McClellan in the Potomac campaigns and marching with Grant on Richmond. The old soldierly habits of discipline and regard for authority were with him to the end and he exemplified admirably in his nearly sixty years of Jesuit life the Ignatian ideal of punctilious regard for the rule of the Society and dutiful obedience to the behests of its superiors.

The life of Brother Thomas Mulkerins (1858-1934), for fifty-one years sacristan of the Holy Family Church, Chicago, is typical of the important services rendered to the Society of Jesus by its temporal coadjutors. In all that pertained to the fitting care and embellishment of the house of God his zeal was untiring. He trained thousands of young boys for the duties of acolyte and among them formed uncounted friendships that were lifelong. At his golden jubilee as a Jesuit in June, 1928, demonstrations of regard for him were on a scale unprecedented in the history of his brethren in Chicago. The years he spent as sacristan saw the Holy Family parish both at the peak of its prosperity and in its pathetic decline. The story of the parish gripped him and with loving industry he put it on record in a sizeable volume, which appeared in 1923.

· § 3. ROUNDING OUT A CENTURY

Probably all that is significant in the story of the restored Society of Jesus in the American Middle West has been told in the course of

the present history. It remains to record with brevity a few outstanding events and circumstances pertinent to the Jesuit group in question as it came up to and went beyond the centennial year of its history. Noteworthy among these events was the World War. The experiences of the group during this great crisis were of the same character as those that befell Americans generally who were engaged in education or the ministry. In common with others the middlewestern Jesuits felt the incidental economic stress, coped as well as they might with the problem of the high cost of living and adopted a policy of retrenchment in their domestic economy. Moreover, they lent whatever support, material and moral, they could to the government's measures and in brief showed themselves consistent and loyal citizens of the United States. On April 6, 1917, Congress declared war on Germany. Three days later, April 9, the Catholic hierarchy of the United States pledged support to the government in the crisis. Within a week of this pronouncement of the authorized spokesmen of the Catholic Church in the United States, Father Alexander J. Burrowes, superior of the Missouri Province, addressed a circular letter to the men of his jurisdiction urging upon them wholehearted loyalty to the government in its rôle as a combatant in a world-wide and devastating war. Presently the colleges were drawn into the conflict. The Selective Service Act, which provided for the conscription of all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-one (later, forty-five), clergymen, however, being exempted from its operation, was approved May 18, 1917. The universities and colleges of the country became metamorphosed as a result into as many training-schools and military camps. The student-groups, organized into units of the Students Army Training Corps (S.A.T.C.), followed a curriculum of studies designed by the government to meet the exigencies of the situation. At Loyola University, Chicago, four hundred students, two hundred and thirty-four of them from the arts department and one hundred and sixty-six from the Medical School, were lodged in the none too capacious building of the arts department on Roosevelt Road. In Milwaukee eight hundred students of Marquette University were gathered into four separate barracks. To meet their needs a large mess-hall, one hundred and ninety by ninety feet, was hastily put up on University property at Clybourne and Fifteenth Streets. There were besides, S.A.T.C. units at St. Xavier's, Cincinnati (232), St. Mary's, Kansas (115), Campion College, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin (250), as also at St. Louis University and the University of Detroit. St. John's College, Toledo, and Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Missouri, not being able owing to contracted quarters to arrange for the installation of the S.A.T.C., sent their drafted students, St. John's to Campion College and Rockhurst to St. Mary's.

Besides students actually registered, the Jesuit institutions counted large numbers of their former students in the service. Loyola University, Chicago, had thirteen hundred in the ranks, of whom twenty-two made the supreme sacrifice, while the huge service flag that hung over the entrance to St. Louis University showed three thousand stars, of which forty were in gold. The first American officer to die in action in France was Lieut. William T. Fitzsimmons, an alumnus of St. Mary's College, who was killed September 4, 1917. His Alma Mater honored his memory in a memorial arch, which rises at the entrance to the college grounds. Among the war-memorials sponsored by parish groups was a bronze tablet unveiled May 1, 1920, in St. Mary's Church, Cleveland, in honor of the seventy-eight young men of this Jesuit parish who participated in the war.

In view of their clerical profession the men of the province were exempted by the Selective Service Act from the duty of bearing arms; but they had their representatives among the volunteer chaplains of the national military and naval forces. Eleven middlewestern Jesuits saw service in this capacity and seven more had been accepted and were on the waiting-list for commissions when the armistice was signed.

In the closing days of the war the country was saddened by the appalling spread of the influenza. Mortality ran high especially in the military cantonments then in full blast throughout the land. At Creighton University, Omaha, the student-body passed without loss of life through the scourge, in grateful memory of which deliverance the young men contributed a thousand dollars towards the erection on the University grounds of a statue of the Sacred Heart.

In the period immediately following the war the Superior General, availing himself of a provision of the Jesuit Constitutions, planned and carried out through the agency of specially appointed officials a more or less general visitation of the provinces of the Society. Four times in their history the middlewestern Jesuits have received a Visitor, Father Kenney in 1831, Father Murphy in 1851, Father Sopranis in 1860 and Father Beukers in 1920. Father Everard Beukers, while retaining the office of provincial of Holland, which he was then filling for the sixth year, was commissioned by the Father General to make a visitation of the Missouri Province. He arrived in St. Louis August 31, 1920, and left it September 13 of the following year to return to Europe after finishing the business of the visitation. He personally inspected all the houses of the province, carrying out with precision the instructions given him by the Father General and, in brief, discharging punctiliously the duties which according to the Jesuit Institute devolve upon a Visitor. In a letter of September 12, 1921, addressed to the Jesuits of the Middle West, he speaks of himself as one who, though "a year ago

upon arriving in your Province," "came as a stranger to you all," is now "on the eve of his departure—keenly aware that he is leaving as many friends as there are members in this large Missouri Province. It is, thereupon, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers in Christ, that in saying good-bye to you I want to express the feelings of my sincerest gratitude to all, superiors and subjects, for so much kindness, which made this period of my Jesuit life unforgettable no less for its many grateful souvenirs than for the importance of the work done." While Father Beukers was still engaged in his duties of visitation, Father Auguste E. Bulot, inspector of Jesuit scholasticates in the United States and Canada, arrived in St. Louis. He was a member of the province of Lyons and had but recently visited the scholasticates of France and Belgium in a similar capacity. His stay in St. Louis November 12-December 6, 1920, was taken up with personal investigation of the academic status of the scholasticate in regard to both faculty and students.

The founding at the beginning of 1920 of a so-called Jesuit Seminary Aid Association marked a departure from the previously pursued policy of the Society of Jesus in the Middle West. The purpose of the association was to interest friends of the Jesuits and Catholics generally in the financial support of such of its houses as were devoted to the spiritual and academic training of its younger members. As a result of the increased cost of living consequent upon the World War and other circumstances the maintenance of these institutions was presenting a grave problem, the solution of which seemed to lie only in a direct appeal to the public for financial aid. Moreover, the rapidly growing personnel of the middlewestern Jesuits was necessitating additional buildings and, in particular, need was urgent for a second novitiate and a new scholasticate. They had previously refrained from disclosing their economic embarrassments to the public; but now a frank statement of their precarious financial status was set out in printed circulars, which were given wide circulation. Membership in the Jesuit Seminary Aid Association, which carried with it numerous spiritual benefits, was solicited, a modest contribution every year being requested from those who enrolled. Moreover, request was made for scholarships or burses of eight thousand dollars each, the interest on which sum was to be employed in meeting the annual educational expenses of a Jesuit student. The first name entered on the register of the association was that of Bishop Gallagher of Detroit while a communication from Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee struck an encouraging note. "We all know full well the grand and splendid work which the Society of Jesus is carrying on today as it has done all these four centuries since its foundation for the promotion and defense of the Catholic Church. There are no more glorious pages in the history of the Catholic church in the United

States than those that tell of the varied and manifold labors of the Jesuit Fathers upon the fields of Christian Missions and Christian Education. It would be an indelible shame upon the bright name of American Catholics if at this very time the Jesuit Fathers of our Western States would be hampered in their good work simply because of insufficient financial means." The response made to the association's appeal for help, while gratifying, has at no time met the actual financial needs of the province.

Though the projects had to be financed largely with borrowed money, the erection of certain greatly needed buildings was taken in hand. A chapel of impressive Romanesque design was added to the novitiate group of buildings at Florissant. The corner-stone was laid by Archbishop Glennon June 12, 1922, and the first services in the completed structure were held on May 21, 1923, on which occasion a solemn mass was sung with Bishop Anthony Schuler, S.J., of El Paso, as celebrant. The day was doubly memorable as it also marked the commemoration at the novitiate of the centenary of the Missouri Province. The candidates having become too numerous for a single master of novices adequately to supervise, the problem of a second novitiate in the province was solved by the purchase in the spring of 1925 of a picturesque estate of eighty-seven acres which went by the name of "The Ripples" and was located on the left bank of the Little Miami River twelve miles northeast of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati. The few usable buildings on the premises together with a frame structure erected after the purchase of the property were temporarily put to account and a noviceship inaugurated there in August, 1926, with Father William A. Mitchell as novice-master and Father John F. Neenan as superior of the house. A permanent three-story structure of brick was begun in the summer of 1926 and occupied in September of the following year. The cost of the structure, which was of simple architectural design and interior finish but of dignified appearance, amounted to some six hundred thousand dollars. To provide this sum it became necessary to place a lien on the historic Florissant property, which had never known an incumbrance since 1826 when Bishop Du Bourg, with the first money that came to the United States from the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, lifted the mortgage that had previously weighed upon it.

At the tertianship in the Cleveland suburb of Parma what was virtually a new building was erected in 1927, the chapel-wing and upper story of the tertians' house having been destroyed by fire on the morning of April 12, 1926. The young priests completed their year of spiritual training at Campion College. The following year, 1926-1927, classes for the tertians were conducted at Hot Springs, North Carolina, on a property belonging to the Jesuit province of New Orleans. Mean-

time, the building at Parma, which had not been entirely ruined by the flames, was restored and enlarged so as to become again available to the tertians in September, 1927.

In May, 1923, the Jesuits of the Middle United States commemorated with appropriate ceremony the hundredth anniversary of their coming to the West. Felicitations and apostolic benediction came from the Holy Father while Very Reverend Father Ledochowski, the General, penned a letter of congratulation. "Even now," he wrote, "memory recalls with a hallowed pleasure those pioneers who in 1823 founded your Novitiate at Florissant with resources so slender and now you present to our happy contemplation one of the largest of the provinces, numbering 1146 members, rich in universities, colleges and high schools in which you are devoting yourselves to the task of giving religious and moral training to very large numbers of young men." From the members of the hierarchy came words appreciative of the significance of the occasion. Bishop Gilfillan of St. Joseph, Missouri: "I do not know of any event in my time in America that is capable of calling forth from our Catholic people a more sincere and unusual feeling of satisfaction than the opportunity to share in that *Te Deum* for the hundred years of *Gesta Dei per Jesuitas* in the Mississippi Valley and the West." Bishop Hartley of Columbus: "The occasion is worthy of celebration—it looks back over a hundred years of splendid triumph for the faith and progress of the Church that is not equalled in any other portion of the world." Bishop Lawler of Lead, South Dakota: "We certainly owe a debt of gratitude to your Fathers for their labors in the Middle West. Father De Smet and the Black Hills are linked together." Bishop Byrne of Galveston: "Sacrifice, heroism, piety and learning strive for honors in the wonderful story of these one hundred years; and a burning zeal for souls directs the mighty works of these forces in evolving the wonderful results seen today in churches and schools and in the lives of multitudes of Christian people, the influence of Christianly trained men, in the throng of younger Jesuits enlarging the labors of the sturdy pioneers."

When Father Everard Beukers arrived in St. Louis in August, 1920, with a commission from the Father General to undertake in his name an official visitation of the Missouri Province, he was under instructions to prepare the way for a division of the province into two smaller administrative units. This policy of sectionizing provinces of a thousand and more members had been adopted by the Father General on the principle that the activities peculiar to the Society are best carried on in divisions of moderate territorial extent and personnel. Jesuit domestic government is essentially paternal and personal, postulating direct and intimate personal relations between the provincial superior and his sub-

ordinates, a condition which it is difficult to realize when province numbers run greatly beyond the average. By 1925 the province of Missouri was registering twelve hundred and seventeen members, of whom five hundred and sixty-seven were priests, four hundred and seventy-five scholastics, and one hundred and seventy-five, lay brothers. This very large membership for a single provincial to keep in touch with, coupled with the great range of his jurisdiction which ran from Wyoming to Ohio, made a division of the field expedient if not necessary. Accordingly Father Ledochowski, by a decree dated from Frascati, his summer-residence outside of Rome, September 8, 1925, detached from the Missouri Province the four states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, which were organized into the vice-province of Ohio with headquarters in Cincinnati and with Father Jeremias J. O'Callaghan as vice-provincial. This arrangement, however, was tentative and provisional and did not involve a definite division of the field; it meant merely that the routine work previously handled from St. Louis, would, as regarded the territory of the vice-province, be diverted to Cincinnati, the St. Louis superior still retaining in certain important matters his jurisdiction over the entire undivided province. At the same time, the drift of things was towards actual division, which became a reality on August 15, 1928, when effect was given to a decree of the Father General dated July 2 of the same year, which provided for the definite separation of the territory of the Ohio Vice-province, together with part of the state of Illinois, from the Missouri Province, which was to retain its old name, the other or eastern division to be known as the province of Chicago, with administrative headquarters in that city. Each province, so it was declared, was "to be endowed with all the rights, powers and privileges which according to our Institute are granted to other provinces." To the Chicago Province was assigned as superior Father O'Callaghan, the former Ohio vice-provincial, while Father Germing was retained as superior of the Missouri Province. As regards personnel, at the beginning of 1929 Missouri counted seven hundred and forty members and Chicago, five hundred and eighty-eight, a total of thirteen hundred and twenty-eight for the two provinces.

The seed planted in travail and distress by Van Quickenborne and his associates in the eighteen-twenties had come to bear fruit with obvious abundance. They had set up a tradition of zealous and energetic effort for the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth and the tradition had not been suffered to lapse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Documents or groups of documents which were found of special utility in the preparation of this work are indicated in the notices of the archives to which they respectively belong.

A. JESUIT

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, ROME. Material in this depositary made use of may be distributed for the most part into two groups, the letter-books of the Generals, containing their correspondence with American Jesuits and the correspondence of American Jesuits with the Generals. The Generals' letter-books follow in chronological order, each province of the Society having its own series of volumes. Excerpts and data from the Generals' correspondence embodied in the present work have been taken mostly from the letter-books, but not infrequently from original copies as found in the archives of the Missouri Province, S.J. Letters addressed to the Generals are groups in fascicles according to provincialships, houses, etc., and the fascicles in turn are assembled in varying numbers in loosely bound files (*filze*) or volumes, each of the Jesuit provinces having its own series of volumes.

MISSOURI PROVINCE ARCHIVES, S.J., ST. LOUIS. These archives are of the first importance for the subject treated though for the period 1823-1840 they are distinctly inferior in available material to the Archives of the Maryland-New York Province. Besides such conventional sources of Jesuit history as the *litterae annuae* (annual letters), the official lists usually designated as *catalogi*, and various statistical records, the Missouri Province Archives contain a conveniently arranged collection of papers, correspondence, and miscellaneous manuscript material bearing on Jesuit activities in the West. Of documentary groups of particular value the following are noted:

- (a) *The De Smet papers*. These include, besides numerous original letters addressed to the missionary and his manuscript journals and maps, his letter-books. Father De Smet served the Jesuits of the Middle West in the capacities of procurator or treasurer

(1849-1873) and assistant-provincial (1850-1862), the extensive correspondence carried on by him in the discharge of these offices being preserved in his letter-books. This correspondence, for the most part not included in the published editions of his letters, throws light on the affairs of the Jesuit houses of the Middle United States during the period indicated (1849-1873). The text of De Smet letters cited in this work is taken in most cases from his letter-books, which are of the old-fashioned tissue-paper type affording fac-similes of the originals.

- (b) *Indian Office papers*. Correspondence of John C. Calhoun and others bearing on the Indian school at Florissant.
- (c) *The Helias papers*. Narratives, statistical records and other first-hand material bearing on the beginnings of the pioneer Catholic parishes of central Missouri—all from the facile pen of the founder of these parishes, Father Ferdinand Helias D'Huddeghem, S.J. (1796-1874).
- (d) *The Hill papers*. Diaries, reminiscences, etc., of Father Walter H. Hill, S.J. (1822-1907). Of particular value for the history of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., and St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas.
- (e) *The Kuppens papers*. Correspondence and narrative-sketches pertaining to the Jesuit missions of Kansas and Wyoming by the Indian missionary, Father Francis X. Kuppens, S.J. (1838-1916).
- (f) *The Ponziglione papers*. A considerable manuscript collection of journals, connected narratives, notes, etc., bearing on the Catholic history of southeastern Kansas and the Osage Indians. The author, Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S.J. (1818-1900) was the pioneer missionary-priest of that region for three and a half decades.
- (g) *The Damen letters*. Cover the beginnings of Jesuit work in modern Chicago, Father Arnold Damen, S.J. (1815-1890) having established the Society in that city in 1857.
- (h) *The Minoux letters*. Correspondence of Father Anthony Minoux (1804-1884) in regard to the "Swiss" Jesuit refugees who arrived in the United States after the revolution of 1848.

MARYLAND-NEW YORK PROVINCE ARCHIVES, S.J., NEW YORK. Valuable collection of Missouriana covering the entire period of the Missouri Mission (1823-1840). The collection owes its origin to the industry and forethought of a Maryland Jesuit, who was for some years procurator of his province, Father John McElroy (1782-1877). For a general notice of these archives cf. Thomas Hughes, S.J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, Text, 1: 25.

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LOWER GERMANY PROVINCE ARCHIVES, S.J. Correspondence, etc., about the "Swiss" Jesuit refugees of 1848 and the establishment of the Buffalo Mission in the late sixties.

NORTH BELGIAN PROVINCE ARCHIVES, S.J. Letters from Belgian Jesuits in the United States to relatives and friends in Belgium; miscellaneous documents in reference to Belgian Jesuits in the United States.

TURIN PROVINCE ARCHIVES, S.J. Letters of Bishop Miège and numerous Rocky Mountain missionaries.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES. Letters of a business or personal nature addressed to University officials during the period 1835-1860. Deeds and chain-of-title of the University's Washington Avenue property. The Linton Album.

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ARCHIVES OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, ST. MARYS, KANSAS. Diaries of Fathers Christian Hoecken, John Duerinck and Maurice Gailland; registers (baptismal, burial and matrimonial), census-reports, account-books, etc., of the Jesuit Indian missions among the Kickapoo and Potawatomi. Sources of the first value for the history of pioneer Catholicism on the Missouri border.

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NOTANDUM

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N.B. Names of members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) are indicated by the prefix "Fr." for father, "Mr." for scholastic, and "Bro." for coadjutor-brother, the suffix "S.J." being omitted to economize space. Priests of non-Jesuit religious orders are designated as "Fr.," with the initials of their respective orders. Diocesan priests are designated as "Rev." "J." is for "Jesuit" or "Jesuits."

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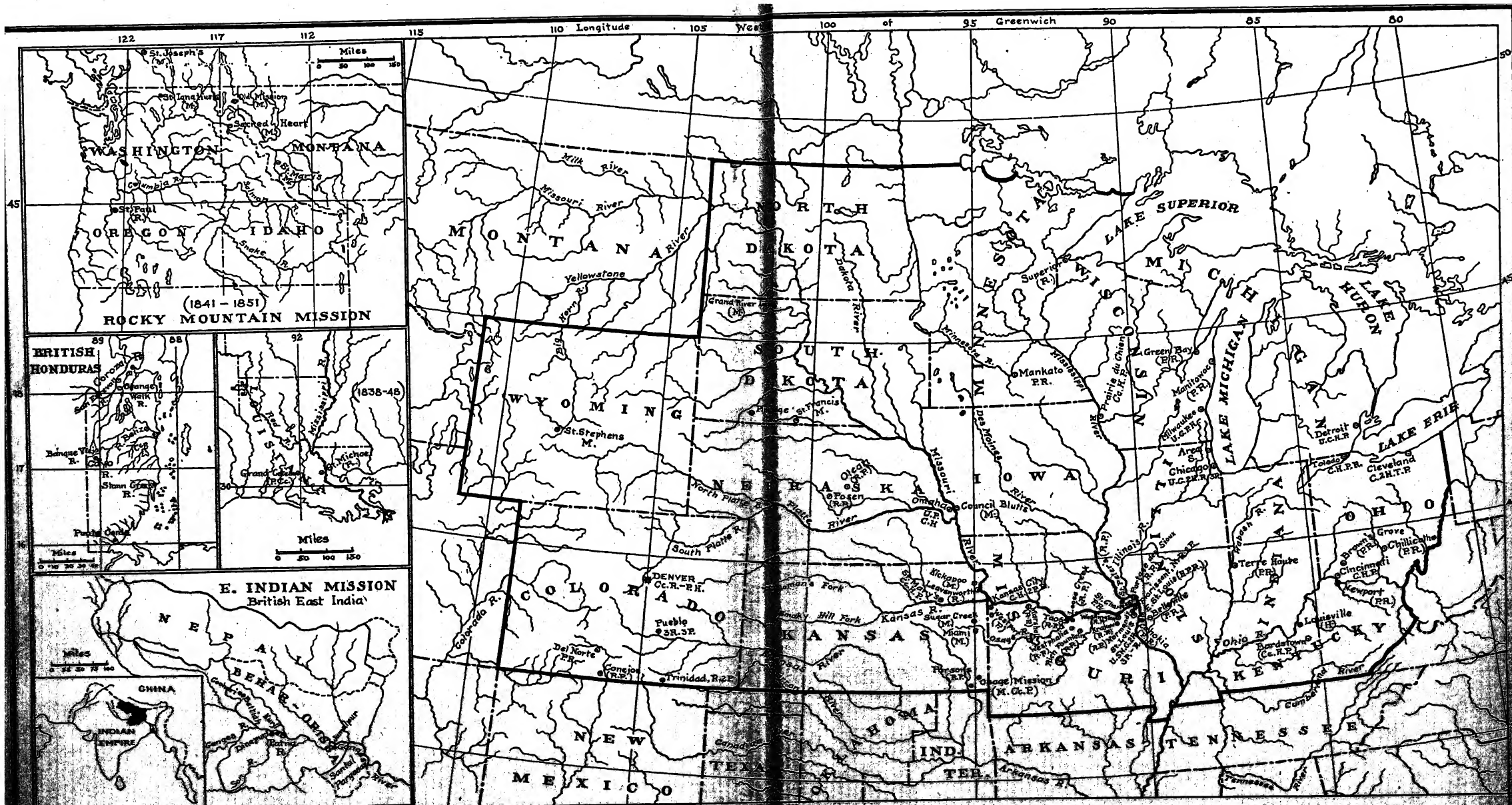
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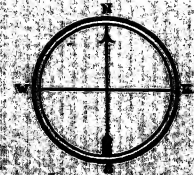
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FIELD OF OPERATIONS OF THE MIDWESTERN JESUITS, 1922

ABBREVIATIONS: C. College, C.C.R.-R.H. Catholic College, Residence, and High School, H. High School, M. Mission, N. Novitiate, P. Parish, R. Residence, S. Seminary, SN. Scholasticate, T. Teresianity, U. University.

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